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"Juan de Valdés (c. 1490-1541) in Light of his Religious Background"

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And to the One in whom we live and move and have our being, who is able to do exceedingly more than what we ask or imagine.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the background and writings of Juan de Valdés. Valdessian research has steadily clarified key aspects of his biography and writings. The gradually-uncovered complexity of Valdés' background and writings has demonstrated the necessity to recognize an eclecticism in his thought. Valdés' eclecticism, however, has not yet been analyzed in depth in light of the different religious currents in which he participated and the different sources that he quoted. In addition to this need, previous research has often focused on Valdés' theological affiliation rather than on his personal message and emphasis. This research evaluates his personal thought and contribution to his Christian environment. Accordingly, the task of this research is twofold. Part I analyzes the religious currents of Valdés's background in order to discard inaccurate associations. Parts II and III explore Valdés' writings, considering his concepts, terms, emphases and omissions, in order to evaluate his relation to the influences received and his personal message and contribution to Christian thought. Part II focuses on the immediate Spanish background of Valdés' *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* and its teachings, with particular attention to his own thought and his use of Erasmus' and Luther's writings. Part III considers Valdés' literary production in Naples, analyzing his teachings in light of his background. The conclusion of this research is that Valdés adopted influences and borrowed terms from his background and environment as long as they served his own message and emphasis. He redefined what he adopted, and he explicitly disagreed with the influences that he received and the sources he used. As to his thought and personal contribution, the axis of Valdés' message was the experience of entering the kingdom of God. His spiritual advice, his theological reflection, and his biblical hermeneutics were structured according to his own experience of being brought to God. Marked by Pedro R. Alcaraz, influenced by Spanish Erasmianism, and adopting a Lutheran soteriology, Valdés defended a sovereign God-intervention that changed man's disposition and brought him into a committed love-relationship with God.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DCB – Explicit abbreviation for: Juan de Valdés, *«Diálogo de Doctrina Cristiana», reproduction en fac-similé de l'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque nationale de Lisbonne (édition d'Alcala de Henares, 1529).* Intr. et notes par Marcel Bataillon. Coimbra: Impr. da Universidade, 1925.

DCC – Juan de Valdés. "*Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*." Abbreviation used for all editions of this *Dialogue* except Bataillon's.

OC – Juan de Valdés, *Obras completas*. Ed. by Angel Alcalá. Vol. I. Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997.

AHN – Archivo Histórico Nacional de España.

WA – Luthers Werke, Weimar ed. 1883-1929 (Weimarer Ausgabe).

INTRODUCTION

The Complexity of Juan de Valdés

Juan de Valdés[1] (c.1490-1541) was a Christian reformer and diplomat whose religious influence and writings left a considerable influence in sixteenth-century Spanish and Italian Christianity. Although neither a theologian nor a priest, his thought and piety transcended the brevity of his life and the pressures of Spanish and Italian religious intolerance. His appearance was thin and fragile,[2] devoid of the outgoing personality that could be expected from a religious leader; however, his gentleness, kind speech, tolerance, and personal teaching made him "admirably appropriate to produce a favorable impression" among noble men and women with spiritual interests.[3] Even though he provided the first Bible commentaries in Spanish and one of the first treatises on the Spanish language, Valdés, as a historical character, was quickly immersed in the ignominy of heretics until the second half of the nineteenth century. Since then, his biography developed from regrettable inaccuracies to a considerable clarity around the turn of the twenty-first century. With the exception of his first work, his writings were left in manuscript form to his closest friends. Nevertheless, his thought rose above geographical, confessional, and historical boundaries.

Juan de Valdés' contemporaries spoke of him as "Doctor and Pastor of illustrious and noble people"[4] and as "a rare man of Europe."[5] During the twentieth century, he was praised as "the greatest of Spanish Reformers," comparable to Ramon Lull, Ignatius of Loyola, or Saint Teresa of Avila.[6] Valdés has been considered an "authentic religious genius,"[7] "one of the central characters of those tumultuous and decisive decades in the history of European Christianity,"[8] and "the most well-balanced

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[1] Also called *Johannes Valdésius*; in Italian *Giovanni Valdéso*; in French *Jan de Val d'Esso*; In English *John Valdésso* (Benjamin B. Wiffen, *Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés* ,1865, xii).

[2] Francisco de Enzinas, "Notice Bibliographique sur Juan de Valdés,"in *Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas,* notice et annotations par Ch.-Al. Campan, Tome 2 (Bruxelles : Société de l'histoire de Belgique, 1862), 451.

[3] Thomas McCrie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (London: William Blackwood, 1833), 134.

[4] Juan de Valdés, *Ziento i Diez Consideraziones. Ahora publicadas por primera vez en Castellano,* ed. B. B Wiffen (Madrid, 1862), iii-xix.

[5] Letter of Giacomo Bonfadio a Carnesecchi, xx quoted in, Juan de Valdés, *Diàleg de Doctrina Cristiana,* intr. Ignacio Tellechea, (Proa, 1994), 11. Significantly, however, Theodore de Beza spoke of him as a horrible monster, akin to Miguel Servet or Ignatius Loyola.

[6] George Huntston Williams and Angel M. Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers: Documents Illustrative of the Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), 297. Also D. Ricart speaks of Valdés as one of the "great Spanish contributions to the intellectual and religious European life of the sixteenth century" along with Miguel Servet and Ignatius of Loyola (*Juan de Valdés y el Renacimiento Hispano,* 1962, 9).

[7] Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), 421. Cf. 212, 345.

[8] Massimo Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados y «Espirituales»: estudios sobre Juan de Valdés y el Valdésianismo en la crisis religiosa del '500 italiano,* trad. Daniela Bergonzi, (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española : Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2000), 11.

and sensitive spirit of our sixteenth century."[9] Interestingly, these eulogies and religious significance attributed to Valdés have not impeded a "changing image"[10] by different authors, becoming "one of the most controversial figures of Spanish Renaissance."[11]

Valdés' *evolving* and *conflicting* image has been the result of documentary difficulties and confessional sensibilities concerning events and movements that shaped Spain's Pre-Tridentine Christianity. Objectively, the appraisal of this period requires reference to "the social, cultural, and religious history" of the fifteenth century, a "very difficult and extensive" task for any researcher.[12] Crucial documents, furthermore, often include life-threatening pressures from social and religious conflicts. Valdés' thought and writings, in particular, emerge from a complex background of religious currents whose individual definition is also debated. The pastoral nature of Valdés' teaching and the subsequent theological diversity of his followers also seem to blur the portrait of Valdés. Generalizations and exclusive labels – such as *Alumbrado*, Erasmian, Mystic, and Lutheran – have needed to bend or undermine evidence in order to fit Valdés into their particular theological classification. The sensitivity towards heresy, the legitimacy of the Inquisition, the inroads of Lutheranism in Spain, and the capacity for Spain to develop its own heresy has ruled and polarized the debate over the interpretation of Valdés. Eventually, these classifications end up prevailing over the actual assessment of Valdés' personal message.

Considering the long list of authors and studies that have discussed Juan de Valdés since the nineteenth century, the central question of this thesis arises from an article written by José C. Nieto, a key scholar on Valdés.[13] The article's title, "*The Changing Image of Juan de Valdés*," is indicative of how various discoveries and decades of study have directly affected the growing understanding of Valdés. Nieto's article provides an update of historical and theological contributions to research on Valdés. In reference to these contributions, Nieto justifies his own perspectives with more or less success. One of Nieto's arguments, nevertheless, reveals a crucial task to be done in Valdessian research. Namely, unless suggested parallels between Valdés and other writings are considered in light of the content and emphasis of the particular author and text, Nieto rejects their relevance for establishing a relationship of dependence. This literary connection is very obvious in light of the fact that Christian authors handle common morals, prayers, sacred texts, and even clichés. Our basic question, therefore, focuses on the understanding of Valdés' thought in view of his background, accounting for elements that directly affect a conceptual or textual

[9] Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la Lengua*, intr. José Fernández Montesinos (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1964), xlvi.

[10] José C. Nieto, "La Imagen Cambiante de Juan de Valdés," *Los Valdés: Pensamiento Y Literatura: Actas del seminario celebrado en Cuenca, Universidad Menéndez Pelayo, del 2 al 4 de diciembre de 1991* (Cuenca: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Cuenca. Instituto Juan de Valdés, 1997), 7.

[11] Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la Lengua*, ed. Cristina Barbolani (Madrid: Cátedra, 1982), 11.

[12] José Carlos Gomez-Menor, "Linaje Judío de Escritores Religiosos y Místicos Españoles del Siglo XVI", en *Judíos, Sefarditas, Conversos: la expulsión de 1492 y sus consecuencias*, ed. Angel Alcalá (Valladolid: Ambito, 1995), 587.

[13] Nieto, "La Imagen Cambiante de Juan de Valdés."

comparison. The question is: Considering Juan de Valdés' distinctive teachings, characteristics, and emphases, how do the analyses of his background and the comparisons of his writings with previous or contemporary texts affect the understanding of Valdés' thought? And consequently, how do such analyses and comparisons of Valdés relate to past and present interpretations of him?

Biographical Sketch

Spain's Pre-Tridentine Religious Energies

Juan de Valdés' religious formation took place during the first half of the sixteenth century in Castile, Spain, a time and place of religious fervency. Theology, biblical exegesis, and spirituality strained amidst a strong ritualism, institutional decay, and alternative voices. Giordano has well defined that momentum as "a great spiritual laboratory, expression of energies and creativity."[14] Nieto refers to the environment as experiencing "a political-religious effervescence."[15] Melquiades Andrés speaks of it as "a decisive period in the development of our [Spanish] culture and our spirituality."[16] Andrés identifies the period as beginning with Pedro Martínez de Osma, known for his exegetical efforts and attacks against Scholasticism (c.1470), and with the reforms of the monastic orders. According to Andrés, the period ended with Melchor Cano's *De Locis Theologicis* (1562), the biblical methodology of Martin Martínez Cantalapiedra (1565), and the Index of Fernando de Valdés in 1559.[17]

The thought of Juan de Valdés belongs much more to a "spiritual laboratory" than to the development of Catholic theology. It can be included within that "most valuable originality of sixteenth-century religious Spain [that] originates in the mysterious interpenetration of movements, [which were] totally diverse in appearance."[18] Valdés participated in the deep religious quest which emerged from various noblemen's courts and which sought to expand into other sections of society. Associated with those courts was the transformation and growing complexity of the *Converso*[19] conflict in Spain, which began with the Edict of Blood Purity (1449), and continued after the death of Hernando de Talavera (1507). Significantly, Humanism made its first inroads into the Iberian Peninsula around 1420 through noblemen's courts in which *Conversos* were present, and important traces of what would later be called *Devotio Moderna* were evident in the writings of eminent *Conversos*.

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[14] María Laura Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe: Élites conversas entre inquisición y patronazgo en España (siglos XV y XVI)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2004), 27.

[15] Nieto, *Img. Cambiante*, 24.

[16] Melquiades Andrés Martin, *La Teología Española en el Siglo XVI 1.* Vol. 1. (Madrid: BAC, 1976-1977), 26.

[17] Ibid, xi. Interestingly, Fernando de Valdés, General Inquisitor, was a distant relative of Juan de Valdés (Mártir Rizo, *Historia de la muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de Cuenca,* 1629, 284).

[18] José Manuel Carrete Parrondo, *Movimiento Alumbrado y Renacimiento Español: Proceso inquisitorial contra Luis de Beteta.* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos, 1980), 26.

[19] *Converso* is an English accepted term, a noun or adjective designating Jewish individuals converted to Christianity.

At the time of Valdés' religious formation, Castile experienced an important convergence of diverse religious currents: the fruit of Cardinal Cisneros' reforms among Franciscans, the last decades of aristocratic centers of spirituality, the considerable confluence of *Conversos* in Franciscan "houses of prayer"[20] and in noblemen's houses, the impact of Erasmus' *Enchiridion* in Spain, and the threat of Luther through the circulation of his works. These currents existed in the midst of moral and educational decay and an institutional Christianity which all too often seemed to endorse a vulgarized, performance-based religion.[21] This was the environment in which Juan de Valdés developed his own understanding of the Christian experience of God.

Origins, Youth, and Education in Spain (c. 1490-1530)

Juan de Valdés was born in Cuenca, Spain, capital of a Castilian province and one of the four richest Episcopal sees of Spain. The see of Cuenca was under that of Toledo and had its own Inquisitorial Court.[22] Valdés' family, linked with the nobility and high clergy of the time, descended from Jewish converts to Christianity.[23] Valdés' family came from the Kingdom of León, Occidental Asturias,[24] and spread into Seville and Cuenca as a "noble cast" with individuals like Fernando de Valdés (Archbishop of Seville and General Inquisitor of Spain[25]), as well as archbishops, bishops, captains, and counselors. By the second half of the fifteenth century, Juan de Valdés' father, Fernando de Valdés, established his family in Cuenca with magnificent houses, a chapel, and entailed estates. The family had a particular ability "to introduce themselves in the houses of great nobles and high politics, to procure perpetual governing positions,[26] or to associate themselves to Courts, looking for powerful patrons and intermarrying with most high nobility."[27] Juan de Valdés and Alfonso, his brother, became the Pope's Chamberlain and the Secretary of His Majesty Charles V, respectively.[28] Juan grew up under the pious influence of his father and Pedro Martyr d'Anghiera, a famous tutor of Castilian nobility. Juan's youth developed amidst the convergence of the "Commoners'

[20] "House of prayer" was a technical term, identifying convents specially dedicated to spiritual exercises, more clearly defined in Chapter 2 of this thesis under "Cisneros' Reforms."

[21] E.g. Melquiades Andrés, *La Teología Española en el Siglo XVI*, vol.i (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1976), 258; José García Oro, *Cisneros y la Reforma del Clero Español en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid: CSIC, 1971), 2-28.

[22] Caballero, *Alonso y Juan de Valdés.*, ed. Facsimil, Intr. Miguel Jiménez Monteserín, 1875 (Madrid: Oficina tipográfica del hospicio, 1995), 86.

[23] Unquestionably documented and summarized in: Dorothy Donald y Elena Lázaro, *Alfonso de Valdés y su Época* (Cuenca: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1983), 55-61.

[24] José Luis González Novalín, *El Inquisidor General Fernando de Valdés (1483-1568)* ([Oviedo]: Universidad de Oviedo, 1971), 4-6.

[25] Author of the *Index* of 1559.

[26] Sp. "*Regidorías*," which refers to governing positions in the city hall.

[27] Miguel Martínez Millán, "Fernando Valdés, Valeroso Capitán, Regidor de Cuenca" *In Diario de Cuenca,* Aug. 5 (1972): 4.

[28] Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo, *Historia de la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de Cuenca: Dirigida al alma inmortal de don García Hurtado de Mendoça, Marqués de Cañete*, ed. Jean de Courbes (En Madrid: Por los herederos de la Viuda de Po. de Madrigal, 1629), 284.

Revolt" in Castile, a Christian Humanism that encouraged church reform, and other religious currents which often challenged orthodoxy.

The date of Juan's birth has been a debated issue for some time, particularly, whether or not Juan and Alfonso were twin brothers. The implications of this debate affect to whether Juan was mature enough to write *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* and participate in the different religious currents reflected in that work. Erasmus and Ginés de Sepulveda, as personal witnesses, spoke of Alfonso and Juan in terms of g*emelli*,[29] and having an "outstanding resemblance."[30] In Cuenca, there was no registry of population prior to 1509.[31] Considering the apparent "elder brother" attitude of Alfonso, Alfonso's role as Imperial Secretary, and Juan being indirectly identified as a *boy*,[32] the matter seemed inconclusive. Recently, however, Manuel Amores discovered the inquisitorial declaration of Sancho Muñoz from June 16, 1513.[33] Sancho was a citizen of Cuenca who heard Juan's father say that he had kept his children's placentas,[34] Juan and Alfonso's, and that they were born at the same time.[35] This declaration, therefore, presents Juan and Alfonso as bi-ovular twins. Furthermore, a letter written by Juan's father on June 8, 1506 mentions his son Juan as a representative from the city of Cuenca at the court of Benavente. This letter suggests that Juan's birth could have been around 1490, making Juan at least 16-years-old when at the court of Benavente.[36] At the time of writing his *Dialogue*, therefore, Valdés was probably in his early thirties.

Around 1520, Valdés must have experienced a religious crisis, a conversion.[37] In his *Commentary on Matthew*, Valdés referred to his conversion as an event that happened twenty years earlier. If he wrote this *Commentary* about 1540, Valdés' conversion happened around his departure to the palace of Escalona or at the beginning of his stay there. Valdés confessed that he had spent "ten years, the best of his life," in palaces and courts, giving himself to "no more virtuous exercise than to read (. . .) lies [chivalric romances]."[38] This fondness of reading most likely refers to a period prior to

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[29] "*Ego vos tam gemellos pro unico habeo, non pro duobus*." Erasmus' letter to Juan de Valdés from Basel, March 21,1529. Repr. in: Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 429.

[30] "… When I see him, it certainly seems that I am seeing you, whether he stands, or walks, … speaking, …" Letter of Ginés de Sepúlveda to Alfonso de Valdés from Rome 26th August, ca. 1531. repr. in: Caballero, *Alonso y Juan* **,** 450.

[31] Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 46.

[32] Witness Francisco de Acevedo derided Alcaraz's meetings as attended by "women and boys" (Sp. muchachos). He gives a list of the attendees that including clergy and married couples. Cf. Inquisición, *Proceso de Fe de Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Isabel de la Cruz y Gaspar de Bedoya*, AHN, Leg. 106, Exp.5, fol. 80.

[33] Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, Sección Inquisición, legajo 780, expediente 2.180, folio 11. Cited in, Manuel Amores, "Los Hermanos Alfonso y Juan de Valdés: Fueron Gemelos," *Papeles del Huecar*, n. 15, Abril-Mayo (2004): 28.

[34] Sp. "camisicas."

[35] Sp. "ventregada."

[36] Dorothy Donald and Elena Lázaro, *Alfonso de Valdés*.

[37] José C. Nieto, «Juan de Valdés de Cuenca», en *Contemporaries of Erasmus A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 3, ed. Peter G Bietenholz and Thomas Brian Deutscher (Toronto, Ont.; Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 368.

[38] Juan de Valdés, "Dialogo de la Lengua," OC, ed. Angel Alcalá, vol. I (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997), 253.

Escalona, most probably to the time one referred to in his father's letter of 1506. Valdés' expression that, "I would eat my hands after them," [chivalric romances], would not harmonize with a later period, when his religious pursuits were evident.

In 1523, Valdés resided in the household of Don Diego López Pacheco, second Marquis of Villena and an open "protector of *Conversos*."[39] Scholars can only speculate on Valdés' motivation for serving under López Pacheco. The Marquis was a pious nobleman who had retired to his palace at Escalona in order to give himself "to spiritual exercises and conversation with spiritual men."[40] The significance of this scenario is that after pogroms, false conversions, and suspicions toward Jewish converted individuals and their offspring, these religious centers, like the Marquis' palace, became a shelter for *Conversos*. Noblemen's houses like Pacheco's promoted an intense spirituality that could include some alternative traits, a religion somewhat independent from the institutional church, which at that time was experiencing a significant ignorance and decay.

Within Pacheco's household was a key person in the life of Juan de Valdés: Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz. Pedro was a lay preacher hired by López Pacheco. Alcaraz's teaching eventually caused a polemical controversy among the preachers and religious individuals of Pacheco's household, a controversy that eventually reached even surrounding towns. Alcaraz attracted followers, spectators, and enemies. He was eventually arrested and tried by the Inquisition as a representative of the *Alumbrados* of Toledo. Valdés is mentioned several times in Alcaraz's trial, certifying his stay in Escalona (1523-1524), his awareness of Alcaraz's teachings, and the related controversy.

The religious commotion of those days, ending with the Inquisition's intervention, did not belong solely to Pedro Alcaraz. The threat of Lutheranism, the presence of alternative expressions of spirituality, and the accusations of both informants and "offended" individuals converged into a situation of alarm which eventually caused several arrests and the Edict against the *Alumbrados* of Toledo (1525). The Edict and inquisitorial proceedings, Alcaraz's trial among them, was the institutional reaction against diverse initiatives of religious fervency and supernatural spirituality directly or indirectly promoted by Cisneros' reforms among Franciscans and clergy.[41]

In November 1526, approximately two undocumented years after his stay in Escalona, Valdés is studying in the University of Alcalá de Henares (November 18, 1526). The founder of the University, Cardinal Cisneros, had been an austere and deeply religious confessor of Queen Isabel, who had promoted important religious reforms, even favoring radical expressions like raptures and prophesying. The University of Alcalá taught the "three ways," which, beyond Thomism, included

[39] Caballero, *Alfonso y Juan*, p. xxi.

[40] M. Serrano y Sanz, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Iluminado Alcarreño del s. XVI" en *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, t.vii (1903): 6.

[41] To be discussed later in "Converso-Prophetic Alumbradism…"

Scotism and Ockhamism.[42] Alcalá became a unique centre of Humanism and biblical erudition. According to Erasmus, Alcalá's University was the place where "the most signal accomplishments of European scholarship were being made."[43]

While Juan de Valdés was in Alcalá, the antagonism between Spanish traditional monasticism and Erasmian circles reached a climatic point. From the same university of Alcalá, Diego López de Zúñiga had spearheaded a vehement opposition against Erasmus since 1520, an opposition that increased as Erasmus' writings were gaining influence in Spain. General Inquisitor Alonso Manrique, an ardent reader of Erasmus, convened a Conference in Valladolid to finally settle the question of Erasmus' orthodoxy or heresy (1527). The assembly, however, was forced to end without a final conclusion, and the belligerence against Erasmus, however, continued. As a token of the anti-Erasmian advancement, in 1528 Diego de Uceda in Toledo, a well reputed "old Christian," was tried by the Inquisition. His appreciation for Erasmus' writings was for the first time associated with Lutheranism.[44]

During his time in Alcalá, Juan de Valdés corresponded with Erasmus.[45] One of the Rotterdamer's letters referred to Valdés' ability to couple *elegantia literarum* with *pietatis christianae synceritatem*, something that, in Erasmus' opinion, very few Italians had accomplished.[46] Valdés participated also in the circle of those who favored Erasmus' *Philosophia Christi* and his writings. Valdés' period in Alcalá and in Spain ended shortly after the publication of his *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* at the university's press, run by Miguel de Eguía (January 14, 1529). At first, eminent men approved Valdés' work – men such as Mateo Pascual (director of San Ildefonso School), Chancellor Pedro de Lerma, Pedro Ciruelo, Hernán Vázquez, Juan de Vergara, and Luis Nuñez Coronel (secretary of General Inquisitor Alonso Manrique).[47] Sancho Carranza de Miranda, just previously named Inquisitor of Navarra, bought several copies, distributing them among the clergy of his jurisdiction. After some reading, the *Dialogue's* critiques against tithes, offerings, and auricular confession convinced Carranza of some needed modifications. He eventually prohibited its reading. On June 29, 1529, Carranza sent a letter to the Inquisition in Cuenca to go after its "fugitive"

[42] José C Nieto, *Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation.* (Genève: Droz, 1970), 54.

[43]Cited in: George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation.* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 11-12.

[44] John Edward Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost in Spain (1517-1546).* ([Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1969), 117-134.

[45] Three extant letters from Erasmus: (1) from Basel March 1, 1528, confirming Valdés as a student in Alcalá (n.1961 repr. in Caballero, *Alonso y Juan de Valdés*, 1875, 352), (2)from Basel March 21, 1529, (n. 2127 repr. Ibid., 429), and (3) from Freiburg January 13, 1530, expressing his complaint that Valdés did not answer his letters (n.2251, repr. Ibid., 440).

[46] Erasmus from Basel March 21, 1529. (n. 2127 repr. Ibid., 429).

[47] Ángel Alcalá ed., OC, p. xviii-xix.

author, whom he said should be punished.[48] The first Index of 1547 registered the formal and public prohibition of Valdés' book.[49]

Not long before the publication of the *Dialogue*, tensions between traditionalism and Erasmianism (accentuated by accusations of *Alumbradism* and Lutheranism) increased, and Valdés went to Salamanca. From there, he escaped[50] to Rome, where his brother Alfonso was Imperial Secretary. Despite Pope Clement VII's brief, which at the request of Alfonso, absolved Alfonso and family of any accusation,[51] Juan had no protection in Spain. The publication of his *Dialogue* must have sparked a second cause against Valdés; his implications in the trial of Alcaraz should have been the first. The situation forced his flight to Rome.[52]

Years in Rome (1530-1535)

Valdés' flight was shared with other Erasmians under suspicion. Mateo Pascual, rector of the Trilingual College of Alcalá, fled with Valdés to Rome. Miona, Miguel de Torres, and Juan del Castillo, fled to Paris.[53] According to Juan de Vergara, Valdés' flight damaged his reputation.[54] In Rome, however, Alfonso had provided a safer situation through Juan Ginés de Sepulveda.[55] A safe-conduct issued by Pope Clement VII revealed Alfonso's influence and care for Juan; Juan appeared as "the Chamberlain to the Pope" and "Secretary" to the Emperor Charles V in Rome.[56] The occasion of that safe-conduct was that the Imperial Court returned from the Diet of Regensburg, and the document was issued for Juan to go to see Alfonso. Sadly, in 1532, the plague snatched Alfonso's life before Juan could see him.

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[48] Letter extant in the Inquisitorial archive of Cuenca, reproduced in Monteserin, *Alonso y Juan Valdés,* liv; also Cf. Alcalá (ed.), OC, p.xix.

[49] Juan de Valdés, *«Diálogo de Doctrina Cristiana», reproduction en fac-similé de l'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque nationale de Lisbonne (*édition d'Alcalá de Henares, 1529*),* intr. et ed. Marcel Bataillon, (Coimbra: Impr. da Universidade, 1925), 76.

[50] At the beginning of 1529 he is found in Salamanc. His name appears in a power of attorney to receive a debt for Alonso Beltran, his niece's husband (Caballero, 1995, lii). This explains Erasmus' complaint that his letters to Juan were not answered (Ep. n. 2251). On Sept., 9, 1529, in the notary of the *Converso* Juan del Castillo, Valdés signed a grant in favor of his brother Andrés as "administrator of the charity house and Hospital of Saint Lazarus of the city of Cuenca " (Alcalá, OC., xxi).

[51] Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers,* 303.

[52] Marcel Bataillon found a copy of the trial of Juan de Vergara with the heading "taken from Valdés'. This ratified Llorente's former undocumented assertion of an actual prosecution of Valdés (Juan Antonio Llorente, *Historia Crítica de la Inquisición en España*, Vol V. Madrid: In the Censor's Press, 1822, 227-228).

[53] Arthur Gordon Kinder, "Juan de Valdés," col. *Bibliotheca Dissidentium: Repertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles,* ed. André Seguenny et al. Vol. IX. Baden Baden: Editions Valentin Koerner, 1994, 10; Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, II, 58.

[54] Letter of Juan de Vergara to Juan de Valdés. reproduced in: M. Serrano y Sanz "Juan de Vergara", en *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,* VI, (1902): 36-37.

[55] Sepulveda's response to Alfonso (7/9/1530 or 1531) certified Juan's presence in Italy and the friendly reception received (Repr. in Caballero, *Alonso y Juan,* 446).

[56] The document speaks of Juan as "*Dilectum filium Joannem Valdésium Camerarium nostrum et Cesareae Maiestatis secretarium ad eandem Maestatem profiscentem*." "Secretary" denotes a kind of representative of Alfonso in Rome. B. Fontana, *Renata di Francia, Fuchessa di Ferrara*, Roma, Forzani: 1889-1894, p. 476. Cited in: Barbolani, *Dial. Lengua,* 22-23.

Juan met the Court at Mantua and lived for some time there and in Bologna, returning afterwards to Rome. Alfonso's death deprived Juan of comfort and financial support. Two of Juan's letters from Bologna early in 1533 reveal that the city of Naples had offered Alfonso a post as archivist. The post was transferred to Juan, who travelled to Naples, only to return when the post ceased by imperial order (December 1533). Juan was significantly compensated, however, with a thousand ducats.[57] His short stay in Naples became very important, as it provided valuable contacts with the nobility to whom he would return years later. While in Rome, Juan corresponded with them in letters full of wit and style.[58]

On the positive side, in Rome and Bologna, Juan encountered friends like the Pope's Protonotary, Pier Paolo Carnesecchi, a good humanist, orator, and poet, whose secular relationship with Juan in Rome [59] developed into a very close spiritual relationship in Naples. In Bologna, Juan also met Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, with whom he maintained a relationship of both diplomacy and personal interest. Nevertheless, despite Alfonso's care and provision, [60] Juan's stay in Rome and Bologna included some uncomfortable elements. In particular, Erasmus had just condemned Italian humanists for their Ciceronianism, while Bembo and Sadoleto, secretaries to Leo X, constituted emblems of Ciceronian style.[61] Pietro Corsi was probably preparing his *Defensio pro Italia ad Erasmum Roterodamum*, later printed in 1535.[62] The Erasmian polarization worsened after the death of Alfonso; some posts returned to conservative positions. In Rome, during the spring of 1532, while the court was in Regensburg, the Erasmian Miguel Mai was ceased as the Emperor's ambassador, installing the conservative Count of Cifuentes.[63] On a personal level, Juan de Valdés had to assume the task of a *private negotiator* in favor of Benedetto Accolti, for whom he felt no sympathy. [64]

Clement VII died in 1534, and the papal court changed as a consequence. Paul III succeeded Clement VII. The new Pope's subsequent return to more traditional tenets forced Valdés in 1535 to move to Naples, a territory still under the dominion of the Spanish Emperor. As a departing gift, Juan received the revenues of the church of St.

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[57] Alcalá (ed.), OC, xxiv.

[58] Juan de Valdés, *Dialogo de la Lengua*, OC, 154.

[59] Carnesecchi speaks of Valdés in Rome as "a gentilhuomo di spada et capa" — a man of cape and sword, that is, a layman [O.Ortolani, *Pietro Carnesecchi: Per la storia de la vita religiosa italiana nel Cinquecento,* F. Le Monnier, 1963, 172, cited in Barbolani (ed.), *Dial. Lengua*, 24]. Carnesecchi did not suspect that Valdés was at that time committed to deep theological studies [Alcalá (ed.), OC, xxiv].

[60] Juan's brother, Diego, had died by the end of 1533, and on Jan. 16, 1534, Clement VII conferred on Valdés the revenues of his church in the Spanish diocese of Cartagena. On December 12, 1529, Clement had already extended spiritual concessions and ecclesiastical benefits to the Valdés family and to Juan himself.

[61] Erasmus wrote *Ciceronianus* in 1528.

[62] Barbolani, *Dial. Lengua*, 26.

[63] E.g. Alcalá (ed.), OC, xxvi.

[64] Juan de Valdés, *Cartas inéditas de Juan de Valdés al cardenal Gonzaga. Introdución y notas por José F. Montesinos.* (Madrid: impr. de S. Aguirre, 1931), x.

Clement in the diocese of Cuenca (*in absentia)*.[65] Gonzaga and Carnesecchi also abandoned Rome,[66] and together with Juan, their negative reports to Charles V about the new Papal Court revealed that the move was a "bitter and resentful" experience.[67]

Apart from the secular portrait of Valdés in Rome, his departure to Naples involved considerable frustration. Erasmus' followers from the Court and the "Erasmian circle" of Alcalá had forged an ideal in which Spain and Charles V, as instruments of reform and peace for the world, were to restore the shortcomings of Christianity through the summoning of a General Council.[68] That was the expectation when, in 1520, Charles travelled to Aachen, where many Holy Roman Emperors had been crowned. Alfonso had clearly expressed in his letters the common yearning for a General Council. In 1527 the sack of Rome by Charles' troops somewhat confirmed that vision, so expressed in Alfonso's dialogues.[69] Regardless, Paul III's ascension to the papacy became a setback from that hope, which Valdés had also shared.[70] Deprived of support and unable to return to Spain, he directed his steps to Naples, where Pedro de Toledo, younger son of Duke of Alba and close acquainted of Alfonso, was viceroy.

Years in Naples (1535-1541)

It was particularly in Naples that Valdés' pastoral labors and writings carved his imprint into sixteenth-century Christianity. Juan moved in 1535 to the elegant villa of Riaggia, where much of the nobility resided. There he served the Viceroy, Pedro de Toledo, as inspector of fortifications. Forty-one extant letters from Naples to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (September 1535 – January 1537) depict some of the particulars of Juan's previous years in Rome.[71] They reveal Juan's relationship with Gonzaga, a man who shared "the religious desires of the most noble spirits in Italy," but without conviction.[72] Juan's friendship benefitted Gonzaga's imperial dealings, while Gonzaga's correspondence gave Juan favor and credit before others.[73] A more awkward relationship appears with Cardinal Accolti. Valdés had to defend him when Paul III deposed him on August 27, 1534, imprisoning him in the castle of Sant'Angelo. Although able to gain sympathies from humanists of laxer morals and worldly prelates, like Gonzaga, Acolti was also capable of heinous crimes.[74] The letters to Ercole

[65] We do not know how long he enjoyed such revenues; they are not mentioned in his last will. Cf. Juan de Valdés, *Alfabeto cristiano: dialogo con Giulia Gonzaga. Introduzione, note e appendici di B. Croce.*, ed. Benedetto Croce (Bari: Gius. Laterza & figli, 1938), 173-178. Concerning the suggestion that Valdés was an ordained priest (Cf. Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy. An anatomy of Apostasy* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967], 50), we simply refer to Nieto's answer, which we support (Cf. José C. Nieto, "Was J.V an ordained priest?" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* 32 [1970]: 603-606).

[66] Montesinos (ed), *Cartas a Gonzaga*, x.

[67] Ibid, lix.

[68] Ibid, cxi.

[69] Alfonso de Valdés, *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956).

[70] Valdés letter Sept. 18, 1535, repr. in : Juan de Valdés, *Cartas a Gonzaga*, 3.

[71] Juan de Valdés, *Cartas a Gonzaga*.

[72] Ibid, xli.

[73] Ibid, letter XI, 9.

[74] Ibid., xvii.

manifest the "tyranny" and pain from the Farnese's rise to Papacy. Under such conditions, Juan's temper certainly became a danger,[75] and Naples was a safer place. His residence in Naples also allowed him to be in touch with the Imperial Court.

The letters to Gonzaga raise the question concerning the relationship between Juan's politics and religion. In his letter from April 11, 1540, as he dealt with a law suit in favor of Giulia Gonzaga, he writes of his spiritual advice: "apparently only for this I am of any value, being useless for all other things."[76] The question which results is: Was his increasing religious dedication a direct result of his frustration with the General Council and Imperial ideals? While such a cause-effect relationship is unnecessary, it can be safely inferred that there was an important degree of frustration. Nevertheless, Valdés' interaction in the religious realm revived his spiritual pursuits. Followers and friends received his teachings eagerly, which gave rise to his intense and prolific literary production. Regarding his diplomatic labors, there is another extant group of letters from Juan's period in Naples to the Secretary of State, Francisco de los Cobos y Molina. These letters prove that Juan's political activities continued nearly till the end of his life.[77] Unlike some of his followers who fled or were executed, Valdés' death in 1541 saved him from the Inquisition in Italy.

The "Valdessian Circle;" His Final Years

Naples constituted the environment of Juan's pastoral work and writings. In Rome, his devotion was present;[78] but in Naples "it seemed that God had destined him to be Doctor and Pastor of noble and illustrious people." In Naples he allegedly trained "some of the most famous preachers of Italy."[79] Pacheco, a character of Valdés' *Dialogue on Language,* describes him as "a veritable Saint John the Evangelist (. . .) I think he writes at night that which he does during the day, and during the day [he writes] that which he dreams by night."[80] His influence gave him recognition as a main voice for the Italian Reformation.[81]

Valdés' teaching created what has been called the "Valdessian Circle," a group to which some authors attribute a notorious expansion.[82] They were "spirits yearning for

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[75] E.g. "I wrote him how choleric and unsatisfied I was for that which His Most Reverend was doing with me." Ibid, Letter XXX, p.70, lines 19, 20.

[76] Ibid., 166.

[77] Letters repr. in: Juan de Valdés, *Alfabeto cristiano, ed.* B. Croce.

[78] Three references in his *Dialogo de la Lengua* testify of his religious dedication even in Rome (Juan de Valdés, *DL*, OC, 162; Barbolani ed., 129, 224, 263).

[79] Celio Segundo Curione in his "Epistola Preliminar" in: Juan de Valdés, *Le cento e dieci divine considerationi del s. Giovanni Valdésso: nelle quali si ragiona delle cose piu utili, piu necessarie, e piu perfette, della christiana professione* (Basilea, 1550).

[80] Juan de Valdés, *Dialogo de la Lengua*, OC,162.

[81] So recognized by Pedro Bayle, Miravel, McCrie, the Napolitan historian Botta, P. Ribadeneyra and many others. Cf. Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 188.

[82] Cione has numbered 40 individuals, Cf. Edmondo Cione, *Juan de Valdés; la sua vita e il suo pensiero religioso. Con una completa bibliografia delle opere del Valdés e degli scritti intorno a lui.* (Bari: G. Laterza & figli, 1938), 111-112; Antonio Caracciolo (1519-1571), author of a biography of Paul IV, speaks of the number of *Protestants* as being over three thousand in Naples, connecting them with

another type of church."[83] They had a deep interest in the Scriptures and considered Valdés an exceptional teacher and Bible expositor.[84] The "mild mystic charm" of Valdés' doctrine about "the benefit of Christ" mitigated the "excessive spiritual anguish" of those who clung to his advice in the midst of doctrinal uncertainty.[85] Their meetings took place weekly in the houses of Valdés, of Giulia Gonzaga, and of other nobles from among his devout followers.[86] According to Carnesecchi, those gatherings were a "divine reality" through which all participants were members of the Kingdom of God.[87] They were dedicated to prayer, as well as meditation and pious conversations, out of which came *One Hundred and Ten Considerations*. Yet, its members still attended church and heard the mass.[88] Among those believed to be in Valdés' circle were preachers like Bernardino Ochino (founder of the Capuchin order, of whom Charles V said that his eloquent preaching "made the stones cry"); priests like Pietro Carnesecchi (protonotary of Clement VII) and Peter Martyr Vermigli; the humanist poet Marcantonio Flaminio; bishops like Vergerio, Giberti, Soranzo, and Priuli; cardinals of deep spirituality like Contarini, Del Monte, Morone; the English Reginald Pole (Archbishop of London during the reign of Mary Tudor); Sadoleto, and Seripando (who later participated in the direction of Trent). There were also distinguished ladies like Giulia Gonzaga, Isabel Manrique, Constanza de Ávalos, Victoria Colonna, and Isabel Breseña. A closer consideration of these individuals reveals that even though they held a common religious interest, their gathering did not reflect a theological identification. There were, evidently, differences of theological persuasion and various levels of friendship within the circle.

Giulia Gonzaga stands out among Juan's followers in her personal interaction with him. She was Countess of Fondi and widow of the Duke Vespasian Colonna. Painters like Sebastián di Piombo, and poets like Bernardo Tasso, were captivated by her beauty. Giulia's inquiries to Valdés occasioned the writing of *Christian Alphabet* (c. 1536), which Kinder considers possibly the earliest fruit of the conversations held by the Valdessian circle.[89] Valdés also dedicated to her the translation of *Psalms* and the *Commentary on Psalms*, *Commentary on Romans*, *Commentary on Corinthians*, and *Commentary on Matthew*, albeit indirectly. It is worth asking whether Juan dedicated his writings to Giulia because of her piety, her commitment to his teachings, or her

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Valdés. Cited in: Maximilian Frederik van Lennep, *La reforma en España en el siglo XVI* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Iglesia Cristiana Reformada, Subcomisión Literatura Cristiana, 1984), 167.

[83] Alcalá (ed.), OC, xxix.

[84] Juan de Valdés, *Dialogo de Doctrina*, ed. Emilio Monje Bellido, Intr. David Estrada Herrero (Alcalá de Guadaira, Sevilla: Ed. Mad S.L.n.d.), 27.

[85] Monteserin ed., *Cartas a Gonzaga* , lxi.

[86] Caballero, Alonso y Juan, 189. Cf. Also Inquisitorial witness Giusto Seriato Oct. 1548 cited in: Barbolani (ed.), *Dial. Lengua*, 32.

[87] Juan de Valdés, *DCC*, ed. Bellido, 28.

[88] Nicolas Balbani, a Protestant writing on "*The Life of Galeozzo Caracciolo*," (Geneve, 1587), declared that Valdés had "some understanding" of Evangelical truth, specially on justification by faith (Van Lennep, 1984, 167-8), but they continued "frequentare i tempi, e di ritrovarsi con gli altri alle messe, e alle ordinarie idolatrie" (Repr. in: Barbolani (ed.), *DL*, 43).

[89] Kinder, *Juan de Valdés*, 113.

beneficial position for the promotion of his works. Was Valdés' dedicatories to her similar to that with which he did in his *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* to Don Diego López Pacheco? Past research on Giulia certainly suffers of some idealism. Besides *Christian Alphabet* and his translations and Commentaries, Valdés wrote *One Hundred and Ten Considerations*, which became his best-known work, "an expression of a pure Spanish genius."[90] Valdés also wrote other small religious publications, such as letters and tracts.

Juan de Valdés died in June of 1541. Upon his death, his followers diversified.[91] It is evident that "they did not reach [the nature of] a consistent and specific movement."[92] Some developed truly Protestant traits, embracing Protestantism openly. Others continued in the institutional church, at least externally, with an attitude which Calvin derogatorily named "Nicodemites." [93] Flaminio, Carnesecchi, and Vitoria Colonna went to Viterbo with Cardinal Pole (later one of the three presidents of the Council of Trent). Vermiglio and Ochino crossed the Alps and sought refuge in Pisa and Geneva.[94] The Roman Inquisition started in Italy with severity on July 21, 1542, and those who stayed in the contry, like Pietro Carnesecchi, suffered hardships and death. Valdés had initially entrusted his manuscripts to Giulia, who passed them on to Carnesecchi in Viterbo. Carnesecchi then forwarded the manuscripts to Pier Paolo Vergerio and others, who took them from Italy to Switzerland and Germany for printing. Some editions were translated into Italian and printed within the country. Some who relocated to other cities – Viterbo, Modena, Venice, and Siena – faithfully preserved Juan's teachings. In 1543, Valdés' followers published *Tratatto utilissimo del Beneficio di Giesu Cristo crocifisso verso i cristiani*, which reproduced in great measure Valdés' teachings and emphases.

Literary Review

Barbolani's assessment of Juan de Valdés as a most controversial figure[95] suggests the diversity and polarization of Valdessian study. From the resurgence of Valdessian research in the nineteenth century, Valdés has often been the object and instrument to vindicate a particular religious confession or movement. The complex gestation and birth of the Renaissance and Christian reformations in Spain and the

[90] Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, 300.

[91] Valdés died, between the issuing of his last will (June, 16) and the open reading of it (June, 20), not in August, as the contemporary Cobos said. Cobos was at a distance, as it was recorded in documents pertaining to Giulia (Alcalá ed., *OC*, xxx).

[92] Antonio Dueñas Martínez, *Juan de Valdés: Un reformador Español en Italia* (Trieste: U. de Trieste, 1981), Available in: http://www.antonioduenas.es/publicaciones/Un-reformador-en-Italia.html. Accessed: 03/22/2011. p. 1.

[93] Particularly in Calvin's "L'Excuse a Messieurs les Nicodemites." Jean Calvin, *Traité des reliques ; suivi de l'Excuse à Messieurs les Nicodémites (1544)*, intr. et notes Albert Autin, (Paris : Ed. Bossard, 1921).

[94] Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, p. 197. Caballero erroneously refers to fleeing to "Argentina," instead of Pisa.

[95] Juan de Valdés, *Dial. Lengua*, ed. Barbolani, 11.

existing sentiments concerning past religious conflicts and persecutions have become significant obstacles to dialogue concerning topics such as *Conversos*, Erasmianism, *Alumbradism*, Lutheranism, and the Inquisition, all of which affect Juan de Valdés. The unjustified acrimony and derision of some authors reveal the need to abandon such sensibilities for the sake of a more objective appraisal.[96] It is no wonder that opposing perspectives have often ignored or bent evidence to maintain their positions.

From a theological perspective, Valdessian study presents an important deficiency. Most research has been conducted from a historical perspective, assessing Valdés' religion out of biographical data rather than from the content of his writings. Certainly, Valdés' biography has been discovered, through the difficult and dedicated work of historians.[97] However, when Valdés' thought or religious classification is considered, in view of the complexity and individualism of the period, historical coincidences and scenarios must not prevail over Valdés' own teachings. In general, few authors have made references to Valdés' terms, phrases, or emphases. This rather historical tenor has failed to provide the fascinating theological discussion that our personage and his context might yield.[98] Other valuable works, on the other hand, have discussed Valdés within the scope of a movement, e.g., *Alumbradism*, Erasmianism, or Lutheranism, and their broader view has brought few distinctive personal features. [99]

Returning to José C. Nieto, whose article has prompted our main research question, his main work on Valdés (1970) gives an optimal historical review on Valdessian research, which is unnecessary to repeat at this point.[100] This research will

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[96] E.g. phrases like "vain childishness" to a Lutheran perspective of *Alumbrados* (Serrano y Sanz (*Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz*, 1903, 3), or "repeated and capital errors . . . due to his incapacity to read judicial handwriting of sixteenth century" writing in reference to Nieto (A. Márquez, *Literatura e Inquisición en España*, 1980, 13), or Nieto's appreciation of Gilly's proposed parallels between Valdés and Luther as seeming like "a provisional draft under the unforeseen impact of so many 'parallel texts'" (Nieto, *La Imagen Cambiante*, 1997, 30).

[97] E.g. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed 1966; Melquiades Andrés Martín, *La Teología Española en el Siglo XVI, 2 vols.* (Madrid: BAC, 1976); Dorothy Donald y Elena Lázaro, *Alfonso de Valdés y su época* (Cuenca: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1983); Miguel Jiménez Monteserín, "La Familia Valdés de Cuenca: Nuevos datos, *Los Valdés, Pensamiento y Literatura*, 1997; etc.

We reject the historical perspective of Daniel Crews (*Juan de Valdés*, 1984; *Intellectual Sources of Spanish Imperialism*, 1992; *De Armas y Letras*, 2000;*The Twilight of the Reformation*, 2008). The political pragmatism that he attributes to Valdés' religion is irreconcilable with Valdés' background, writings, and contemporary witnesses. His derision concerning Valdés' "less-than-divine reasons" to participate in the so-called *Alumbrado* circles is gratuitous. These perspectives of Crews demand that his work be read with discretion, distinguishing fact from opinion, in order to profit from the historical material he refers to.

[98] E.g. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*; Domingo Ricart, *Juan de Valdés y el pensamiento religioso Europeo en los siglos XVI-XVII*, (Mexico: Col. de México, 1958).

[99] Stefania Pastore *Una herejía española: Conversos, Alumbrados e Inquisición (1449-1559)*, trans. Clara Alvarez Alonso (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010); Alastair Hamilton, «The *Alumbrados*: Dejamiento and Its Practitioners», en *A New Companion to Hispanic Mysticism*, ed. Hilaire Kallendorf (Leiden [Netherlands]; Boston: Brill, 2010), 103-23; Antonio Márquez, «*Juan de Valdés, Teólogo de los Alumbrados*», (Escorial, Madrid: Real Mon. el Escorial, 1971; Antonio Márquez, *Los Alumbrados; orígenes y filosofía, 1525-1559.* (Madrid: Taurus, 1972).

[100] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation*, 1970. Cf. Also Haggard, *The Church and the Sacraments in the Theological Writings of Juan de Valdés* (PhD. Dissertation, Emory U., 1971), 39-54; William Jones, *Introduction to the Christian Doctrine of Juan de Valdés* (PhD. Dissertation, Northwestern U., 1974), viii-xxiii.

omit the multiple labels or classifications attributed to Valdés at the end of Nieto's review.[101] His article, "The Changing Image of Valdés," reiterates the four major perspectives of Valdessian study since its re-discovery by B.Wiffen and Boehmer:[102] Erasmian, Pre-Tridentine Catholic,[103] *Alumbrado*, and Protestant. These perspectives have most often sought to justify, force, or admit some exceptions to their particular interpretations, implicitly manifesting Valdés' composite thought. Nevertheless, their main proponents have still endeavored to present a single-faced interpretation of Valdés. A fifth major perspective, appropriately addressed in Nieto's 1970 work, considers Valdés as a spiritual, mystic, or non-theological writer. The literary review of this thesis will focus on authors that justified their position on theological rather than historical considerations, giving more attention to authors who published their works from 1970 to the present.

The Erasmian perspective was the first reaction to the rather Protestant picture of Valdés presented by B.B. Wiffen and E. Boehmer. The Erasmian perspective existed since Menéndez Pelayo[104] and was later strengthened by Bataillon's discovery of Valdés' *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* in 1525. Valdés' supposed Erasmianism, initially drawn from mistakenly attributing to him the authorship of his brother Alfonso's dialogues,[105] was reinforced by Valdés' patent eulogies to Erasmus as "excellent doctor" and "true theologian." The *Dialogue* establishes a clear dependence of Valdés' interpretation of the Apostles' Creed from the Rotterdamer, which amounts to 9% of the whole writing. This Erasmian perspective explained the former Protestant view by assuming that, in view of Valdés' flight to Italy and residence in Naples, his thought adopted Lutheran and mystic tenets.[106] With greater or lesser affinity with Bataillon, other writers have placed Valdés within these Spanish, institutional boundaries, at times betraying the traditional portrait of a free-from-heresy Catholic Spain.[107] Very shortly after the appearance of Nieto's new perspective of Valdés as

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[101] Nieto, *J.V. Origins Sp. It. Ref.*, 46.

[102] Haggard's reference to Valdessian research as "whether he is to be seen as a Roman Catholic, or . . . as a Protestant reformer" is an unacceptable dualism, especially considering the time he wrote his thesis (*Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés,* 1972, 1).

[103] Domingo de Santa Teresa, *Juan de Valdés, 1498 -1541; su pensamiento religioso y las corrientes espirituales de su tiempo.* (Romae: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1957); somewhat followed by Domingo Ricart (1960) who links Valdés with Erasmianism and the incipient Spanish Mysticism of Osuna, Juan Driver's (1997) as an evangelical Catholic and a-dogmatic, and, interestingly, Antonio Pérez-Romero, «Juan de Valdés and Sixteenth-Century Spanish Religious Thought as Expressed in the Religious Literature in Castilian» (University of Toronto, 1988). Pérez-Romero's comparative study, however, does not include any of the *Alumbrado* trials, including others who were not at all part of his background (e.g., Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, Francisco de Enzinas, Juan de Avila). Cf. Also Angel M. Mergal ed. *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers: Documents Ilustrative of the Radical Reformation and Evangelical Catholicism as Represented by Juan de Valdés* (London: SCM Press LTD, 1962).

[104] Pelayo, *Los Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol III, ch.4, 187-255.

[105] Alfonso de Valdés, *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma (1527)* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956); Alfonso de Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón (1527-8)*, trad. Joseph V Ricapito (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1993).

[106] Bankhuizen presents an Erasmian *Alumbrado* changing into "a spirituality (. . .) born from a doctrine of justification (. . .) strictly Pauline" (*Juan de Valdés,* 1969, 57).

[107] Longhurst, "Valdés certainly does not reject the principles of obedience to Rome, observance of the sacraments, the doctrine of the Trinity, belief in the seven sins and virtues, and the five

Alcaracian, Haggard sought to re-establish the Erasmian perspective. Haggard explicitly set out to confirm Bataillon's view, taking Valdés' *Alphabet* as a bridge and key to interpret all of Valdés' writings.[108]

The second and more accurate perspective on Valdés was the *Alumbrado* perspective. Even though Pedro R. Alcaraz's inquisitorial trial was first brought into academic discussion in 1930,[109] it was the discovery of the Edict of the *Alumbrados*, and the subsequent study of *Alumbrado* trials, that brought up Valdés' association with the *Alumbrados* of Toledo. This new perspective, however, maintained the Protestant-Catholic struggle and vindication, portraying Valdés as a follower of Alcaraz with a "Lutheran"[110] or "disordered-Catholic"[111] connotation. Some works on *Alumbrados* have defended historical generalizations, associations, and inaccuracies, denigrating its adherents with traits of spiritual excesses, ignorance, or sexual disorders.[112] Other authors have clearly stood on the institutional side and have evaluated the *Alumbrados* of Toledo from the inquisitor's view, ignoring that Valdés was related to them. In the last decades, very valuable works have contributed to a more calm and objective consideration of the *Alumbrados* and have included Juan de Valdés in their discussion –

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commandments of the Church" (*Erasmus and the Spanish Inqu.,* 1950, 79). Fco. Martín Hernández defends that Juan de Valdés "places himself at the margin of orthodoxy shortly after separating himself from Erasmus" (*Cristianismo y Erasmianismo Español,* 1977, 7). Domingo Ricart presents Valdés as "representative . . . of Spanish Renaissance . . . a perfect Christian knight . . . ideal of the [Erasmus'] Enchiridion" to be situated among the "spiritual reformers," and the "free spirits . . . representative of the third spiritual force" between the Reform and Contrareformation, accentuating in Naples his mysticism, an educated Alumbradism (*Juan de Valdés,* 1958, 13). Cf. Also Christine Wagner's "*Le Dialogue sur la Doctrine Chrétienne*" (1995). Wagner presents Valdés favoring institutional Christianity, "in a fragile balance at the edge of orthodoxy" (*Le Dialogue,* 15).

[108] Haggard, *The Church and Sacraments.* His title is somewhat misleading since his main purpose is to confirm Valdés' Erasmianism, dedicating only a rather small chapter to Valdés' concepts of the Church and Sacraments.

[109] Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Iluminado Alcarreño del Siglo XVI," in: *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,* T. 8 n.1-16 (1903):126-139.

[110] Lutheran perspective maintained by Angela Selke. Cf. "Algunos Datos Nuevos sobre Los Primeros *Alumbrados*" in *Bulletin Hispanique,* T. 54 n.2 (1952): 125-152; Angela Selke, "Algunos Aspectos de la Vida Religiosa en la España del Siglo XVI: Los *Alumbrados* de Toledo," (PhD.Dissertation, U. of Wisconsin, 1953); Carlos Gilly, *Juan de Valdés, traductor y adaptador de escritos de Lutero en su «Diálogo de Doctrina christiana»* (Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1982).

[111] María Laura Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe: élites conversas entre inquisición y patronazgo en España (siglos XV y XVI)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2004).

[112] We disagree with the confessional presentation of Bernardino Llorca (*La Inquisición y los Alumbrados,*1980), and also with that of Saturnino López Santidrian (*Decurso de Heterodoxia Mística, Alumbrados,*1981), who piles up on the *Alumbrado*'s condemnation the heretical connotation and origin of ancestral mystic deviations traceable to the first centuries of the Christian era. A similar case is drawn by Pedro Santonja (*La Falsa Espiritualidad durante el s. XVI,* 1993, *La Herejía de los Alumbrados,* 1996, *La Influencia de la Espiritualidad Franciscana en Alumbrados,*1997; *Las Doctrinas de los Alumbrados,* 2000; *La Herejía de los Alumbrados,* 2001). We also disagree with the Inquisition's reproach to the *Alumbrados* as "ignorants" who tried to find an "easier way" to perfection apart from the institutional asceticism and spiritual hierarchies, so presented by Melquiades Andrés (*Nueva Visión de los Alumbrados,* 1973; *Reforma Española y R. Luterana,* 1975; *El Misterio de los Alumbrados,*1977). All of these coincide in a favorable attitude towards the authority, credibility and perspective of inquisitorial values and accusations. Interestingly, none of them discuss Juan de Valdés at any considerable length.

e.g., Antonio Márquez, Stephania Pastore, or Alastair Hamilton.[113] Their valuable contribution to *Alumbrado* and Valdessian study, however, has been given amidst the wide scope of a "movement," providing more general traits than personal distinctive characteristics.[114] In this research, I have discarded the general consideration of *Alumbrados* as a movement. Given by outsiders to identify a heterogeneous group, *Alumbrados* was actually an epithet derived from the accusations of questionable witnesses and an alarmed and pragmatic Inquisition. Among *Alumbrado* suspects, diversity was the norm, and the study and publication of different trials have manifested their individualism and differences.

An important aspect of *Alumbrado* research has been the overwhelming predominance of *Conversos* among them, to which linage Valdés also belonged. Traditionally, the topic of *Conversos* circumscribed the pogroms of Toledo (1391), the Edict of Blood Purity (1449), and their expulsion (1492), mostly gravitating to the sincerity or simulation of their conversion and the abuses or legitimacy of Old Christianity's reaction. Generally, the significance or transcendence of the *Converso* identity of *Alumbrados* has been briefly assessed, and the same has happened in its relationship to Valdés.[115] Those who have discussed the profound identity of *Conversos*, e.g., L. Giordano and S. Pastore, have sought a common profile, paving the way for further research to assess the particular relevance and characteristics of Valdés' *Converso* lineage.

Within the *Alumbrado* perspective, José C. Nieto has strongly defended a direct and exclusive dependence of Valdés on Pedro R. Alcaraz.[116] Valdés participated in Alcaraz's religious meetings, and traces of Valdés' writings undoubtedly point to Alcaraz's thought. On the other hand, however, Nieto takes Valdés' references and use of Erasmus as a "mask" to hide his *Alumbrado* thought, which could be questioned. Furthermore, Nieto's "methodological position" of excluding any Protestant influence on Valdés is by no means justifiable either.[117] Another reasonable critique to Nieto's presentation has been his conceptual-theological emphasis concerning both *Alumbrados*

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[113] A. Márquez also presents a commendable study, endeavoring to systematize both period and teachings of *Alumbrados*. We, however, still disagree with the strength given to the Inquisitor's summaries and with the consideration of a "movement" to the neglect of any reliability on the suspects' declarations (1972, 1980). As Hamilton has already stated, "the trials . . . are a biased source, made up of accusations and denials which must be treated with caution" (*Juan de Valdés*, 1993, 109).

[114] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*; Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*; Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Alastair Hamilton, *The Alumbrados*, 103-23.

[115] A. G. Kinder provides a few lines of description to Valdés' *Converso* relevance (*Juan de Valdés*,1994, 111). Cf. Angela Selke "El iluminismo de los *Conversos* y la Inquisición. Cristianismo interior de los *Alumbrados*: Resentimiento y sublimación," *La Inquisición española: Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes. Symposium Internacionl sobre la Inquisición Española of 1978* (Cuenca: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 1980), 617-636.

[116] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 1970; "Juan de Valdés of Cuenca, 1509-1541," *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation Vol III*, ed. Peter G. Bietenholz (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1985).

[117] As Nieto endeavors in his article "*The Changing image of Valdés*," 21.

and Valdés,[118] which, according to García Asensio, forced Valdés to appear "as a Thomas Aquinas."[119] In addition to these objections to Nieto's initial thesis, in Nieto's "The Changing Image of Valdés," his criticisms against any perspective contrary to his are rather unfortunate; the inadequate form, expression, or method that he uses toward those who differ from him do not overturn the reliable historical or textual evidence to which they refer, e.g., Donald and Lázaro concerning Valdés birth date or Charles Gilly regarding Valdés' *Dialogue* using Luther's writings.[120]

A similar exclusive perspective is provided by William Jones.[121] Even though his continual references to Valdés' teachings are to be appreciated, his oversimplification of a Pauline Valdés fails to account for the influences that constituted Valdés' background. His work suffers from a lack of critical engagement, evident in his scarce bibliography. His actual analysis of Valdés' writings, however, has been valuable for our research, at times agreeing or disagreeing with Jones' appreciations.

Another perspective on Valdés has been a Lutheran one. In his later writings, Valdés' teaching of justification by faith and predestination has always given a strong ground to a Protestant interpretation of his thought.[122] On the other hand, the necessary concession to Valdés' non-schismatic praxis provoked the debate of his Nicodemism or a-dogmatism.[123] At the turn of the twentieth century, Carrasco presented a Reformed Valdés upon a rather simplistic dualism of Catholicism versus Protestantism.[124] He described some traits of Valdés' teachings that this research will confirm, e.g., the individual's change of status as one who is justified or the church being God's kingdom, consisting of those who are justified. However, Carrasco's presentation, perspective, and phraseology are clearly more Reformed than Valdessian.

The Protestant perspective was strengthened through the discovery of a considerable textual dependence of Valdés on Luther. Charles Gilly outlined a

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[118] José C. Nieto, "The Non-mystical Nature of the sixteenth-century *Alumbrados* of Toledo," in *Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial mind,* ed. Angel Alcalá (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1987), 431-45;. Also "The Franciscan *Alumbrados* and The Prophetic-Apocaliptic Tradition," in *Sixteen Century Journal* T.VIII, 3 (1977):3-16.; "The Heretical *Alumbrados* Dejados: Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz," in *Revue de Literature Comparee*, (1978):293-313; also J.C. Nieto, *El Renacimiento y la Otra España (Genéve: Librairie Droz,* 1997); "En torno al problema de los *Alumbrados* de Toledo" in *Revista Española de Teología*, T.35 n.1-4 (1975): 77-93.

[119] Eugenio Asensio, "El Erasmianismo y las Corrientes Espirituales Afines (*Conversos*, Franciscanos, Italianizantes)", in *Revista de Filología Española*, N.36 (1952):31-99; E. Asensio, "Exégesis Bíblica en España. Encuentro de Fray Cipriano de Huerga con Juan de Valdés en Alcalá," *Doce Consideraciones sobre el Mundo Hispano-Italiano en Tiempos de Alfonso y Juan de Valdès: Actas del Coloquio interdisciplinar en Bolonia 1976* (Roma: Instituto Español de Lengua y Literatura de Roma, 1979), 241-264.

[120] Scholars like Hamilton (*Juan de Valdés,* 1993, 105) or Firpo (*Entre Alumbrados,* 2000, 185ff) recognize Gilly's findings.

[121] William Jones, *Introduction to the Christian Doctrine of Juan de Valdés* (PhD. Dissertation, Northwestern U., 1974).

[122] Wilkens stated that, "Luther's Gospel was the Alpha and Omega of Juan Valdés" (*Spanish Protestants,* 1897, 67).

[123] Marcel Bataillon, «Juan de Valdès nicodémite ?», en *Aspects du Libertinisme du XVIe siècle. Actes du Colloque International de Sommières Mai 1973* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1974).

[124] Manuel Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan de Valdes: Leur vie et leurs ecrits religieux* (Genève: Ch. Schuchardt, 1880).

considerable list of textual parallels between Valdés' *Dialogue* and Protestant works – Luther's *Commentary on the Ten Commandments*, *On the Lord's Prayer*, and other minor or even questionable dependencies. Gilly's Protestant view of Valdés undoubtedly strengthened the association of the *Alumbrados* to Protestant influences, as referred to previously. However, Protestant influence on *Alumbrados*, apart from the chronological difficulty of such an influence, needs to be analyzed through the comparison of explicit topics, declarations, and emphases of *Alumbrado* suspects. Unfortunately, Gilly's references to these parallels are not free from bias and forced evidence. It is not fair to consider Valdés' use of Erasmus as a "mask" and at the same time Luther's minor use as Valdés' true identity. Both uses must be examined.

A fifth major perspective on Valdés has been the Spiritual, Mystical, or A-dogmatic understanding of his teaching. This view has also been referred to in a variety of ways through the years. Its most valuable defender is Massimo Firpo.[125] His contribution to Valdessian research is invaluable, particularly regarding Valdés' Italian environment; however, it is a historian's perspective rather than the theologian's.[126] Firpo associates Valdés with the Italian *spirituali*, which is appropriate as long as Valdés is grouped together with his circle of followers and friends. He also attributes a radical spirituality to Valdés to the neglect of his theological and biblical reasoning.[127] Our position is that Valdés' Neapolitan circle, like the so-called *Alumbrados*, manifests a common religious interest and intensity but not necessarily a theological affinity. When Valdés is individually considered through his writings, his theological and distinct characteristics emerge.

There is another implied or clearly defended view in Valdessian thought: Valdés' eclecticism.[128] This perspective is not new, since hardly any author has failed to recognize, justify, or excuse diverse traces in Valdés. The diversity of his thought was initially addressed as a theological "move" from orthodoxy to heresy, or from

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[125] Massimo Firpo, "Juan de Valdés e l'evangelismo italiano: appunti e problema di una ricerca in corso," *El Erasmianismo en España: ponencias del coloquio celebrado en la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo del 10 al 14 de junio de 1985*, Manuel Revuelta Sañudo et al., eds., (Santander: Sociedad Menendez Pelayo, 1986) 393-416; M. Firpo, *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento: un profilo storico* (Roma: Laterza, 1993); M. Firpo, *Dal sacco di Roma all'inquisizióne: studi su Juan de Valdés e la Riforma italiana* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998); M. Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados y «espirituales»: estudios sobre Juan de Valdés y el valdesianismo en la crisis religiosa del '500 italiano*, trad. Daniela Bergonzi (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española : Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2000); M. Firpo, «Reform of the Church and Heresy in the Age of Charles V: Reflections of Spain in Italy», in *Spain in Italy Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*, ed. Thomas James Dandelet (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007); Alastair Hamilton follows Firpo's perspective. Cf. A. Hamilton, "Juan de Valdés and the *Alumbrados*," In *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*. T. 73. n.1 (1993):103-112.

[126] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados*, 67.

[127] Ibid., 67-68.

[128] E.g. A.G.Kinder refers to the influences of Alcaraz, Erasmus, Spanish Erasmianism, northern Reformers, Anabaptist writings, and Italian Evangelism … "processed by his [Valdés'] own spirituality and religious experience …. more stress on its practical effects on the life of the individual believer than on its dogmatic formulation." (*Juan de Valdés*, 1996, 115); Christine Wagner implies it (*Le Dialogue*,1995), and Alcalá directly refers to the degree or intensity with which Valdés was influenced by Erasmus, Luther… (OC, 1997). Firpo appropiately speaks of "creative eclecticism" (*Entre Alumbrados*, 2000, 113-114).

Erasmianism to a more mystic thought, or from Alcaraz to Erasmus and to his Italian friends. The particular defense of Valdés' eclecticism is that his thought was complex and composite from his first writing: *Dialogue on Doctrine*. Christine Wagner has made a valuable analysis of this *Dialogue*; [129] however, Valdés' particular glosses, dependences, omissions, or emphases are not always accounted for in her work. These elements cannot be overlooked in an author who is of *Converso* lineage and who published his work under the threatening eye of the Inquisition. Moreover, was Valdés' variety of emphases due to change, compliance, or the building up of his convictions? Had he hid them before? It is pertinent, therefore, to advance in the definition of Valdés' thought, discerning the different traces and progressions of his composite but intentional message.

The development of Valdessian research has been recently shaken by Francisco Calero y Calero and Marco Antonio Coronel Ramos. [130] Depriving first Alfonso de Valdés from the authorship of his two dialogues in favor of Juan Luis Vives, Calero and Coronel have equally proceeded with Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine* in favor of Juan Luis Vives as well. As will be further discussed in chapter 5, their argument ignores the historic attestation in favor of Valdessian authorship and a forces a weak and indirect argumentation in favor of Vives' authorship. We consider their proposal a daring one in front of the abundant and reliable existing research on both Juan and Alfonso de Valdés.[131]

Concerning the textual editions of Valdés' religious writings we should refer to Kinder's enumeration of Valdés' works and editions of his works until the publication of his work in 1988.[132] To Kinder's list, we must add the critical text of Valdés' *Commentary on Matthew* provided by Ana María Cavallarín (1985). [133] Another important work is Tellechea's edition of *One Hundred and Ten Considerations* (1975). Tellechea discovered and published a manuscript of the *Considerations*, which had been copied by Juán Sánchez (1558). Tellechea's discovery shed a greater light to some particular, though not crucially important, passages. [134] In reference to recent editions of Valdés' writings, there has been an endeavor to publish Valdés' Complete Works under the direction of Angel Alcalá. Unfortunately, the press has only being able to publish

[129] Wagner, *Le Dialogue.*

[130] Juan Luis Vives, *Diálogo de Doctrina Christiana*, Intr. Ed. y notes Francisco Calero y Calero y Marco Antonio Coronel Ramos (Madrid: BAC, 2009); Marco Antonio Coronel Ramos, "Juan Luis Vives y Juan de Valdés ante Mt. 5-7: traducción y exégesis," in *Studia Philologica Valentina,* vol.10 n.s.7 (2007): 231-378.

[131] Particularly in front of historical works such as that by Donald and Lazaro (*Alfonso de Valdés*, 1883, 200ff).

[132] A. Gordon Kinder, *Valdés, Juan De.*, ed. Glaid, Oswald y Simoni, Simone, vol. IX, Biblioteca Dissidentium: Repertoire Des Non-Conformistes Religieux Des Seizième Siécles (Baden-Baden: Ed. Valentin Koerner, 1988), 116, 159-195.

[133] Juan de Valdés, *Lo evangelio di San Matteo,* ed. Anna Maria Cavallarin, intr. Carlo Ossola (Roma: Bulzoni, 1985).

[134] Juan de Valdés, *Las ciento diez divinas consideraciones: recensión inédita del manuscrito de Juan Sánchez (1558)* , intr. ed. J. Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras (Centro de Estudios Orientales y Ecumenicos «Juan XXIII», Universidad Pontificua, 1975).

the first of two projected volumes.[135] Without constituting a critical edition, Alcalá's edition provides a valuable and practical tool for Valdés' dialogues, spiritual writings, and letters (vol. 1). Valdés' translations and Bible commentaries (vol. 2) have not come out yet. Gómez Flores has also published other editions of some of Valdés' religious writings,[136] but they have added no new element to the text of Valdés' writings.

Initial Thesis and Methodology

This research falls in the discipline of History of Christian Doctrine.[137] The focus will be on Valdés' writings, considering them as the fittest source to define his thought. Particularly concerning Valdés, historical coincidences are not indicative of theological affinities. Rather, historical considerations will be taken as complementary and subordinate to his writings. The initial hypothesis starts from the basis that Valdés' teaching and writings are to be considered as theological, biblical, and spiritual reflections that intended to guide the individual to a true Christian experience of God. The analysis of Valdés' writings will require the joint consideration of its catechetical, theological, spiritual, ethical, and practical dimensions, as well as recognize their pastoral nature.

In the assessment of Valdés' thought, this thesis' arguments will not abide by the standards of heresy versus orthodoxy, of Catholicism versus Protestantism, or any exclusive Alcaracian, Erasmian, or Lutheran interpretations. Those parameters fail to convey what appears to be an intentional, personal eclecticism in Valdés' thought. Our hypothesis does not intend either to bring these various religious perspectives to an equal degree of influence. This research presupposes a genuine eclecticism in Valdés' thought, rejecting an *a priori* disguised intention as he used any of his sources.[138]

As far as methodology is concerned, this research will first portray the religious currents that affected Valdés' formative years. Research has often interpreted Valdés in association with different individuals, institutional indictments, and movements. For this reason, it becomes necessary to discuss those religious currents and individuals who

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[135] Juan de Valdés, *Obras completas*, ed. Angel Alcalá, vol. I (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997).

[136] In 1981-1983 Librería Diego Gómez Flores published a facsímile edition of the whole series of Reformistas Antiguos Españoles ed. by Luis Usoz y Río and Benjamin B. Wiffen. This is a collection of 20 volumes, which includes Juan de Valdés' *Alphabet*, *110 Considerations*, and the Commentaries *On Psalms, On Romans* and *on Corinthians, Dialogo de la Lengua*, and *Little Treatises*.

[137] As history, History of Doctrine exposes qualitative data and their relationship between variables amidst a complexity of factors, avoiding random, unrelated evidence and simplistic, casual-effect arguments. Different and diversely related factors should build appropriate, structured insights, even though at times these might not be too precise. The questions to be answered, among other things, revolve around definition, origin, beginning or end of particular teachings, dominant factors, contrary views, conditions affecting the particular evidence or doctrine, and implications for the future.Cf. Norman K. Denzin,and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (Sage Publications: London, 1998); W. H. McDowell, *Historical Research: A Guide* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2002); E. Sreedharan, *A Manual of Historical Research Methodology* (Trivandrum: Centre for South Indian Studies, 2007).

[138] Both Nieto and Gilly defend that Valdés used Erasmus as a "mask." I do not accept such a presupposition.

influenced him to a certain extent. This thesis continues discarding improper generalizations but discerning which religious currents and individuals actually constituted an influence on Valdés. Secondly, this thesis will analyze Valdés' writings, attending to core themes, emphases, and key terms. The analysis will take in consideration external and internal pressures. It will consider the distinctiveness of catechetical, theological, or biblical literature and will evaluate the stability and/or possible thought-development through the years during which Valdés wrote. This analysis of Valdés' writings, compared with previous or contemporary religious literature, will reveal the traits of Valdés' eclecticism and his intentional message to his Christian environment.

Regarding limitations, this dissertation will focus on Valdés' Spanish background. Valdés explicitly referred back to Castile and Castile's environment; he wrote his manuscripts in Spanish, and the greater consensus of Valdessian research confirms that his thought was forged by religious influences during his formation years in Spain.[139] Valdés' later relationship with the Italian *spirituali* and the development of his teaching through his followers are complementary elements and not essential for the assessment of Valdés' thought. These two rich fields deserve a research by themselves. Regarding the texts or religious currents with which Valdés will be compared, this research will limit itself to those which were relevant for his formative years and character, recognizing Valdés as laymen and not a theology student. German mysticism, the rather scholastic diatribe between Anselm and Abelard, or individuals who lived after Valdés will not be considered in this research.[140] As a third limitation, this dissertation will keep its discussion within the theological level. Only as it is necessary, this thesis will enter into the textual analysis of Valdés' Bible translations or the theological implications of those translations.

This dissertation will present its arguments in three parts. The first part will portray the more immediate influences in Valdés' earlier years: the relevance of his *Converso* lineage and his participation in the *Alumbrado* Conflict, particularly in light of the religious teacher named Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz. The second part will consider *Dialogue on Doctrine* in light of its preceding circumstances and external influences. After considering what has been referred to as Spanish Erasmianism and Spanish Lutheranism, there will be an analysis of the contents of *Dialogue on Doctrine*. This analysis, beyond the consideration of concepts and emphases, will provide a theological consideration of Valdés' use of Erasmus' *Inquisitio de Fide* and Luther's writings (particularly in reference to the parallels provided by Gilly). More particularly, the

[139] Nieto: "Valdés'later thought is a further unfolding and deepening of his earlier years in Spain" (*Two Catechisms*, 1981, 28).

[140] Cione (*Juan de Valdés,* 1938), Nieto (*Juan de Valdés,* 1970), and Otto (*Juan de Valdés,* 1989), analyze Valdés in view of Anselm or Abelard. Otto considers Valdés also in view of Hugo of St. Victor, Peter Lombard and others. None of these works, however, explain how did those influences arrive to the very different context of Valdés' traits and circumstances. We do not deny the value of these comparisons, but, because of our focus and scope, this thesis will be limited to Valdés' particular background.

analysis of Valdés' *Dialogue* will test, evaluate, and define the eclecticism of his thought, distinguishing Valdés' own voice and central message. The third part will analyze Valdés' thought as he more openly expressed it in his writings in Naples. This analysis will portray the relationship between Valdés' *Dialogue* and his later works, as well as a more complete definition of his thought and contribution to Christianity. This third part will provide relevant criteria to consider past and present views of Valdessian research.

This study portrays the message of a struggling heart, seeking to define what he understood to be the concept and experience of true Christianity. Considering our contemporary religious world, with its plurality, conversation, and dialogue, we must be able to consider a more open, pluralistic or eclectic interpretation of Valdés beyond the sensibilities and biases of past centuries. We must be able to address the complexity of pre-Tridentine Spanish Christianity without distortions and self-vindications. We must be able to focus on Valdés' message more than on his supposed party, and profit from his struggle regardless of our agreements or disagreements.

Part I

National Religious Influences in Juan de Valdés' Background

Chapter 1

The Relevance of Juan de Valdés' *Converso* Lineage

Valdés' *Converso* lineage is today a proven fact, contrary to some authors who maintain that those were "mere conjectures."[1] The characteristics and implications of such an identity, however, have rarely been assessed in regard to Valdés. The attempt to define the effects of Valdés' lineage on his thought involves considerable difficulty. There is no doubt concerning the particular interests, presence, and contributions of some Jewish families who converted to Christianity during, and after Valdés' time. The participation of *Conversos* in Councils, their linguistic contribution to the humanist University of Alcalá de Henares and the Polyglot, and eminent figures of Spanish Mysticism, constitute an incontestable evidence of the significance of such a lineage in relation to sixteenth-century Spanish Christianity and to Valdés' background. However, recognizing historical study and particular contributions by some authors,[2] research has not provided enough references regarding the particular characteristics and contributions of *Conversos* to Christianity during the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. I recognize that the *Converso* phenomena were complex and varied, including false conversions and crypto-Jews. However, in order to consider Valdés' thought it is necessary to consider the characteristics and personality of those who either partially or totally sought to be integrated into Christianity or Catholicism.

[1] Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los Conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna* (Granada: Univ., 1991), 168.

[2] For historical research on *Conversos* in Spain, in addition to the bibliography that this research will refer to, cf. e.g., Amador de los Ríos, *Historia Social, Política, y Religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal"* (Madrid: Aguilar S.A. de Eds., 1960); Clemente Arranz Enjuto, *"Grandes Conversos de la Historia"* (Madrid: Verdad y Vida, 2005); Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Cotemporánea,"* vols. I-III, 4ª Ed. (Madrid: Eds. Istmo, S.A., 2000). A great work in the area of linguistics has been written by Sergio Fernández López, "*Cantar de los Cantares en el Humanismo Español: Tradición Judía"* (Huelva: U. of Huelva, 2009). Apart from this last one, most pages focus on pogroms, offenders or victims, hostility and crypto-Judaism.

Using the few existing references of authors who have generally defined these partially or totally integrated *Conversos*, this chapter will approach two aspects of Valdés' lineage in relation to his thought: the relevance and consequences of Old Christians' hostility against *Conversos,* and the interests and expressions of former eminent Christian *Conversos*. Even though this hostility and *Converso* interests anteceded Valdés, they prove that Valdés' personality and thought should not only be defined in the context of Castile's supernaturalism, Cisnerian reforms, Franciscan mysticism, or Erasmianism, but also and more significantly in the context of his *Converso* lineage. Key elements of Valdés' personality and thought, such as his apparent so-called "nicodemism," his emphasis on spiritual illumination and internal virtue, the authority of his own conscience, and his use of Scripture did not emerge in his contemporary context of religious renewal or Humanism. These can be better defined in relation to a larger and former issue: the particular characteristics and contribution of *Conversos* to Christianity. Because of the focus of this research, this chapter will only discuss historical evidence and former *Conversos* who are directly related to Valdés, either because of their thought or because they were particularly mentioned by Valdés in his writings.

External and Internal Pressures of *Conversos* and Juan de Valdés

Valdés was far from the pogroms of 1391 and the Edict of Blood Purity of 1449; nevertheless, he had a direct experience with the social and religious conflict of *Conversos*. His mother's brother, Fernando de la Barrera,[3] was accused of relapsing into Judaism and burned by the Inquisition in 1491. Valdés' father and his older brother Andrés were tried and condemned to public shame for *fautoria de herejes,* i.e. helping or protecting falsely converted Jews.[4] His father kept some Jewish domestic customs while struggling to maintain an old-Christian reputation.[5] In 1527, on reading the *Dialogue about the Things that Happened in Rome* by Juan's brother, Alfonso, Cardinal Castiglione reacted to the defense of the Emperor in the sack of Rome by deriding Alfonso's honor: "Coming from Jewish parents, you lost it before you were born."[6]

Converso constituted an identification that caused a profound impact on the individual. The *Converso* conflict "poisoned national life for centuries and constitutes one of the most significant traits of our [Spanish] history during the high Middle Ages

[3] He exercised the priesthood in the Church of San Salvador, Cuenca.

[4] Caballero, *Alonso and Juan,*168.

[5] Cf. Miguel Martínez Millán, "Fernando Valdés y el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición," *Diario de Cuenca*, Aug. 12th (1972): 3.

Note: The designation of Old Christian was not equivalent to an objective notice of not being of *Converso* descent. E.g. the Ebionite of Talavera claimed to be an old Christian. Old Christian was also an expression of desired commitment to institutional Christianity.

[6] Letter of Castiglione from Madrid (October, 1528), reproduced in: Juan de Valdés, *Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés, Otherwise Valdésso, Spanish Reformer in the Sixteenth Century,*, ed. Benjamin B Wiffen, trad. John T Betts (London: B. Quaritch, 1865), 80.

and the beginning of modern times."[7] The later recognition of outstanding figures of *Converso* spirituality should not obscure the rejection they suffered. The honored *Conversos* Hernando de Talavera, Juan de la Cruz, and Teresa de Avila were once tried by the Inquisition. Talavera's defense of the Catholic Faith, *Catholic Refutation*, was forbidden in the *Index* of the Inquisitor Fernando de Valdés in 1559.[8] Talavera stated that some Christians hated, derided, and mistreated Jews without a cause.[9] During the first half of the sixteenth century, the *Converso* conflict was still active. Juan de Lucena, for instance, criticized the Holy Office, causing him and his brothers to be tried and condemned in 1503 on suspicion of Judaism. Notwithstanding, some of the greatest writers, humanists, Christian reformers, mystics and saints of the Spanish Golden Age, had parents, grand-parents, or great grand-parents who had been faithful followers of the Law of Moses.[10] Benito consequently refers to *Conversos* as the originators of a *sui generis* Spanish Mysticism.[11] The Jewish phenomenon constituted also a crucial element in the development of "exegetical or religious Spanish peculiarities."[12] These negative and positive aspects are also evident in Juan de Valdés.

Valdés has generally been identified as *Converso* since the eighteenth century. The weight of that legacy, in view of the slight discussion dedicated to it regarding Valdés, calls for its further research. Bataillon recognized the crucial importance of *Conversos* in the religious make-up of early sixteenth-century Spanish Christianity. He referred to them as "a non-assimilated ferment of religious unrest."[13] Some Italian historians have well vindicated the relevance of *Conversos* as a spiritual movement.[14] Stephania Pastore[15] and Mª Laura Giordano[16] have pointed to their crucial role in Spanish Paulicism and their particular emphasis on charity.[17] On the other hand, even though these two authors refer to Juan de Valdés, their broad scope does not provide a particular discussion on how the *Converso* identity impacted him.[18] Hamilton shares a

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[7] Eloy Benito Ruano, *Los Orígenes del Problema Converso* (Barcelona: Ediciones El Albir, 1976), 189.

[8] «Cathalogus librorum, qui prohibentur mandato illustrissimi et reverend. d. d. Ferdinandi de Valdés Hispalensis, archiepiscopus, inquisitoris Generalis Hispaniae.» (Valladolid: Sebastián Martínez, 1559).

[9] Hernando de Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, estudio preliminar de Francisco Márquez, ed. y notas de Francisco Martin Hernández. (Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1961), 149.

[10] Alcalá, *Judíos, Sefarditas, Conversos*, 11.

[11] Benito Ruano, *Los Orígenes del Problema Converso*, 36.

[12] Sergio Fernández López, *El Cantar de los Cantares en el Humanismo Español: La tradición judía* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2009), 13.

[13] Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 211.

[14] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 16.

[15] Stefania Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*.

[16] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*; Mª Laura Giordano, *«La Ciudad de nuestra Conciencia»: Los Conversos y la construcción de la identidad judeocristiana (1449-1556)* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas - Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2010), http://hispaniasacra.revistas.csic.es/index.php/hispaniasacra/article/view/243/241.

[17] In light of this Paulicism in *Conversos* since the fourteenth century, Margherita Morreale's statement that "one of the great spiritual adventures of the sixteenth century was the rediscovery of St. Paul" could probably be revised (*Juan De Valdés as Translator and Interpreter of St. Paul*, 1957, 89).

[18] Pastore's definition of "*Converso* Spirituality," for example, is understood in its "weakest sense." It comprehends "various manifestations going from the eclectic syncretism that characterized the views of

brief discussion on the *Converso* phenomenon in view of the *Alumbrados*, portraying some historical traits of its external aspect.[19] This presentation desires to take the discussion further, considering the diversity and internal struggle of both *Conversos* and *Conversos'* offspring.

This chapter endeavors to appraise the effect of the social and religious pressure on Valdés. It seeks to understand the significance of his *Converso* consciousness and Christian profession. It goes on to ascertain whether there were aspects of his *Converso* identity that affected his thought and spirituality. The historical evidence and characteristics of the *Converso* conflict will be further confirmed and defined through a reference to some writings of eminent *Conversos*. Even though *Conversos* constitute a complex and diverse phenomenon, this present consideration and its continuation through the *Alumbrado* conflict in the next chapter will establish that Valdés' *Converso* identity is a very relevant element in the understanding of his thought.

Old Christianity's suspicion and persecution of any hint of Judaism, and especially of *Conversos*, was clearly present in Valdés' environment. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, the Inquisition had to deal with the aftermath of its own implementation (1480) and the Edict of Expulsion (1492), i.e. the suspicion of those who feigning conversion, left the country and returned, or relapsed into Judaism. Valdés' relatives suffered the zealous animosity of General Inquisitors, and anti-Semitism continued after Valdés' demise. In 1593 Fernando de Mendoza published a three-volume work recalling the first segregation laws against the Jews,[20] *De confirmando concilio illiberitano ad Clementem VIII*. From April 1588 to 1600, the Inquisitorial Archives in Quintanar (Castile) recorded over one hundred judaizers being severely condemned. These were not exiled and returned Jews but resident Castilians, suggesting the possibility of a large number of crypto-Jews in Toledo and Cuenca.[21]

As the sixteenth century began, suspicion concerning *Conversos*' offspring was clearly present. The number of Jews returning from the Expulsion decreased.[22] The unfounded accusations of ritual homicide ceased. The appointment of Cardinal Cisneros as General Inquisitor, with the condemnation of Lucero's abuses[23] and with the Cardinal's positive relationship with some *Conversos*, brought some relief. However, the earlier "national passion"[24] continued, and the Statutes of Blood Purity were implemented throughout churches, monastic orders, universities, and guilds. Among the monastic Orders, in 1496 Pope Alexander VI approved the Statutes of Blood Purity for

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some Judaizers, Juan del Castillo or Miguel Servet to the intense spiritualism, based on the value of charity and of meditation on the Pauline Epistles (Pastore, 2010, 36).

[19] Hamilton, *Heresy ... in Spain,* 65-68.

[20] First segregation laws: Council of Elvira, 305 or 306. Cf. Karl Joseph von Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents,* ([New York]: [AMS Press], 1972).

[21] Charles Amiel, «El Criptojudaísmo Castellano en la Mancha a Finales del S. XVI», en *Judíos, Sefarditas, Conversos: La Expulsión de 1492 y sus Consecuencias*, Ángel Alcalá (Valladolid: Ámbito, 1995), 503-512.

[22] Benito, *Los Orígenes del Problema Converso, 172*.

[23] 1507 and 1508 respectively. Diego Rodríguez de Lucero was an Inquisidor of Cordoba since 1499 under General Inquisitor Diego de Deza known for his abuses against *Conversos*.

[24] George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 6.

the Jerome Order. In 1525 they were established among the Franciscans. In 1535 *Conversos* were excluded from the Dominicans. Regarding churches, the church in Seville applied the Statutes in 1515 and the church in Córdoba in 1530. The church of Toledo, Primate of Spain, adopted them in 1547. Regarding schools and universities, the Statutes were applied in the school of San Antonio de Sigüenza since January 1497. In 1519 they were approved in the school of San Ildefonso, closely linked to Cisneros' University in Alcalá de Henares. And in 1522 they were applied in the Universities of Salamanca, Valladolid, and Toledo.

The consciousness of a Jewish lineage, therefore, extended its impact on subsequent generations of *Conversos*. Social and religious animosity created an ever-present tension and insecurity. Conversion brought "the consciousness of being condemned to an exotic historical anomaly in a progressively confessional world."[25] Some of this tension and fear became evident in the trial of Alcaraz, who was an important influence on Valdés. Alcaraz was asked about eating *adafinas,*[26] "cooked in its Jewish manner … and with the attitude and intent to keep the Law of Moses."[27] Alcaraz declared that he did not even know what *adafinas* were. Considering the intense activity of the Inquisition in Cuenca and the problems affecting the Valdés' family, this environment might well have led Valdés to the service of a "protector of *Conversos*" like Don Diego L. Pacheco.[28] The association with Don Diego, furthermore, provided an acceptable external image, for which every *Converso* had to look.

The *Converso* conflict also included an internal dimension. After baptism the Jew felt "the terrible weight of an organized group of moral, ethical, social dogmas and norms from Christian society (. . .) accepting the death of a tradition and committing oneself for an uncertainty,"[29] the uncertainty of their actual acceptance among Christians. After baptism, furthermore, the *Converso* found himself in what must often have seemed like superstitious celebrations of a somewhat vulgarized religion and may well have experienced a sense of moral decay within the religious ranks, and whatever commitment he had taken could easily turn into frustration.[30] Hernando el Pulgar somewhat justified the *Converso*'s relapse: "They would follow after good [Christians] if there were any."[31] Some were disenchanted but could not withdraw from Christianity; others who sincerely pursued the faith were intimidated and harassed by a deficient Old

[25] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 14.

[26] *Adafinas* was a dish similar to a stew. Initially it was cooked on ashes during the evening-morning of Friday to Saturday, in order to keep the Sabbath from cooking labors.

[27] Tribunal de Inquisición de Toledo, «Proceso de Fe de Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Isabel de la Cruz, y Gaspar de Bedoya», 1539-1524, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Leg. 106 Exp.5, fols. 25-28. First accusations Oct. 31,1524.

[28] Caballero, *Alonso y Juan de Valdés*, xxi.

[29] Jaime Contreras, «Judíos, Judaizantes y Judeo*Conversos* en la Península Ibérica en los Tiempos de la Expulsión», en *Judíos, sefarditas, Conversos: la expulsión de 1492 y sus consecuencias ; ponencias del Congreso Internacional en Nueva York en noviembre de 1992*, ed. Ángel, Congreso Internacional Alcalá (Valladolid: Ámbito, 1995), 457-475, 470.

[30] Alonso de Oropesa, *Luz para conocimiento de los gentiles*, ed. Luis A Díaz y Díaz (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca : Fundación Universitaria Española, 1979), 512.

[31] Letter of Hernando el Pulgar repr. in: Francisco Cantera Burgos, «Fernando de Pulgar y los *Conversos*», *Sefarad*, 4 (1944): 307-319.

Christianity. Jewish conversion, therefore, often brought an intimate "existential tension (. . .) a litigious chaos (. . .) [the] anguish of not knowing clearly who one was (. . .) living with the anxiety of not living."[32] This anxiety was present in *Converso* literature and religious writings, often leading to a personal spiritual and mystical orientation and refuge. This quandary is the root of a discernible trait in diverse *Conversos* and is also highly significant in Valdés: the existential unrest caused by their limited compatibility with the institutional church.[33]

Traditionally, neither Juan de Valdés nor the *Alumbrados* have been considered in *Converso* research. Most literature on *Conversos* (also called *Marranos*, *Chuetas*, *Rancios*, or new Christians) focused on the sincerity of fourteenth and fifteen-century Jewish converts and on the nature of Catholic repression of them. At variance with traditional perspectives, the evidence of contemporary research leaves no doubt as to the complexity and variety of *Conversos*. Their experience was variously colored by politics, religion, society, economics, culture, and faith, and intensified by the pressure of an external forced conformity. Disagreement among specialized writers concerning the definition of a *Judaizer* or *Converso*[34] confirms Contreras' conclusion: simplistic classifications need to be rejected in favor of the "most extreme plurality" of *Conversos*.[35] The consideration of this plurality will clarify particular dividing issues and degrees of assimilation among *Conversos*, providing a better criterion to assess the relevance of Valdés' *Converso* lineage.

The biography of Valdés' family, even with their Inquisition conflicts, does not favor the traditional view of *Conversos*. Traditionally, new Christians were held to be mostly Judaizers whose proselytism threatened the religious unity of Spain. This traditional view justified a rather benevolent Inquisition as the only effective means of counteracting the Jews' blameworthy attitude.[36] This perspective would argue that baptism made no difference,[37] that it was just an "outer mantle"[38] or "an occasional sin,"[39] and that baptism only changed "a considerable mass of Jews from infidels

[32] Benito, *Los Orígenes del Problema Converso*, 31.

[33] Carrete Parrondo attributes their "constant struggle against orthodoxy" to Jewish mysticism, which "lives and acts in perpetual rebellion a wold [sic] which he strives with all his zeal to be ad[sic] peace" quoting Gershom Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, New York 1941, 34 (*Movimiento Alumbrado*, 1980, 32).

[34] Contreras, "*Judíos, Judaizantes y JudeoConversos*," 457.

[35] Ibid., 465.

[36] This view is tacitly or explicitly expressed by Spanish Catholic writers, e.g., Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Manuel de la Pinta Llorente, López Martínez, Amador de los Ríos, Menéndez Pelayo, Modesto Lafuente, and even Abellán.

[37] Yitzak Baer, Hª de los Judíos en la España Cristiana. Trad. de José Luis Lacave Madrid: Altalena, 1981, II, 639. Quoted by Contreras, 1995, 466.

[38] Haim Beinart, *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem: Israel National Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), xiii.

[39] Haim Beinart, *Los Conversos ante el Tribunal de la Inquisición* (Barcelona, España: Riopiedras, 1983), 15.

outside the church to heretics within it."[40] This notion, however, does not relate at all with the Valdés family.

Generally speaking, Old Christianity's reluctance to accept Jewish conversions was but the garb of envy and animosity.[41] Netanyahu has argued that the Inquisition was the product of the widespread resentment and hatred which lower noble families and urban populations of Old Christians felt towards the prosperous new Christians.[42] The Valdés family, in particular, enjoyed important secular and ecclesiastical responsibilities; his father was governor of Cuenca for thirty-five years.[43] Old Christian families sought to vindicate themselves by accusing *Conversos* of heresy, punishing them with a "quick, severe, and inflexible justice."[44] Of particular interest is Kriegel's evaluation of fifteenth-century Castilian anti-Semitism: those who preferred a traditional religion felt threatened by the culture and authentic religious pursuits of *Conversos*; *Converso* spirituality and Paulicism differed from a performance-based religion.[45]

Valdés' family, therefore, did not retain Jewish religion; however, they did not turn either to Christian radicalism as some *Conversos* did. Some new Christians became militant defenders of Christianity and most vehement detractors of the Mosaic faith.[46] Pressures and radicalisms, as Hernando el Pulgar wrote, caused "a diversity of beliefs within one home, concealing themselves from each other."[47] Contrarily, in Valdés' family, mutual support was evident both between the brothers Alfonso and Diego and in Juan's last will. The Valdés family is rather an evidence of the assimilation process of subsequent generations of *Conversos*. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, also a chronicler of the Catholic Kings, expressed that the second or third generation of *Conversos* would naturally be Catholic and firm in the faith.[48] The children of *Conversos*, as a matter of survival, would usually initiate the process. They would pursue integration, seeking

[40] Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos,* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1932), 30.

[41] Benito, *Los Orígenes del Problema Converso*, 23.

[42] B. Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition: Essays on Jewish and Converso History in Late Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997). Also by Netanyahu, "Una Visión Española de la Historia Judía en España," *Judíos, Sefarditas, Conversos,* ed. Angel Alcalá (Valladolid: Ambito Eds., 1995); *Los Marranos Españoles: Desde fines del siglo XIV a principios del XVI según las fuentes hebreas de la época*, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002). Similarly defended by Contreras, (*Judíos, Sefarditas, Conversos,* ed. Alcalá, 1995, 462).

[43] Caballero, *Alonso y Juan de Valdés,* 66.

[44] Contreras, *Judíos, Judaizantes y JudeoConversos*, 463.

[45] Maurice Kriegel, «El Edicto de Expulsión: Motivos, fines, contexto», in *Judíos, sefarditas, Conversos: la expulsión de 1492 y sus consecuencias ; ponencias del Congreso Internacional en Nueva York en noviembre de 1992,* ed. Angel, Congreso Internacional Alcalá (Valladolid: Ambito, 1995), 136-137. Cf. Similar appreciation in Contreras (1995, 461), Edwards (1985, 40), and Valdeón (1995, 71).

[46] E.g. the Jews of Burgos complained that "the Jews who have now turned Christians persecute them and cause them many evils" (Teófilo López Mata "Morería y judería burgalesas en la Edad Media" BRAH, 129 (1951): 129), quoted in Valdeón, "Motivaciones Socio-económicas," 76).

[47] Hernando el Pulgar was a Chronicler of the Catholic Kings. Hernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*,, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Colpe s.a., 1943), p.210. Cf. Also Benito (2001, 31) and Alcalá (1995, 357).

[48] Benito, *Los Orígenes del Problema Converso*, 183.

wealth and access to commercial activities or intermediate city offices. They prospered in those endeavors, due to their characteristic culture and skills.[49]

Even though neither relapsing nor militant, the Valdés family was not indifferent in their Christianity. Caro Baroja states that most *Conversos* vacillated between Catholic rituals and Jewish culture, manifesting a real decline in religious interest.[50] Rationalistic philosophy and corruption had diluted Judaism in a way comparable to Catholicism, particularly in its effects. Forced conformity focused on external symbols and expressions, and spiritual quest was not the norm. Contrarily, Valdés' uncle was apprehended by the Inquisition while serving as a priest in the Church of San Salvador, Cuenca. Three of Valdés' brothers entered the priesthood and one sister the cloister. Alfonso and Juan himself, while holding secular offices, shared deep religious interests. Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine* particularly underlines family ties and a pious environment: "My father had a teacher at home (. . .) a friend of every good Christian thing; and with the continuous communication and conversation of this one (. . .) I learned many of the things I have told you."[51]

Conversos could lean in different degrees towards syncretism, either physical or conceptual. Frequently, they kept Jewish residual elements, for instance, domestic customs transferred from mothers to daughters. Conceptually, some endeavored to explain their journey into Christianity as a non-contradictory continuity from synagogue to church.[52] Others maintained a universal salvation regardless of their confession. Others, influenced by rationalism, maintained that "in life there is no more than living and dying (. . .) like beasts."[53] Hell to them was no more than a fable created to scare people. All these forms of syncretism actively and passively suggested an "essentially uncertain, mixed *alboraique*."[54] *Alboraique* denoted an animal that had characteristics from sixteen other animals, with the added connotation of viciousness and treachery. That mixture was used to stereotype Jews, traitors of their beliefs, who tried to live both worlds.

Some particular traits of *Converso* belief were present in Valdés' direct background. The denial of or disregard for hell was a plausible accusation against Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro R. Alcaraz, and it was present in the Edict of the *Alumbrados* of Toledo.[55] Isabel de la Cruz seems to have taught that "all nations will be saved."[56]

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[49] Contreras, *Judíos, Judaizantes y JudeoConversos,* 468-9.

[50] Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*. ([Madrid: Ediciones Arión, 1962), 276-277. Caro Baroja speaks of Authentic Christians, Heterodox within Christianity, Talmudists, Unbelievers, and Vacillating.

[51] Valdés, *DCC,* OC, 196

[52] Benito, *Los Orígenes del Problema Converso*, 22-23.

[53] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 72-73.

[54] The figure was from *El Libro del Alboraique*, an anti-*Converso* satire written in the fifteenth century. It is said to have been written in Llerena (Extremadura) around 1488. It has been reproduced in Nicolás López Martínez, "*Los Judaizantes castellanos y la Inquisición en tiempo de Isabel la Católica*" Burgos, 1954, pp.391-404.

[55] Article n.1. Márquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 231.

[56] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe,* 57.

However, the absence of these beliefs in Valdés clearly reveals his development beyond the beliefs Isabel and Alcaraz and a greater assimilation of Christianity.

Examples of *Converso* Spirituality and Juan de Valdés

In fifteenth-century Spanish noble and royal courts, notwithstanding pogroms and edicts, an elite of *Converso* lawyers, clergy, and literary men emerged, who became decisive in the cultural and religious development of the country. Besides carrying out judicial and administrative tasks, they created a spiritual climate characterized by a more internal spirituality and a Pauline emphasis. In the region of Castile, two royal courts were highly significant because of their theological and pastoral contribution to Valdés' background: the court of Juan II with the Mendoza family, and the court of the Catholic Queen Isabel. These courts projected an influence and produced writings which appropriately depicted a *Converso* identity, giving a definite impulse for Spanish Humanism. Their writings give evidence of the vivid religious interest present in some nobles' houses, like that of Don Diego López Pacheco, where Juan de Valdés met with Alcaraz.

In light of Valdés' background and the consideration of both Spanish Erasmianism and Valdés' Erasmianism, *Converso* spirituality is a necessary study. As the argument in these first chapters of this thesis asserts, internal religion and the inclination toward Saint Paul's Epistles are common elements of *Conversos*, *Alumbrados* (most of whom were *Conversos*), and Spanish Erasmianism. Internal religion or Paulicism[57] is not a monopoly of Erasmus; conversely, *Conversos* clearly anteceded him, and some *Alumbrados* clearly differed from him. This distinction is crucial to understand Valdés' internal religion and Paulicism, which paralleled but came not from Erasmus.

Returning to our discussion on *Conversos* in noblemen's houses, the Mendoza family was an illustrious household noted for their religion, Humanism, and relationship with *Conversos*. They came to Castile as *hidalgos* from Mendoza, a town in the Basque province of Alava,[58] acquiring their possessions as professionals of war under Juan II. Iñigo López de Mendoza, first Marquis of Santillana, constituted the most outstanding figure of noble literature during the first half of the fifteenth century. The family was proud of its Roman origin, having an interest in culture and the classics. Iñigo gathered a group of translators and literary men, actually transforming the court into the "first laboratory of humanist culture in the peninsula," opening the way for classical culture to

[57] Paulicism is a term used in reference to the prevalent use of Paul's writings to heighten the spiritual nature of the Church and internal virtues. It denotes internal religion, but with the particular use of the apostle Paul's writings.

[58] *Hidalgos* literally means "son of something or of someone." The term originates in the *Reconquista*, particularly from the 12th century. These were individuals who gave military service and received lands and grants in exchange. In the towns gained by the *Reconquista*, these hidalgos would acquire possessions and governing positions. They were "noblemen" with or without a title (e.g., Count, Marquis, …). They were exempt from taxes and had the right to carry weapons. Initially "hidalgo" meant a significant recognition. Later on, however, kings would name "*hidalgos*" in exchange for money or convenience.

expand in Spain.[59] The Marquis charged the intellectuals of the court, mostly *Conversos*, to translate Plato, Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, and Cicero into Castilian.[60] The Marquis himself wrote different works, *Proverbs* being the most important – a code of conduct, a summary of internal virtues revealing his moral and theological interests.

Together with Iñigo López de Mendoza, Juan II of Castile had a particular interest in philosophy and poetry. Besides being a promoter of Humanism he sent bishops and theologians out of Castile, especially to Italy, pursuing contacts with Italian humanists in order to return with new influences.[61] The members of his court reached high ecclesiastical and political positions. They were real champions of orthodoxy in the Councils of Constance and Basel. The death of Juan II (1454) brought a period of cultural decay until Enrique's death in 1474. That decay was overturned with Queen Isabel's accession to the throne.

Isabel had won a civil war with the support of distinguished men, the majority of whom were *Conversos*. Those *Conversos* attached to Isabel were sensitive to the humanist values and Pauline spirituality formerly possessed by the court of Juan II and the Mendoza's. The Queen herself was particularly interested in education and culture.[62] She authorized the bringing in of humanists from Italy, like Peter Martyr of Anghier and Lucio Marineo Siculo, in order to respond to the nobility's intellectual quest. These men around Isabel participated in literary, legal, and spiritual disciplines simultaneously, as the case had been with those in the court of Juan II. By the end of the fifteenth century, Isabel was steadily withdrawing from power, and Ferdinand's close men moved her supporters out of the court. Isabel's courtiers defended the integration of *Conversos* and maintained a moderate or critical view of the Inquisition. Ferdinand's men, conversely, were more compliant with respect to the interests of the king, who through an alliance with institutional orthodoxy sought the weakening of the nobility.

The Mendoza family and the royal court around Isabel constituted the two centers which produced most *Converso* literature that could be related to Valdés' background. The works of Alonso de Cartagena, Alonso de Oropesa, and Hernando de Talavera can be selected as examples to evaluate some *Converso* characteristics and compare them with Juan de Valdés. Talavera, in particular, was mentioned by Valdés in his *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*. While there was not a direct relationship or dependence of Valdés on these writers, they are indicative of themes and perspectives adopted by *Conversos*. Their interests and thoughts, therefore, constitute references to evaluate the connection of Valdés' *Converso* lineage with his thought.

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[59] Fernando del Pulgar, *Los Claros Varones de España.* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Cordoua, 1545), p. 44. Quoted in: Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe,* 31.

[60] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe,* 32. Cf. Helen Nader and Jesús Valiente Malla, *Los Mendoza y el Renacimiento español* (Guadalajara, España: Institucion Provincial de Cultura «Marqués de Santillana» Diputación Provincial de Guadalajara, 1986), 119-125.

[61] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe,* 34.

[62] Cf. Dolores Gómez Molleda, "La cultura femenina en la época de Isabel la Católica," in: *Revista de ABM,* 1 (1955): 137-193.

Alonso de Cartagena (1384-1456)

Alonso de Cartagena served under Juan II and the Marquis of Santillana. Cartagena[63] was an early humanist, translator,[64] Bishop of Burgos, and representative of the Castilian Church at the Council of Basle.[65] He was eminent in religious and political affairs, "one of the most powerful and influential *Conversos* of Castile."[66] His coming to Christianity was through his father, Pablo de Santa María,[67] an important figure in ecclesiastical circles as well as in biblical studies. Father and son were converted directly from Judaism. Cartagena received a solid jurisprudential preparation and an excellent theological education at the University of Salamanca. By the end of the century, father and son were leading figures of *Converso* aristocracy. [68] His contributions bear the style of a jurist, a diplomat, and "foremost a moralist, well versed in classical and biblical studies."[69] The works attributed to him range from twenty-three to thirty-two, covering political, philosophical, moral, pastoral, and apologetic themes.[70] In light of the doctrinal and pastoral nature of Valdés' writings, three of Cartagena's writings become especially relevant: *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae (1450)*, *Manual of Prayer Addressed to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán* (1454), which was later published in Murcia (1487) with the *Apology on the Psalm 'Judica Me Deus.'*

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[63] Alonso García de Santa María adopted "de Cartagena" only after 1441. Reference works for his biography: Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de Conversos* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1952), http://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/i18n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1258, Accessed 26/07/12; Luciano Serrano, *Los Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena*, Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hebraicos. Serie B,1 (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Hebraicos, 1942), http://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/i18n/consulta/.cmd?id=2916 Accessed: 26/07/12. A deeper research has been conducted by Ottavio Di Camilo "El Humanismo Castellano del Siglo XV" (Valencia: Fdo Torres, 1970).

[64] He translated a "Version of the five books of Seneca," ordered by the Marquis of Santillana and published in Sevilla 1491 (e.g., *De vita beata* y *De providentia* de Seneca). He translated *De senectute*, *De offices*, and *De rhetorica* of Marco Tulio Cicero, as well as other philosophical and theological works.

[65] According to Eneas Silvio, Cartagena was "a unique mirror of wisdom," very much lauded in the papal court. The Conciliar Fathers became "admirers of his knowledge and his deeds; they would highly value his friendship." (Amador de los Ríos, *Historia Social Política y Religiosa de los Judíos en España y Portugal*, 1st ed. Madrid, 1865), 26.

[66] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 43 Cf. Ottavio Di Camillo, *El humanismo castellano del siglo XV* (Valencia: F. Torres, 1976). Di Camillo considers Cartagena the most outstanding humanist figure of his time. Quoted in: Alonso de Cartagena, *Alonso de Cartagena y el Defensorium unitatis christianae*, ed. Guillermo Verdín-Díaz ([Oviedo]; Toledo: Universidad de Oviedo, Servicio de Publicaciones ; Distribución, J. de la Cruz, 1992), 82.

[67] Pablo de Santa María had been Solomon Ha-Levi (1350-1435), a poet, scholar, historian, Bible commentator and theological writer, bishop of Cartagena and Burgos. Studied Theology in Paris and Avignon. His book *Scrutiniun Scripturarum* is a defense of Christianity of particular relevance in regard to his explanation of the Christian faith in view of Jewish belief. Cf. Particularly, FranciscoCantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de Conversos: Historia de la judería de Burgos y de sus Conversos más egregios* (Madrid: Instituto Montano, 1952).

[68] Hernando del Pulgar, *Claros Varones de Castilla*, 126.

[69] Alonso de Cartagena, *Alonso de Cartagena y el Defensorium unitatis christianae*, ed. Guillermo Verdín-Díaz ([Oviedo]; Toledo: Universidad de Oviedo, Servicio de Publicaciones ; Distribución, J. de la Cruz, 1992), 81-82.

[70] Silvia González-Quevedo (ed.), *El «*Oracional*» de Alonso de Cartagena*, (Valéncia; Chapel Hill: Albatros, 1983), 14-36.

Defensorium Unitatis Christianae (Defense of Christian Unity)

Cartagena's *Defensorium* is a key apologetic work particularly directed to counteract the Edict of Blood Purity (1449). The Edict and its theological justification by Marcos García de Mora (*Memorial*) precipitated Cartagena's arguments and written work.[71] Cartagena provided a valuable picture of the *Converso* versus Old Christian conflict, and his main arguments for the integration of *Conversos* reverberated through later writings of other authors.[72] The *Defensorium* consists of three parts, presenting a rather brief and general justification of the unity of the church, four main arguments to defend the integration of *Conversos* on the grounds of Christ's redemption, and the grave mistake of those who issued and justified the Edict. In light of its bearing on Juan de Valdés, the following traces of Cartagena's *Defensorium* become relevant.

Cartagena´s defense reflects a position of confidence, calling on Juan II and the Pope to bring justice[73] against those who intend to tear "Christ's seamless tunic"[74] by segregating converted Jews. The sharp references to Marcos García, as well as his language describing those who rejected new Christians on the ground of their lineage, reveal the aggressiveness and polarization of the conflict.

Cartagena is significantly distinguished by his new view of the Jew. The Augustinian view considered Jews as a historical evidence of Christological prophecy, hoping that through the acceptance of the implications of this prophecy they would convert to Christianity.[75] During the thirteenth century the attitudes towards the Jews worsened: they were viewed as followers of the Talmud and not of the Old Testament religion; their object was to vilify Jesus and destroy the church.[76] By Cartagena's time, Jews were excluded from any salvation narrative, being viewed as simply waiting to be erased at the Last Judgment.[77] Cartagena not only broke with this negative perspective; he favored the Jew by appealing to Scripture, to God's plan, as well as to the past and present dignity and virtue of the Jews.[78] He renounced the unbridgeable rupture between Old and New Testaments in favor of a "continuity of God's covenant where Israel really had a primacy in redemption."[79]

Cartagena, furthermore, on the grounds of their dignity, biblical knowledge, and virtue, considered converted Jews to be above converted Gentiles. His argument

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[71] Marcos García de Mora was also known as Marquillos de Mazarambroz.

[72] E.g. Juan de Torquemada, *Tractatus contra madianitas et ismaelitas adversarios et detractores filiorum qui de populo israelítico ofiginem traxerunt*, 1450; Alonso Díaz Montalvo, *De Unitate Fidelium*, 1484.

[73] Cartagena, *Defensorium*, 102, 104, 376, 399.

[74] Ibid., 101, 198.

[75] Jeremy Cohen, ed., *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to the Reformation* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 20.

[76] Bruce Rosenstock, *New Men: Conversos, Christian Theology, and Society in Fifteenth-Century Castile* (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, 2002), 19.

[77] Ibid., 17.

[78] Cartagena, *Defensorium*, 1992, 208.

[79] Rosenstock, *New Men: Conversos, Christian Theology*, 22. Cf. Cartagena, *Defensorium*, 1992, 117, 122, 123-124, 133, 182, 146, 149, 191, 202, and especially, the fourth theorem of second chapter, pp. 218 220.

focused on the internal[80] aspect of Christian experience: "We do not occupy ourselves with the superfluity of the flesh but examine the intimacy of the heart."[81] Certainly, the unconverted Jews take the external face of the law, the surface of the letter that kills. Through Christianity the Spirit, "the authentic vitalizing strength," quickens and changes the heart.[82]

Cartagena's *Defensorium* contains a significant discussion of virtue and predestination versus providence.[83] Laura Giordano points to human free choice in various passages from Cartagena's writings. She groups later *Converso-Alumbrados* together under the emphasis on the individual's free will.[84] It is necessary, however, to distinguish the Reformation debate on grace from the neglect of virtue in favor of determinism, which Cartagena opposed.[85] Cartagena stated that people "will be judged or praised not because of lineage but because of their own faith and actions.[86] Virtue and not blood ought to be the criterion for access into secular or ecclesiastical offices.[87] Following Catholic Orthodoxy, works and virtue were used by Cartagena to defend the converted Jew, and the focus was directed to an internal authenticity.

Amid superstitions and moral decay in the clergy and hierarchy, the *Converso*'s moral superiority built an important self-confidence. Some contemporary *Converso's* writings, like Teresa de Cartagena's *Grove of the Sick,*[88] expressed the deep distress of *Conversos*; kings and popes repeatedly retracted their defense of *Conversos* to appease the people and regain authority. Teresa described how Old Christianity caused a social, psychological, and ethical vulnerability. This tension portrays the *Converso*'s anguish. He was socially insecure and vulnerable, but inwardly he felt strong on account of his virtue, convictions, and faith. This internal strength could be appreciated regarding the so-called *Alumbrados,* who leaned on their own inward assurance as a fundamental criterion of truth, the illumination of the Holy Spirit. This duality of anguish and strength was certainly evident in Isabel de la Cruz, Pedro R. Alcaraz, and Valdés.

Baptism, understandably, was a strong issue in Cartagena's *Defensorium.* Echoing terms that will be differently used by Valdés, Cartagena speaks of baptism as

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[80] Note: As writings are analyzed from here on, italic letters will frequently identify important phrases or words which are significant in Valdés.

[81] Cartagena, *Defensorium*, 1992, 184.

[82] Cartagena, *Defensorium*, 1992, 280

[83] Predestination and providence was a frequent issue at the time. Juan Alfonso de Baena, part of the court of Juan II and author of *Cancionero de Baena* touched on the subject of predestination. Pedro Díaz de Toledo wrote the prologue to the Marquis of Santillana's *Proverbios*. He defended the individual's free will over against the Stoics who believed that all things came as of necessity (Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 38-39, 45). Cf. Also Diego de Valencia de León, *Tratados castellanos sobre la predestinación y sobre la trinidad y la encarnación, del maestro Fray Diego de Valencia OFM (siglo XV): identificación de su autoría y edición crítica*, ed. Isaac Vazquez Janeiro (Madrid: Instituto «Francisco Suarez», 1984).

[84] Particularly María and Juan de Cazalla, underlying the influence of Raimundo Sibiunde's *Liber Creaturarum*. Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 46, 132, 134, 135, 157, 167, 17, 194.

[85] Cartagena, *Defensorium*, 1992, 261.

[86] Ibid., 160-161.

[87] Ibid., 258-259, 287. 273, 315.

[88] Teresa de Cartagena was Alonso de Cartagena's niece (1425- n.d.), considered as one of the forerunners of Spanish Mysticism. Cf. María del Mar Cortes Timoner, *Teresa de Cartagena, Primera Escritora Mística en Lengua Castellana"(Málaga: U. de Málaga, 2004*).

incorporating people into Christ as members of his body, the church. Through Christ, in baptism, the fullness of his grace and virtue flows to people,[89] and the carnal nature is united with God through divine adoption.[90] Through baptism there is a "spiritual regeneration" which comes from Christ, provided by his passion[91] and through the church.[92] People emerge from baptism free from the old man,[93] whiter than snow.[94] The relevance of this terminology is that Valdés would use it, not in the realm of baptism itself, but in the context of a spiritual experience.

In view of Valdés' later use of perfection, Cartagena refers to it mostly in an objective sense, and mostly in the context of the law and the gospel. According to Cartagena the things of the law were brought to perfection and fulfilled by and in Christ. The law's former moral precepts hid allegories which anticipated and became perfect in the church; without the church, they were empty.[95] In that context, the cross is a point of inflection between the old and the new law. More specifically, the new law and the bond of perfection is love, most luminous charity, root of the gospel's enlightenment.[96] Perfection is also occasionally mentioned as a synonym of maturity,[97] as is more clearly set forth in his *Manual of Prayer.* In the *Manual,* perfection is used subjectively and distinguished from human virtue.[98]

Another important concept to consider in Cartagena's *Defensorium* is illumination. The term, used significantly among *Conversos*, is used objectively, characteristic of the perfection of Christ and of the new covenant: Christ as the Light of the morning star, who illuminates the universe;[99] the gospel is luminous.[100] "The intuition of our spirit," he writes, must be open to receive his light.[101] Cartagena reckons that holy doctors and pious individuals may be illuminated in their understanding, and that the Holy Spirit through the ministry of the apostles illuminated and warmed the spirits of other men. The light, however, was mostly understood objectively, centered in Christ, and irradiated through the gospel.[102]

Continuing in the theme of illumination and knowledge, Cartagena expressed a humanistic and "totally new perspective,"[103] which would be characteristic of sixteenth-

[89] Cartagena, *Defensorium*, 1992, Ibid.., 183. Cf. "Engrafted" Ro. 11.13-36.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid., 102, 196,
[92] Ibid., 231, 342.
[93] Ibid., 156.
[94] Ibid., 118.
[95] Ibid., 135.
[96] Ibid., 125.
[97] Ibid., 170.
[98] Ibid., 241.
[99] Ibid., 126
[100] Ibid., 185
[101] Ibid., 103
[102] Ibid., 131.
[103] Alonso de Cartagena, *El «Oracional» de Alonso de Cartagena*, ed. Silvia González-Quevedo Alonso (Valéncia; Chapel Hill: Albatros, 1983), 23.

century Spanish Humanism.[104] His new perspective was to unite the theology of Church Fathers with jurists and moralists of classical antiquity. More particularly in anticipation of Erasmian influence, the *studia humanitatis* in Cartagena were clearly subservient to divine revelation. Recognizing the value of reason, Cartagena thought that its light was deficient and dark:[105] "Through natural reason none can know God."[106] Furthermore and significantly, Cartagena confessed Scripture, in its "most reliable (…) literal sense," to be the true root of revelation; yet, he accepted many other true, useful, and profitable hermeneutical senses of Scripture for salvation.[107]

Cartagena's Pastoral Writings: *Manual of Prayer* and *Judica me Deus* (Commentary on Psalm 43.1-6)

It is not without significance that these two writings were re-edited as a single volume in Murcia toward the end of the fifteenth century (1487).[108] This re-edition underlines Cartagena's influence in the field of pastoral instruction, for which Villacañas designates him as "the father of all Castilian modern spirituality."[109] The *Manual of Prayer* and *Judica me Deus* (Commentary to Psalm 43.1-6) deal with prayer. Even though Cartagena's writings express an orthodox view of merit, works, saints, images and other elements of institutional Christianity, his spirituality parallels in depth, thought, and focus, the spirituality of Valdés. This similarity does not evidence a relationship of dependence; however, it certainly suggests an affinity between these noble Castilian houses to which Cartagena and later Valdés were connected: a more internal, experience-oriented, and spiritual emphasis.

Manual of Prayer was Cartagena's answer to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán in reference to Fernán's interest in "faithful and devout prayer."[110] Guzmán was the nephew of the Marquis of Santillana, a military man, politician, and member of the court. After a political struggle with Alvaro de Luna[111] and Fernán's subsequent imprisonment, the latter retired and gave himself to poetry, literature, and religion. In common with Cartagena, Fernán maintained a special fondness for Seneca's stoicism;

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[104] Pedro Díaz de Toledo, *Converso*, spiritual guide and companion in literal pursuits with the Marquis of Santillana was moved by the Marquis to translate *Phaedo* of Plato into Spanish. As an expert on the Scriptures, he would mingle his Bible knowledge with the classics (Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 37-38).

[105] Cartagena, *Defensorium*, 127f.

[106] Ibid., 128.

[107] Ibid., 149.

[108] There was a third writing, a *Commentary on a tract by Chrisostom*, whose subject matter is not that relevant in light of Valdés; it deals with God's providence.

[109] José Luis Villacañas Berlanga, «Alonso de Cartagena: Oracional de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán» (Biblioteca Saavedra Fajardo), 6. Accessed 25/09/2012, http://www.saavedrafajardo.org%2FArchivos%2FNOTAS%2FRES0024.pdf&ei=CFoXU83EOoW8ygO374LgCQ&usg=AFQjCNEg2Md9iFKSO8YuFv5kg_hi0tFxwA&bvm=bv.62286460,d.bGQ

[110] Cartagena, *Oracional*, 43.

[111] Alvaro was a man of Ferdinand's party, more attached to Old Christianity.

Seneca constituted a "bridge" between paganism and Christianity.[112] Around 1454, six years before Guzman's death, Guzmán consulted Cartagena about prayer.

Guzmán, first of all, is an example of a number of noblemen who were deeply interested in spiritual things, like Don Diego L. Pacheco during the time of Juan de Valdés. Guzmán sent a letter to Cartagena expressing his "singular devotion to prayer" as well as his great faith in its usefulness.[113] He recognized that more is understood "with devotion and love than with intellectual judgment."[114] The *Manual of Prayer* provides deep and fresh arguments whose traits anticipate trends of sixteenth-century Spanish Christianity.[115] Cartagena presents an intimate religiosity through which the individual is seen in a direct relationship with God. The whole discussion speaks of an intense internal religious life to be experienced by lay people. The perfect individual, is presented as capable to pray truthfully; he "does not have to belong to one of those mendicant orders."[116] Perfection is expressed not through vows but through a higher love for God and for one's neighbor,[117] an idea which challenged the spiritual schemes of Spanish medieval society.[118]

Twenty-two of the fifty-five chapters are dedicated to virtue, the true ground for prayer. After a typical presentation of intellectual and moral virtues, and before answering directly Guzmán's questions, Cartagena dealt with the performance of religious acts.[119] It is rather an exaggeration to say that Cartagena rejected external religiosity, or that he was suspicious of external acts.[120] He stated, however, that internal acts were the best and most important. External acts were to be considered secondary, even though they were good.[121]

Related to Cartagena's focus on genuine virtue and behind his emphasis on the internal aspect of faith, there was Cartagena's fondness for Seneca's stoicism, a common fondness throughout the country. The emphasis on knowing oneself and the goal of being a wise man were things brought from Socrates by Seneca. Seneca's stoicism emphasized the spiritual over the material. These tenets are present in other *Converso* writers such as Pedro Díaz de Toledo, chaplain of the Marquis of Santillana, and Juan Alvarez Gato, administrator and jurist of Iñigo López de Mendoza. The same

[112] It was a fondness for Seneca mingled with and moderated by a Paulicism. Seneca's thought offered an attractive model of ethics. It condemned the excess of mortification. It gave little consideration to the external or the material. It held the equality of all human beings, the vanity of riches, a detachment from the world, the fragility of life, etc. (Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 39).

[113] Cartagena, *Oracional*, 43.

[114] Ibid.

[115] González-Quevedo identifies it with the *Devotio Moderna* which was "predominant in sixteenth century Spain" (1983, 24). Juan Alvarez Gato, *Converso* writer, poet, and jurist serving the Mendoza family has been declared by Américo Castro to be promoter of the values of *Devotio Moderna* in Spain.

[116] Villcañas, *Alonso de Cartagena: Oracional*, 5.

[117] Cartagena, *Oracional*, 195-196.

[118] Villacañas, *Alonso de Cartagena: Oracional,* 1-2.

[119] Ibid., Ch. 21-22.

[120] Villcañas, "Alonso de Cartagena: Oracional," 5.

[121] Cartagena, *Oracional*, 107, 181.

traits of Seneca were found in the Mendoza family. These were cultural traits of the period.[122]

After discussing virtue, Cartagena linked genuine prayer with devotion and identified prayer with contemplation. According to Cartagena, devotion denotes the intensity of the soul's commitment to contemplate God in submission to him.[123] Linked with contemplation, devotion is the divine consideration of God's goodness and benefits, which in light of our deficiencies produces humility.[124] Differing from mysticism, and relying on the authority of Augustine, Cartagena links devotion to the mind: "Volition arises from the understanding (. . .) it is necessary that meditation (. . .) be the cause of devotion."[125] Identified with prayer, contemplation is a descriptive synonym of prayer, not mysticism. Contemplation is built upon the knowledge of sense perception and the intellect: comprehension of the divine, or understanding the essence of God, depends on the extent of rational understanding.[126] According to Cartagena, contemplation does not consist of "philosophical speculations which tend to curiosities, but …[it is] the elevation of the mind to God."[127] As Villacañas states, this contemplation does not derive from mysticism but "from the *Illuminist* tradition of Maimonides and Jewish thought,"[128] very significant in view of Valdés' disqualifications of contemporary devotions.

Cartagena dedicates eleven chapters to Guzmán's question concerning which kind of prayer is meritorious. He begins with the rationality of things either thought or expressed in prayer. Cartagena repeatedly defines prayer as the elevation of human understanding to God, the detachment of the soul from base and earthly interests, and the desire to contemplate him and be united with him; according to Cartagena those are essential elements of prayer, even when they are not explicitly expressed.[129] Union or bond with God is the greatest thing which can be pursued; without it, there is no true prayer, even if many psalms and petitions are said. This union is not understood as merging with God's essence; it means loving God, desiring to stay mentally and emotionally with God away from earthly or carnal distractions.[130] When union occurs, "the soul seems to be absorbed in prayer, bodily strength seems to depart, and spiritual [strength] seems to unite with God (. . .) [and] temporal thoughts depart."[131]

After a translation of the Lord's Prayer accompanied by a commentary on it, Cartagena addressed internal and external aspects of prayer. Even though vocal prayer

[122] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe,* 43.
[123] Cartagena, *Oracional,* 105.
[124] Ibid., 110-111.
[125] Ibid., 110.
[126] Ibid., 44.
[127] Ibid., 182.
[128] Villcañas, *Alonso de Cartagena: Oracional*, 4.
[129] Cartagena, *Oracional,* 112-116.
[130] Ibid., 116.
[131] Ibid., 141.

had its advantages,[132] it was not necessary for private prayer to be vocal. He declared, however, that "great perfection was required" to dispense with words. As to the length of prayer, Cartagena underlines the need for prayer to emerge from a love for God; its length cannot be pushed beyond the point that, instead of awaking a desire for God, it annoys.[133]

Guzmán also asked concerning the superiority of prayer over other Christian works, since the latter could hide ulterior motives. Cartagena, conversely, grounded the excellence of prayer on its origin within the individual's soul. Prayer is the offspring of the three theological virtues – faith, hope, and charity – and of justice. Significantly regarding his spirituality, reason and human virtue do not harm prayer or contemplation according to Cartagena; reason and virtue make it "more illustrious and excellent."[134] Prayer is also superior because of its spiritual riches and union with God are much better than any other good. God is our ultimate end and supreme good.[135]

Lastly, Cartagena expounds on the fruit of prayer. Cartagena especially focuses on the experience of prayer, which "goes beyond evangelical precepts."[136] Spiritual riches are more valuable than physical ones because they aim at that which we expect to realize in eternity.[137] Portraying a positive experience of prayer, Cartagena states that the great, God-granted fruit of prayer is happiness and pleasure, protection and refreshment.[138] Using terms that Valdés will later use, Cartagena says that prayer keeps, rules completely, and satisfies.[139] As prayer is offered the individual enjoys the love of coming close to God, experiencing union with him.[140] Prayer communicates to the individual a fathomless sweetness which is the beginning of a permanent joy. Through prayer God grants us the gift "to participate in the blessing of knowing his divine sovereignty."[141] Cartagena mentions even "raptures" which may vary according to one's degree of perfection.[142]

Judica me Deus is a short work which confirms Cartagena's teachings on prayer, applying it particularly to the eucharist. It is directed particularly to the priest immediately before celebrating the eucharist and to the Christian who was preparing to partake of it.[143] Cartagena acknowledges the possibility of meditating on this prayer (i.e.

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[132] It may awaken internal devotion, it serves God with the body as the prayer confesses him, and great affection and devotion may desire for the body to resonate the heart's voice.

[133] Cartagena, *Oracional,* 144f.

[134] Ibid., 153.

[135] Ibid., 164-5.

[136] Villacañas, "Alonso de Cartagena: Oracional," 5.

[137] Cartagena, *Oracional,* 180-181.

[138] Ibid., 171-173.

[139] Ibid., 173.

[140] Ibid., 177.

[141] Ibid., 205.

[142] Ibid., 205. As it will be discussed later, these "raptures" can be linked with Franciscan Piety, *Recollection*, and some *Alumbrados*.

[143] Alonso de Cartagena, "Oracional de Fernán Pérez Contemplación sobre el Salmo 'Juzgadme, Dios,' Glosa sobre un prefacio de S. Juan Crisóstomo Fernán Perez De Guzmán: Coplas sobre la muerte de Alonso de Cartagena - Cartagena, Alonso de (1385?-1456) - Libro – 1487," p. 149. Accessed 10 Aug. 2012,

Psalm 43.1-6) just before taking the sacrament; however, if this prayer is too long for that moment, the believer can recite and meditate upon it the day before or before going to church. This emphasis of Cartagena on preparation has led Villacañas to state that "its essential objective [is] to eliminate confession as a sacrament and to reduce it to a deep construction of the conscience, able to recognize true motives of actions and to produce a continual dialogue between God and the inner man."[144] This viewpoint, however, is difficult to accept, since Cartagena clearly supports a sacramental mediation of God's grace.

Parallel to the teachings of the *Manual of Prayer*, *Judica me Deus* guides the Christian to experience the eucharist in a positive light, in terms of personal confidence and relationship with God. There is a total dependence on God to discern one's need as well as to be delivered and be kept clean. This positive connotation is extended to the other sacraments: to dwell in them is a "supreme joy."[145]

Judica me Deus certainly expresses an emphasis on internal religious experience. The evil and deceitful man, from whom the Christian needs to be delivered, as the Psalm reads, include far more internal enemies – arrogance, envy, covetousness, wrath, gluttony, and laziness – than external ones. Spiritual sins, from which only God can deliver, are especially dangerous.[146] In contrast to the objective illumination from Christ and the gospel referred to in *Defensorium*, Cartagena here refers to the subjective experience of illumination.[147] Here in *Judica me Deus*, Cartagena also uses words like contemplation, illumination, union, fervent love, linked with a rational meditation on Scripture and away from allegory or traditional mysticism.[148] Prayer or contemplation is certainly a meditation above natural perception or intelligence, but it retains its propositional nature.[149] *Judica me Deus* also stresses loving God, the longing to be united with God "with cords of love that cannot be loosened."[150]

Alonso de Cartagena, therefore, presents highly significant characteristics in relation to sixteenth-century Spanish Christianity, Erasmian influence, and Valdés. On one hand, Cartagena breaks Bataillon's image of Erasmus as a prophet to whom "a religion purely spiritual" was revealed, and who unveiled to Spanish "priests and laymen," "thirsty for living faith," the water spring of the Apostle Paul.[151] Internal religion, internal virtue, non-dependence on ceremonies, harmony and yet subservience of philosophy to theology, the church as the mystical body of Christ, virtuous instead of mechanical prayer, accessible perfection regardless of vows and clergy did not "invade"

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http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/CompleteSearch.do?field=todos&text=alonso+cartagena&showYearItems=&exact=on&textH=&advanced=false&completeText=&pageSize=1&pageSizeAbrv=10&pageNumber=46.

[144] Villcañas, *Alonso de Cartagena: Oracional,* 7.

[145] Cartagena, *Juzgadme, Dios*, fol. 162.

[146] Ibid., fol. 151-153.

[147] E.g. To counteract those internal enemies, God himself sends his light to illumine the believer (*Juzgame Dios*, fol. 153, 160, 162).

[148] Ibid., fol. 149.

[149] Ibid., fol. 149, 152, 166.

[150] Ibid., fol. 165, 168.

[151] Erasmo, *El Enquiridion o Manual del caballero cristiano. [Traducido por Arcediano del Alcor.] Edición de Damaso Alonso. Prólogo de Marcel Bataillon.* (Madrid: S. Aguirre, 1932, Repr.1971), 8-9.

Spain with Erasmus' *Enchiridion*. Cartagena's internal religion anteceded Erasmus' influence. On the other hand and particularly in relationship with Valdés, Cartagena presented a biblical reasoning, a focus on the eucharist, a non-mystical but rather propositional and meditative contemplation, a rather positive, victorious experience of religion, which is different than Erasmus and more akin with Valdés. Even though there is no traceable direct dependence on Cartagena, Valdés' affinities in these regards indicates a similar pursuit and religious experience of Christianity. This similarity with Valdés highlights relevant characteristics of the Christian-*Converso* outlook, with its culture, pressures, struggles, virtues, and quests.

Alonso de Oropesa (d.1468) and the Order of Saint Jerome

Alonso de Oropesa was another eminent Jewish convert who, in reference to the *Converso* conflict, wrote one of the most important theological treatises of the fifteenth century in Spain: *Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tuae, Israel; de unitate fidei et concordi et pacífica aequalitate fidelium*. He and Cartagena stood at the level of the greatest theologians of their time.[152] Pastore rightly concludes that in Oropesa there was the energy of an interior and radical Christianity which would find "a splendid success in sixteenth-century Castile through the contributions of all those *Conversos* close to Erasmus and the revolutionary Lutheran doctrines."[153]

Oropesa's work, like Cartagena's, originated around the time of the Edict of Blood Purity; however, he did not finish his until 1464 or 1465 – and it was only a first part.[154] Oropesa belonged to the Order of Saint Jerome.[155] In 1451 he was named prior of the monastery of Talavera, having written forty long chapters of his work. He then became chaplain of Enrique IV, and in 1457 General of the Order. In 1462 he resumed the writing of the book, in the midst of much worse harassment against *Conversos*. A second part of the work was promised but never completed. The work was the first treatise from the Jerome Order since its beginning (1373) and became the definite work about the *Converso* conflict.[156]

Oropesa's writing is relevant to the study of Valdés in several respects. It further defined the pressure of external hostility. It further brought to light the anxiety and internal struggle of Jewish converts. Apart from its themes and emphases, Oropesa's writing enhances our discussion on *Converso* characteristics particularly because it comes from the context of a monastic order, a similar context in some regards to that around which the so-called *Alumbrados* of Toledo emerged.

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[152] Andrés, *La Teología Española en el Siglo XVI*, I, 259.

[153] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 71.

[154] Pastore suggests 1464, whereas Benito 1465.

[155] The Order came from a hermit movement inspired by St. Jerome, emerging in thirteenth century in Italy. They followed the rule of St. Augustine. In Spain they were established about 1370 in the diocese of Toledo. The Order was confirmed by Gregory XI in 1374 and spread rapidly through Spain and Portugal. Cf. Pedro de la Vega, *Cronica de los Frailes de la Orden del Bienaventurado Sant Hieronymo"* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan de Brocar, 1539). Available in National Library of Spain, among other lybraries in Spain, London, and Cambridge MA (USA).

[156] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 51.

The environment of Oropesa is of particular interest. The Order of Saint Jerome clearly established its total and unconditional openness to *Conversos* in 1437. It became "the Order of *Conversos* par excellence."[157] Hieronymites were distinguished by their aesthetic life, their push for the perfection of laymen, their systematic and inexorable reading of Scriptures, and their manual labor. They practiced a deep spirituality, claiming the possibility of living an intense and redemptive life outside ecclesiastical institutions.[158] The biblical emphasis of the order had been strengthened by the reforms of Lope de Olmedo (1370-1433), who turned the Order toward a strict observance of Scripture through an ascetic and rigorous anti-intellectualism. The Order constituted a refuge for *Conversos* even before the mendicant orders manifested their anti-Hebraic impulses[159] and before the clergy baited the populace into taking justice into their own hands.[160]

In 1460 Observant Franciscans gathered in Madrid and wrote Oropesa concerning disorders evident in Christianity. They said that Moors, Jews, and Catholics lived together without the possibility to discern Christ's flock from Moses' or Mohammed's. In 1462 the pressure increased and caused the beginning of an investigation in Toledo.[161] After supposedly finding some Judaizers among Franciscans, Alonso Carrillo requested of Oropesa an investigation concerning the presence of disorders in the Jerome Order. Even though Oropesa's answer is not extant, what is written in *Lumen* suggests that his conclusion denied any serious threat to the faith; with some instruction, possible flaws could be corrected and normality could easily return.[162] Three years later *Lumen* was completed and dedicated to Alonso Carrillo. Oropesa's investigation revealed that *Conversos* entered in convents with great spiritual aspirations, but they were often "a non-assimilated mass," isolated and looked upon with reluctance by their peers.[163] Between 1450 and 1492, *Converso* unrest was exacerbated by tensions and hatred both among Franciscans and among Hieronymites. In 1483, the general chapter of the Jerome Order agreed not to accept *Conversos* any longer and to proceed with the Inquisition to examine the lineage of its members.[164] In 1485 the first inquisitorial processes manifested a diversity of foreign elements in regard to the orthodox expression of institutional Catholicism.[165]

Lumen ad Gentium (Light to the Gentiles)

Oropesa's writing, *Lumen,* defended the integration of Jewish converts on account of the perfection of the church, which perfection was the fruit of Christ's

[157] Ibid., 62.
[158] Ibid., 55.
[159] Ibid., 62.
[160] Oropesa, *Luz*, 16.
[161] Ibid., 19-20
[162] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 90-91.
[163] Andrés, *La Teología Española*, I, 170-171
[164] Ibid., 169, 171.
[165] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 62.

Advent and Passion. Oropesa, as a Hieronymite and differing from Cartagena, seldom mentioned Aristotle; his argumentation was essentially theological.

Regarding the *Converso* conflict, Oropesa's writing reflects the increasing resentment of old Christians against *Conversos,* which forced a less confident expression than Cartagena's *Defensorium*. Only in the latter part of the book, Oropesa occasionally mentioned his opponents. His stronger language was used against the Jew. He called on secular powers to intervene against Jews, confiscating their goods and executing the death sentence through fire.[166] This antagonism has been referred to as "a concession to Franciscans, who pushed for the establishment of an Inquisition against *Conversos*."[167] Oropesa's lesser confidence can also be seen in his frequent and exalted references to the church. His defense had to keep itself free of suspicion as he rebuked segregationists, who appealed to the Fourth Council of Toledo and to testimonies of the Fathers. Oropesa affirmed that the church is our mother who *regenerates* us and whom we follow.[168] The church was Oropesa's hermeneutical principle.[169] The church was also the "ultimate authority"[170] on unwritten traditions or on "the use and customs" of regulations and rituals.[171]

Under the unavoidable pressure of old Christianity, Oropesa condemned four categories of dissidence: Pagan, Jewish, heretic, and schismatic. Heresy and schism came from envy and were contrary to love.[172] All evil doers hated light; therefore, according to Oropesa's reasoning, schism is caused by "impurity."[173] He declared: "I have never forgiven heretics."[174] Outside of the church, the faith, and the sacraments, whatever good work heretics might do avails nothing.[175] This compliance with the institutional church and contention against heresy and schism was forged amidst the development of the *Converso* conflict. This dual attitude should be kept in mind in the consideration of Valdés' dissident but non-schismatic teaching. The letters of Alfonso de Valdés to Pedro Martyr de Angier described Luther primarily in terms of "envy," "animosity," and "German contempt for Romanists;" Luther's "new dogmas opposed to the apostolic institutions" appeared as a secondary issue.[176] The rejection of any idea

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[166] Oropesa, *Luz* 331, 752. Oropesa refers to the Jews as:"Shameless dogs so hardened and obstinate in their reprehensible infidelity . . . embittered with diabolical cunning as much as they can be against faithful Christians . . . laboring to humiliate them as much possible, pressing on them to separate them and corrupt them . . . in the sincerity of the sacred faith and in their saving observance" (Oropesa, *Luz*, 273-4). The present synagogue is labeled as a brothel, a theater . . . "less is always said than what is deserved"(ibid., 301).

[167] Hernando de Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, estudio preliminar de Francisco Márquez, ed. y notas de Francisco Martin Hernández. (Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1961), 19.

[168] Ibid., 109-110.

[169] Ibid., 118, 435, 436, 486, 501,

[170] Ibid., 106, 218, 592 etc.

[171] Ibid., 594.

[172] Ibid., 60.

[173] Ibid., 61.

[174] Ibid., 105.

[175] Ibid., 241.

[176] Letter from Brussels Aug, 31, 1520. Reproduced in: Juan de Valdés, *Ziento i diez consideraziones. Ahora publicadas por primera vez en Castellano,*. ed. B. B Wiffen ([Madrid], 1862), 30-32.

which might suggest church schism gives another dimension to Valdés' reputed *Nicodemism*,[177] which will be discussed later. "Schism" was foreign and appalling to any *Converso* and to Valdés' vocabulary or thought.

Regarding internal religion, interestingly, Oropesa depicted the experience of *Conversos* in terms of illumination. Jewish conversions take place when God, through "an internal calling" and "a spiritual anointing" or "illumination," "softens their hearts to faith and commitment."[178] In conversion, the deformed and empty letter of the law – in its Jewish understanding – is changed into quickening Spirit through God's internal calling. It is certainly noticeable that differing from the outward image of forced baptisms, Oropesa described the experience of conversion with this spiritual vocabulary. Again, we do not claim a direct dependence of Valdés on them; however, these emphases are akin to Valdés and his early environment among the so-called *Alumbrados* of Toledo, most of whom were *Conversos*.

Returning to Oropesa's writing, the more spiritual and scriptural faith of *Conversos* at times clashed with popular gentile concepts and excesses, which bordered on superstition. Their consciences as *Conversos* suffered, and resentment began to grow among them against old Christianity. As a result *Conversos* began to alienate themselves from ecclesiastical ceremonies.[179] This struggle led some sincere *Conversos* into heterodoxy, relying on their inward assurance rather than what appeared to them as a spurious ritualism. This struggle provides the more accurate connotation of the so-called *Alumbrados* Isabel de la Cruz or Alcaraz dispensing with ceremonies. They differed from Erasmianism, even though they also resented religious "superstitions." Their main problem was not "ignorance" or the pursuit of an "easier way" to perfection.[180] Their commitment and pronouncements actually constituted a daring path impelled by a quest for God that was frustrated in front of a vulgarized religion.[181]

Regarding soteriology, Oropesa saturated his writing with the concept of perfection, and, differing from Cartagena, Oropesa centered it in Christ: the perfect work of Christ, his perfect revelation, and the perfection that Christ brought to the church. What was relevant, in view of Valdés' thought, was the particular application of Christ's work to the individual. Whereas sacrifices could not justify inwardly, and empty ceremonies were unable to gain grace for the Israelites,[182] Christ perfected the church with one sufficient and supreme sacrifice, the eucharist, concealed behind the

[177] Nicodemism is a term apparently introduced by Calvin's pejorative label particularly for those who accepted the tenets of the Reformation but pragmatically concealed or disguised their faith. This term has been generally, and we believe unduly, extended to all who supposedly believed the Reformed tenets but complied externally with the Roman Church. It will be discussed later.

[178] Oropesa, *Luz*, 667, 669.

[179] Ibid., 512.

[180] Some confessional writers have stated that, e.g., Melquiades Andrés and Pedro Santonja, and A. Hamilton. This will be discussed later in the section on the Alcaraz and the *Abandonment*.

[181] The *vulgarization* of religion is a term that denotes the fourteenth century endeavor to teach religion to the common people through a mixture of traditions, drama, processions, town patrons, or local feasts that often included human or local customs for which there was no scriptural support.

[182] Oropesa, *Luz*, 159-60.

appropriate veil of bread and wine.[183] Christ, most perfect in every way, brought the evangelical state of brightest perfection, [184] making all baptized persons totally perfect.[185] With the infusion of the Spirit of freedom, the faithful person was moved to obedience by love, delighting in God's works;[186] this is perfection.[187] These optimistic perspectives concerning the church and the individual were significant traces of those who had chosen Christianity and considered it a victorious choice: *Conversos*. Some of these tenets will also be evident in Valdés. Concerning baptism Oropesa maintained his focus on Christ. The baptized person was incorporated into Christ.[188] The individual "dies completely to his former life by virtue of baptism and through Christ's passion which works in him.[189] God's people are "Christians regenerated in Christ."[190]

The centrality of Christ and the imparted benefit of his passion are highly significant elements in view of Juan de Valdés. But not only Oropesa stressed the passion of Christ and its benefits. Alonso de Palma,[191] another converted Jew, in his chronicle *De Retributio,* [192] appears to parallel Oropesa's emphasis: "We find our resource only in God our Redeemer and in his sacred passion; for he saved us not according to the works we have done but according to his mercy and grace."[193] This testimony, as Pastore fitly observes, could have well prepared the way for the enthusiastic reception of the writings of Savonarola and even for the "ghost" of Luther which seemed to be present in the *Alumbrados*.[194] Valdés' use of this vocabulary and emphasis does not reveal a direct dependence, but it clearly presents affinities to which *Conversos* particularly leaned.

Hernando de Talavera (1428-1507)

Hernando de Talavera is another reference in the consideration of *Conversos* in relation to Juan de Valdés. Like Oropesa, Talavera was *Converso* and a prominent Hieronymite. His Christian integrity, his dedicated service and capabilities made him one of the most important personalities around the Catholic Kings. In reference to Valdés, Talavera contributes to the definition of that spirituality which was particularly

[183] Ibid., 363.
[184] Ibid., 217-218.
[185] Ibid., 218.
[186] Ibid., 164. Cf. 113-114.
[187] Ibid., 181.
[188] Ibid., 605.
[189] Ibid., 606.
[190] Ibid., 253.
[191] Also referred to as Bachiller Palma. Alonso was born in Toledo and studied in Salamanca. Little is known of him and only one written work by him: "On Divine Retribution" (ca. 1480). He narrated since the defeat of Juan I in the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385 till the coming of the Catholic Kings in 1478.
[192] Another treatise against *Converso* segregation originated by the Edict of Blood Purity.
[193] Old Spanish: "A Dios solo nuestro Redentor y a la su sagrada pasión ayamos recurso, ca non segunt las obras que fezimos, mas segunt la su misericordia, e de gracia, salvos nos fizo." (Palma, *Divina Retribución*, p. 88. Cited in: Pastore, *Una Herejía Esp.*, 70. Cf. also, Fernando Gómez Redondo, "La Divina Retribución: discurso político y texto histórico," *Medioevo y Literatura: Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval,* vol. II, ed. Juan Paredes (Granada: U. de Granada, 1995), 413-431.
[194] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 70.

developed by Castilian *Conversos* from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Talavera promoted an emphasis on charity, internal obedience, and Pauline character.

In the consideration of Talavera's biography and writings, his moral and pastoral emphases emerge as his main characteristics. Upon concluding his studies in Salamanca, he was ordained as a priest and taught Moral Philosophy for six years (1460-1466). At thirty his spiritual aspirations moved him to the more intellectual and spiritual Order of St. Jerome, spending four years in the monastery of Alba de Tormes. He was then sent to the Prado Monastery of Valladolid. There he became Prior and promoted important reforms towards the Observance, asceticism, and toward an evangelical praxis. Soon thereafter Talavera was called to the royal court by Pedro González de Mendoza, becoming the Queen's confessor in 1475. In the Court, he successfully extended his service into administrative and political areas on behalf of the Kings, but without these dimensions affecting his integrity, his evangelical attitude, or his spiritual pursuits. Through the initiative of Pedro González de Mendoza – Archbishop of Seville and most prestigious royal counselor – Talavera carried on a massive preaching campaign against the proliferation of Jewish syncretism among *Conversos*. That constituted the focus and main expression of his pastoral work.

Probably the greatest day of Talavera's life was when he lifted the cross over the fortress of Alhambra (1492). The Kings granted him the emblematic archbishopric of Granada, but the geographical move to this position diminished his political relevance, putting him at the mercy of his enemies.[195] These enemies emerged from ecclesiastical and financial arguments. King Ferdinand's men and those who favored the Inquisition and an Old Christianity resented Talavera's didactic procedures and tolerance. His pastoral work ceased in 1499, with the arrival of Cardinal Cisneros to Granada.

Talavera's work was distinguished by his respectful and catechetical methods towards Jews, Muslims, and *Conversos*. That was the fruit of his *Converso* traits: a Pauline emphasis, a preference for the internal side of religion, and a stress on charity. In the letter which introduces *Catholic Refutation*, he stated that "heresies should not be removed, refuted, and corrected through punishment and scourges but through Catholic and theological arguments, according to the doctrine of the Holy Apostles." [196] Talavera's position could well have been instrumental in the delay of the Inquisition's commencement.[197] His attitude entered in conflict with the mendicant orders who "were for some time struggling to establish a repressive institution."[198] Talavera, nonetheless, was in favor of the death penalty for impenitent judaizers.[199] Talavera's image is that of

[195] Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, 12.

[196] Ibid., p. 68. Therein the title of the good biography by Isabella Iannuzzi, *El poder de la palabra en el siglo XV: Fray Hernando de Talavera* ([Valladolid]: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2009). That more open position was shared by the so called *Isabeline party* of *Conversos*: Fernán Alvarez de Toledo, Fernando el Pulgar, and Cardinal Pedro G. de Mendoza among others.

[197] Sixtus IV issued the bull in 1478, but the first inquisitor was named for Sevile in September 1480. The Inquisition was fully established in 1481.

[198] Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, 7.

[199] Judaizers were "guilty of death;" they should "die for it," if they don't repent. (Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, ch. 44).

an "untiring preacher to Moors and *Conversos*, an educator of children and a passionate catechist (. . .) the ideal bishop (. . .) able to set the teachings of Paul the Apostle as the essential reference of all diocesan activity."[200]

When Cisneros arrived in Granada, he demolished Talavera's efforts in a few weeks, forcing conversions and multitudinous baptisms. By the end of 1505 Inquisitor Diego Rodriguez Lucero imprisoned Talavera's relatives and co-workers, forcing them to confess unfeasible accusations.[201] Talavera's reluctance in regard to the Inquisition was distorted into him constituting "the summit of a dark organization destined to preach throughout the kingdom the Law of Moses, calumnies adorned with minute details among which there were acts of devilish magic and orgies of witchcraft."[202] Talavera died on the brink of his vindication.

Talavera was soon recognized as a model of Christianity by those who desired church reform. The news of his subsequent vindication reached the immediate context of Juan de Valdés. Talavera's agent, Peter Martyr of Anghier, was aware of General Inquisitor Deza's abuses against Talavera and other *Conversos*.[203] Moreover, in his letter to the Count of Tendilla, Peter expressed his respect and admiration for Talavera.[204] Peter described the multitude attending Talavera's funeral, the people craving for relics from him, and the first healing miracles that took place –which Peter undoubtedly thought were genuine. In reference to the Valdés family, Peter was responsible for the education of the nobility in Castile. Wiffen and Boehmer attribute to him the education of both Alfonso and Juan de Valdés.[205] Pedro's closeness to them, especially to Alfonso, is evident in Alfonso's letters as he travelled to Aachen with the royal court for the crowning of Charles V.[206]

During Juan de Valdés' formative years, Hernando de Talavera still remained as a symbol of an important group of individuals who desired church reform. In his *Dialogue*, Juan de Valdés refers to Talavera as a pious figure; nevertheless, their pastoral perspectives were totally different, as Talavera's *Brief Doctrine* obviously manifests.[207] As will be clearly evident in the analysis of *Dialogue on Doctrine*, the

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[200] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 157. For more information concerning the influence of the myth of Archbishop of Granada in the sixteenth cent. Cf. Michelle Olivari, Hernando de Talavera I un tractat inédit de Diego Ramirez de Villaescusa, *Manuscrits. Revista d'Historia Moderna,* 17 (1999): 39-56. Cited in Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 155.

[201] Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, 14.

[202] Ibid., 16.

[203] Ibid., 15-17.

[204] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 158.

[205] Benjamin B. Wiffen, *Life and Writings of Juán de Valdés.*

[206] Letter of Alfonso de Valdés to Pedro Martir from Brussels Aug. 31, 1520, from Aix-la Chapelle, Oct. 25, 1520, and from Worms May 13, 1521. Reproduced in: Caballero, *Alfonso and Juan de Valdés*, 1995, 292-307. Cf. Letter of Peter Martyr of Anhier to his pupils, the Marquises of Velez and Mondejar, Sept. 18, 1520 in Wiffen, *Life and Writings,* 30.

[207] Talavera, *Brief and very profitable confessional Christian doctrine: Concerning restitution of harm and evils, communion, against murmuring and maledicence, concerning ceremonies and the mass, concerning dressing and shoe wearing, concerning how to ordain and occupy one's time,* Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, 1496. Available in: http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/biblioteca/Breve%20y%20muy%20provechosa%20doctrina%20cristiana%20Confesional.%20Del%20restituir%20da%C3%B1os%20ymales.%20Del%20comulgar.%20Contra%20el

reference to Talavera speaks of Valdés' eclecticism: he used diverse sources and influences in as much as they were useful to communicate his message in one or another aspect. Valdés' use, however, did not mean identification or affiliation. For the consideration of Talavera and the *Converso* phenomenon in relation to Juan de Valdés, Talavera's *Catholic Refutation* is sufficiently representative.

Catholic Refutation

Catholic Refutation is a defense of traditional Catholicism against alleged Jewish syncretism. The significance of this writing to *Conversos* and Juan de Valdés lays in the fact that Talavera was a fully assimilated Catholic and the heretic he rebukes was a non-assimilated, syncretistic *Converso*. *Catholic Refutation* is addressed to this heretic labeled as "the Ebionite," someone who evidently had reacted against Talavera's preaching campaign of 1478. This Ebionite had expressed his views in a small pamphlet that reached the Queen's hands. The Queen probably gave it to Talavera in her visit to Valladolid during the first months of 1481. Before the year was over Talavera completed *Catholic Refutation* as his response. Its publication, however, was delayed until 1487 in Tormes, Salamanca. This delay and its later prohibition in the *Index* of Fernando Valdés (1559) were probably caused by its expressed reluctance to the Inquisition and by Talavera's conflict with the Holy Tribunal.

The book reveals the urgency of Talavera's response seeing the first proceedings of the Inquisition. As Márquez indicates, its style lacks the polish and care which Talavera's more literary works manifest.[208] Its arguments revolve around the fulfillment and obsolescence of the law through the coming of Christ and the New Testament gospel. Talavera also deals in detail with the proposals or criticisms of the Ebionite in regards to Catholicism. Talavera's defense followed some of Oropesa's tenets: a Pauline emphasis, reference to an internal Christianity, and a stress on love for God. Differing from Cartagena and Oropesa, Talavera denied that *Conversos* were superior to Gentile Christians; Chaldeans, Greeks, Latins, Romans and even Arabs were superior to Jews in some aspects.[209] This treatment of the Jew also constituted a sign of Talavera's assimilation of traditional Christianity.

One of the great contributions of *Catholic Refutation* is the description of the heretic's syncretism. To begin with, the heretic addressed by Talavera omitted his name because of fear.[210] The heretic, being *Converso*, declared himself to be an old Christian[211] from the clergy, and his arguments may well have proceeded from an

%20murmurar%20y%20el%20maldecir.%20De%20las%20ceremonias%20de%20la%20misa.%20Del%20vestir%20y%20calzar.%20De%20c%C3%B3mo%20ordenar%20y%20ocupar%20el%20tiempo%20%20%20/qls/Talavera,%20Hernando%20de%20(1428%201507)/qls/bdh0000177117;jsessionid=28E17532D967B3377C3C5041B2D377DA . Accessed May 15, 2014.

[208] Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, 48.

[209] Ibid., Ch. 33.

[210] Ibid., 74.

[211] Evidently expressing a desire or confession of *true* Christianity.

ecclesiastical knowledge.[212] He stated that *Conversos* were "the true followers of Christ," because they followed both the law and the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and the latter without Gentile customs and rituals.[213] The heretic claimed that, "many are called but few are chosen;" whereas many followed a gentile-tainted Christianity, the Ebionite and his following represented "the few chosen."[214] The Ebionite assumed a supernaturally-given authority; he had a fearful experience with a great voice that promised to put in his mouth the words to say.[215] His arguments, moreover, arose from a literal interpretation of Scripture. He had a self-confident understanding of "how the desired end is to be reached,"[216] and he was open to discuss it with Talavera if he would only agree to argue from Scripture, literally and without "syllogisms."[217]

Typical of Jewish syncretism, the Ebionite retained some Mosaic regulations concerning daily life,[218] the defense of the Law of Moses as the foundation principle of salvation,[219] and a resistance to the belief in the Trinity. More significant, however, was the support that the Ebionite found in the literal understanding of Scripture, by which he revealed a more Rabbinical approach to the sacred text.[220] The Ebionite claimed that, besides the use of the Old Testament,[221] the church had borrowed other feasts, symbols, and commandments for her liturgy and ordinances.[222] Without the law, he maintained, the church would have nothing "with which to be ruled or illuminated."[223] These issues reveal Jewish concepts and customs which *Conversos* had especial difficulty in rejecting, and which sometimes were carried over into their Christian profession.

The Ebionite thought *Conversos* more closely followed God's commands since they kept better the doctrine and commandments of Jesus Christ. His arguments were based on Judaic rules, literal interpretations of Scripture, and moral evaluations. According to him, church buildings were full of idols and dead bodies.[224] Images were but a mockery and a trick to get money,[225] and burying the dead within church walls contaminated the place, satisfying only the covetousness of the clergy; those practices constituted simony and sacrilege.[226] Gentile Christians, in contrast to *Conversos***,** were ignorant of the Old Testament and pursued vanities, making gods and goddesses among whom to divide their faith; these things were inadmissible for new Christians.[227] The Ebionite's literality, for instance, forbade public prayer, arguing from the Sermon on the

[212] Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, 30. Fco. Márquez supports this perspective.
[213] Ibid., ch.48, p. 177.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid., ch. 3 Cf. Intr. Letter p. 76, 78.
[216] Ibid., 183.
[217] Ibid., ch. 76, p.238.
[218] Ibid., ch. 30
[219] Ibid., ch.20, p. 121.
[220] Cf. Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, ch. 71, 72.
[221] Ibid., ch 24.
[222] Ibid., ch.22, p.129 and ch. 23, p. 131.
[223] Ibid., ch. 26, p. 135.
[224] Ibid., ch.47, p. 220
[225] Ibid., ch. 54.
[226] Ibid., ch. 64.
[227] Ibid., 149.

Mount.[228] He said that the evangelical law could not be so perfect or good, since Christians themselves do not keep it.[229] The Ebionite defended that, contrary to their faith, Christians do not love their enemies.[230] They are, in fact, always involved in contentions.[231] Pope, cardinals … who guided and ruled the church were the first who transgressed evangelical doctrine as well as their oaths and promises; they lived dissolutely.[232] Those unworthy priests, the Ebionite defended, could neither bind nor absolve.[233]

These arguments from the Ebionite provide a clearer image concerning the kind of ceremonialism against which these unassimilated *Conversos* contended. In view of the *Alumbrados*, most of whom were *Conversos*, it is noteworthy to consider that this resentment against rituals and images differs from the emptiness or helplessness criticized by Erasmus.[234] Erasmus did not deride ceremonies themselves; in fact, he lauded the sacraments.[235] He resented "those who despising the spirit, trusted in ceremonies."[236] This non-ceremonialism will be clarifying in the analysis of Pedro R. Alcaraz's and Valdés' thought; it will define Valdés' arguments in distinction from Erasmus'.

Talavera's response focused on the difference between the Mosaic law and the gospel, followed Oropesa's arguments and appealed to multiple authorities. Talavera's arguments referred to the new, spiritual, and deeper sense of morals, the development of dogmas, sacraments, ceremonies, or the spiritual blessings over the physical Old Testament ones.[237] Talavera maintained the stress on love as the root and foremost virtue and perfection which contrasted with the Old Testament:[238] Christians "receive the holy evangelical law … with charity and love, and they keep it … with volition and delight," not due to force and suffering. The New Testament, therefore, perfected the Mosaic law internally with love[239] and externally with church sacraments, ceremonies, Catholic customs, and vows.[240] The heavy yoke of the law, however, should not be put on the neck of Christians.[241] The old "letter" of the law kills those who try to keep it.[242] Gentile Christians are now the true Israel fighting against the temptations of the devil, the world, and the flesh.[243]

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[228] Ibid., 183.
[229] Ibid., ch. 14, p. 112; ch. 32, p.150; ch.68, p. 220.
[230] Ibid., ch. 49.
[231] Ibid., ch. 51.
[232] Ibid., ch. 47.
[233] Ibid., ch. 69, p. 221.
[234] E.g. Erasmus even conceded to relics. Erasmo, *El Enquiridion, ed. D. Alonso*, 468.
[235] E.g. Erasmus, *Paraclesis*, 468. Cf. the translator of *Enchuiridion* (Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 281).
[236] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 413. Cf. Ibid 228, 259.
[237] Ibid., ch. 12, 87; Cf. p.91; ch. 12 bis, p.106.
[238] Ibid., ch. 12, p.86-7; ch. 2, p.76.
[239] Ibid., ch. 12 bis, p.100, 101, 105.
[240] Ibid., ch. 12, p. 88.
[241] Ibid., Prol. p. 72.
[242] Ibid., ch. 13, p. 112.
[243] Ibid., ch. 31, p. 147.

Talavera's perspective on knowledge and illumination included the supernatural dimension referred to by Cartagena and Oropesa. The gospel is not a matter of excellent words but of power, so that faith will not be based on human wisdom but on the power of God.[244] Christians dwell in the evangelical law and in Catholic ceremonies because of an "infused faith," which according to Paul is a gift of God, mercifully given to whom he wants.

The twentieth chapter of Talavera's work contained a significant section on illumination. For both the Ebionite and Talavera, illumination and salvation depended on "true principles."[245] The Ebionite held the Mosaic law and its commandments to be those principles. Talavera, on the contrary, included in those principles not only the articles of the Athanasian creed,[246] but "everything that the Holy Mother Catholic Church has constituted and ordained."[247] According to Talavera, illumination was received at baptism, unless the individual was pretending. The baptized was illuminated in order to discern how to keep the church's commandments. He received faith inwardly and was outwardly taught the doctrine of the church.[248] The Holy Catholic Faith purified and cleansed the heart with its bright light.[249] This propositional foundation of illumination, both in Talavera and in the Ebionite, clearly parallels Alcaraz's and Valdés' concepts, distinguishing them from the traditional non-propositional mysticism.

Talavera's defense of orthodoxy is significant. He not only derided the Ebionite and denounced Jewish observances; he defended that which both Cartagena and Oropesa had pointed to as obstacles to *Conversos*.[250] Talavera maintained that having more devotion to an old image or church than to a new one was neither an error nor an inconvenience.[251] He favored miracles performed by sacred images, such as being able to laugh, cry, or sweat. He had to recognize that there was some excess in it: "Not all of it is frivolity or fantasy, much less idolatry or heresy."[252] He favored all paraphernalia of ecclesiastical vulgarization.[253] Concerning Mary, differing from Cartagena or Oropesa, there is an unquestionable and obvious increase of references to her, her merits, and her intercession. In his defense of Catholicism, Talavera favored visible impositions on Jews, i.e. that Jews be required to live separately and be barred from certain offices, and that new *Conversos* should occupy themselves in devout singing during the mass on Saturdays in praise of Mary.[254]

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[244] Ibid., ch. 5 p. 80.
[245] Ibid., ch. 20 p. 121.
[246] Ibid., ch. 20, p.121-124.
[247] Ibid., ch.20.
[248] Ibid., ch. 44, p.170.
[249] Ibid., ch. 77, p.242.
[250] E.g. ritualism, saints, and images (Ibid., ch.27, 137.ff; ch.29,145; ch.55, 192.ff).
[251] Ibid., ch. 56, p.196.
[252] Ibid., ch. 53, p.159; ch.54, p.191.
[253] He believed in the intrinsic power of crosses placed in roads or at the entrances of cities and villages. Before such crosses, demons and invisible enemies flee and are thereby impeded from doing any harm (Ibid., ch. 57, p. 199).
[254] "So that there is no suspicion that they keep the Sabbath" (Ibid., ch.42 p.167).

Talavera, therefore, manifested a *Converso* spirituality which was absolutely integrated into the forms, objects, and concepts of Old Christianity and church dogma. Furthermore, Talavera, like Oropesa, defended an intense Christology.[255] Talavera stressed the Holy Spirit and his actual work performed in the Christian's heart.[256] He exalted loving God in the obedience and experience of the Christian.[257] He favored private prayer, so that the soul "can more freely rise up to think on our Lord, asking and supplicating him with all affection."[258] Certainly, as Márquez states, "his conception of a Christian profession, purified from earthly dross and of Pauline orientation, intimate and evangelical," will certainly appear in Franciscan piety and in Juan de Ávila.[259] To identify Talavera as "almost Erasmian,"[260] however, means to obviate the main thrust of Erasmus' writings: his sharp criticism of ritualism and of the spiritual decay of institutional Christianity. It is far more accurate to say that Talavera is the image of "a Jewish convert fully assimilating Christianity."[261]

Hernando de Talavera and his *Impugnation* provide significant insights into understanding Valdés' background and thought. On one hand, the portrait of Jewish syncretism provided by Talavera, regarding the Ebionite, depicts an emphasis on Scripture in its literal understanding, a subjective consciousness and certainty of God's ways, a rejection of saints to which *Conversos* leaned. These tenets were present in different degrees in the *Converso-Alumbrados* of Valdés' background and in his own teaching. On the other hand, another valid contribution from this discussion is the significance of Valdés recognizing the religious figure of Talavera in his *Dialogue*[262] while essentially differing from his ceremonial religion. This Valdessian use of Talavera speaks of his eclecticism: willing to use any source or religious figure inasmuch as it or he could contribute to his message, regardless clear differences that could exist between them. Ignoring this principle in Valdés would lead to inaccurate associations and interpretations of his thoughts.

[255] "In the faith, which we have from him, and by his merit, our sacrifices, offerings, and good Works are accepted. Thereby, at the end of our prayers we conclude *per Dominum nostrum Jesuchristum*." (Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*, ch. 22, p. 130).

[256] E.g. "New Testament law written in the heart by the feather of the Holy Spirit," (Ibid., ch. 12 p. 101) or "the graces and virtues should help us to serve God well; they were given by the Holy Spirit after Jesus Christ was glorified" (Ibid., ch. 13, p.109).

[257] For the greater benefits, for redeeming us from hell, for the glory of heaven, for the knowledge greater of his sovereign goodness … "we should love more and more . . . without any regards to profit or benefit" (Ibid., ch. 12., 87-88).

[258] Ibid., ch. 52, p. 184.

[259] Ibid., 40.

[260] Fco. Márquez thinks so of Talavera, Ibid., 39,53-54.

[261] Ibid., 50.

[262] Valdés, DDC, OC, 101.

Traces of Juan de Valdés' *Converso* Lineage in his Thought

The historical, theological, and pastoral considerations of this chapter have endeavored to define the *Converso* struggle, identity, and spirituality more precisely than "a non-assimilated ferment of religious unrest,"[263] or "an intense spiritualism, based on the value of charity and the meditation on the Pauline Epistles."[264] Taking into account the great diversity of *Conversos*, to consider them as a "movement" would constitute an inadequate generalization. On the other hand, the next chapters of this research will use terms such as *Converso* interests or spirituality particularly in reference to the coincident religious emphases found in those who in different degrees desired to be integrated in Christianity.

The discussions of this section have expressed the nature of the *Converso* conflict, its implications as to the *Converso*'s external and internal pressures, and its presence in Valdés' formative years. Valdés' family was scourged by inquisitorial proceedings, and while the Edict of Blood Purity was spreading through Orders, universities, and schools, Juan de Valdés went to a protector of *Conversos* who was deeply interested in a deeper spiritual religion. It is significant that most assimilated *Conversos* like Talavera were unable to convince Old Christianity of their sincerity and orthodoxy; Old Christianity was openly or latently suspicious and ready to act against them. There was a social pressure for an outward conformity and, most significantly, an internal struggle in any *Converso* who would sincerely embrace Christianity.

The pressures of *Conversos* affected at least two things, though with different intensities: their religion and their thought. In relation to Valdés, amidst the great variety of *Conversos*, we particularly refer to those with a considerable sincere Christian profession but who were not absolutely assimilated. Their religion turned inward; that could not be questioned. Virtue did not depend on lineage. *Conversos*, therefore, focused on virtue and on the Spirit's work in the individual. They turned into having somewhat mystic overtones but always grounded in Scripture and reason. They expressed a personal relationship with God in terms of confidence, assurance, and fullness, desiring to be united with God through love. Their tenets did not include the common pessimism of unavoidable sins and threats of purgatory, which was the pastoral focus of the confessional. Their more scriptural devotion was not based on human compassion and imagination.

Concerning their thought, *Conversos* found it difficult to ignore some of their identifying traits, which actually enhanced Christianity as they converted. Their knowledge of Scripture, their absence of Gentile superstitions and excesses, their higher morals, their intellectual and administrative capacities, their faithfulness to their identity multiplied their value as they approached God more spiritually through the mysteries of the New Testament. They stressed the difference between the Old and New Covenants

[263] Cf. Footnote n. 12. (Bataillon).
[264] Cf. Footnote n. 16 (Pastore).

with a particular emphasis on the spiritual and effectual transformation of the individual. It is highly significant, considering that Valdés most probably had been taught by an admirer of Talavera, that even though Valdés centered the Christian's transformation as fruit of a spiritual experience, he retained the spiritual effect of baptism as Talavera described it.

The teachings of Cartagena, Oropesa, Talavera, and the Ebionite have brought important elements to define Valdés' religious background and his degree of assimilation into Christianity. Cartagena, confident in appealing to kings and popes, went the furthest in this particular *Converso* piety. He spoke of perfection regardless of habits, of communion with God without the mediation of the church, of elevating the soul to a love-union with God without referring to saints, images, ceremonies, or Mary. Cartagena's writings disavow the claim that Spanish Paulicism came from Erasmian influence. On the other hand, Talavera, even though maintaining an internal emphasis on virtue, circumscribed his religion in Old Christian schemes, unlike Valdés. Different than Cartagena or Talavera, the Ebionite constitutes a valuable example of Judeo-Christian syncretism; claiming to lead a group of true followers of Christ (*Conversos*), he actually stood on heterodox grounds. It needs to be noted that the Ebionite's degree of non-assimilation was directly proportional to the supernatural, spiritual authority that the Ebionite claimed. Some traits of the Ebionite's syncretism seem to resemble some tenets professed by the more assimilated, but not fully integrated, *Alumbrados*, who constituted a direct influence on Valdés. Isabel de la Cruz's and Alcaraz's references to universal salvation, the denial of hell, and non-ceremonialism need to be read within the background of their *Converso* lineage, and not of any Erasmian influence. Their independence from institutional Christianity, their self-assumed authority, and their rather literal reading of the sacred text, both in Alcaraz and later in Valdés, reflect the unassimilated, typical identity of some *Conversos*.

The consideration of the feeling-oriented and mystic overtones of *Converso* spirituality, particularly in individuals under pressure like Cartagena and Oropesa, yields interesting parallels. The spiritual description of conversion, the perfection brought by Christ and applied to the heart through the gospel, and the illumination of the Holy Spirit are expressions of an individual questioned for his *Converso* lineage and thoughts, which differed from institutional Christianity. Valdés may not have directly depended on these conversos, but he shared similar personal conditions, interests, and perspectives, valuable to understanding the relevance of Valdés' *Converso* lineage to his thought. Even though we could assume some conclusions about Valdés as *Converso*, it is necessary to consider the *Alumbrado* conflict and Valdés' participation in it to more specifically appraise the impact of his *Converso* legacy. The *Alumbrados* were mostly of *Converso* lineage, and they constitute relevant examples to evaluate Valdés.

Chapter 2

Alumbrados of Toledo and Juan de Valdés (I): Jewish-*Converso* Prophets and *Alumbrado* Disorders within Catholic Orthodoxy

The participation of Juan de Valdés in Pedro R. Alcaraz's meetings, as well as the affinities between Valdés, Alcaraz, and the *Alumbrado* conflict in general, justify that most research on *Alumbrados* has referred in some proportion to Juan de Valdés. The twentieth-century discoveries of the Edict of Toledo against the *Alumbrados* (1525) and the Trial of Alcaraz substantiated conceptual coincidences that demanded a necessary revision of former Erasmian or Protestant perspectives about Valdés.[1] On the other hand, *Alumbrado* research has also needed to grow from generalizations to the consideration of individuals. The general association of Valdés with the so-called movement of the *Alumbrados* causes confusing associations of Valdés with Melchor (the first supposed *Alumbrado*), with Franciscan spirituality and the initial Spanish Mysticism of Pedro de Osuna, or with morally questionable desires in association with Francisca Hernández. Furthermore, the clearly questionable testimonies of the *Alumbrados* Francisca Hernández and Diego Hernández identified Juan de Valdés and a number of individuals with an *illuminist* conspiracy, differently associated with heresy and Lutheranism, which at times has been taken as reliable. Other researchers have used the Edict of Toledo (1525) or the inquisitorial summaries of Alcaraz's trial as the definition of the *Alumbrados* and, therefore, influence and background of Valdés. These inquisitorial sources most often present the accuser's distorted, inconclusive approximation to the suspect's thought as well as the prosecution's pragmatic view to suppress the supposed offense. Because of these confusing generalizations and their direct implications on Valdés, this research will enter into the phenomena of *Alumbradism*, analyzing and differentiating the individuals and influences that actually constituted Valdés' religious background and, therefore, the particular connotation and understanding of some of his tenets.

Juan de Valdés has been differently associated with the *Alumbrados* of Toledo. José C. Nieto presented an exclusive relationship of dependence of Valdés on Pedro R. Alcaraz. Antonio Márquez, relying on the inquisitorial summaries of Alcaraz's trial, describes the *Alumbrados* as a movement and repeatedly identifies Valdés as the "Theologian of the *Alumbrados*."[2] Hamilton speaks of the *Alumbrados* as a "single

[1] B. Wiffen (*Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés* ,1865), Eugéne Stern (*Alfonso et Juan de Valdés,* 1869), E. Boehmer (*Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries,* 1874), Fermín Caballero (*Alonso y Juan de Valdés,* 1875), or, Manuel Carrasco (*Alfonso et Juan de Valdés,* 1880), Menéndez Pelayo (*Heterodoxos Españoles,* 1882), or J. Heep (*Juan de Valdés,* 1909), – holding Erasmian or Protestant perspectives respectively – did not know the existence of these documents and other *Alumbrado* Trials.

[2] Antonio Márquez, "Juan de Valdés, Teólogo de los *Alumbrados*," en *La Ciudad de Dios,* n. 134 (1971): 214-229; Antonio Márquez, *Los Alumbrados; orígenes y filosofía, 1525-1559.* ([Madrid: Taurus,

native heretical movement" starting "under the leadership of (. . .) Isabel de la Cruz," and later joined by Alcaraz. Hamilton's initial perspective could suggest an oversimplification of the diverse *Alumbrado* phenomena, as he himself later recognized in acknowledging different groups and individuals.[3] Valdés' connection with those accused of *Alumbradism* is evident, but evident as well is the need to discern the doctrinal turmoil that reached such a diversity of individuals. Among those accused of *Alumbradism* by the same Prosecutor, there were laymen, friars, and even famous bishops and scholars. To assess the relationship between Juan de Valdés and the *Alumbrados*, it is necessary to discuss the so-called movement, the individual Pedro R. Alcaraz, and Valdés' participation amidst that religious turmoil. Otherwise, a generalization like Márquez's sheds little light on the understanding of Valdés' thought.

Alumbrado, at the time of the Edict, was a popular derogatory insult and stigma[4] for individuals who adopted an apparent radical lifestyle – mostly segregation or asceticism – and claimed a supernatural spirituality. In early sixteenth-century Spain the "supernatural and the sacred" naturally cohabited; everyday people could suddenly rise "out of the normal round and [be] granted ambassadorships from heaven, a foretaste of eternity."[5] The *Alumbrados* of Toledo were labeled as "illumined," "abandoned," "perfect," or "congregated",[6] corresponding to some of their claims or behavior.

It is necessary to note that, apart from some exceptions, most so-called *Alumbrados* were of *Converso* lineage. *Alumbrado* generally denoted issues like mental prayer, a strong emphasis on Scripture with a personal, immediate illumination of the Spirit, and a personal relationship with God through the inspiration and guidance of the Spirit. They had a disdain for ceremonialism and church authority or mediation, emphasizing the internal side of religion. The corruption of religious Spain, the *Alumbrados'* radical stress on the internal versus external orientation of religion, and the claim of impeccability by some brought moral disorders, particularly to the later waves of *Alumbradism*. Their religious circles included women taking a leading and teaching role. *Alumbrados* focused on their own conventicles and personal instruction rather than on the church's pastoral role.[7] Some of them clearly stayed within Catholic orthodoxy; others insisted on maintaining their alternative practices and perspectives while abiding under the church's external canopy.

1972), 60.

[3] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 3.

[4] *Illumined*… names "that the people had ascribed as mockery" (Taken from trial against Francisco Ortiz; cited in Melquiades, *Nueva Visión de los Alumbrados,* 1973, 17).

[5] John Edwards, "The *Conversos*: A Theological Approach", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 62:1 (1985): 39-49, p.44. Cf. Also William A. Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), and William A Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).

[6] Spanish: *Alumbrados*, *dejados*, *perfectos* and *congregados* (Edicto de los *Alumbrados*, 1525 repr. in A. Márquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 1972, 230).

[7] Melquiades Andrés Martín, *Nueva visión de los "Alumbrados" de 1525.* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1973), 9-13.

Despite similarities among the so-called *Alumbrados*, their heterogeneity challenges their consideration as a movement.[8] The articles of the Edict against the *Alumbrados* of Toledo (1525) betray an amalgam rather than a consistent thought. Accusations and declarations were gathered in the *Book of the Alumbrados*, an inquisitorial interrogation tool for subsequent suspects which is not extant today. Its application to Alcaraz, María Cazalla, and Francisco Ortiz, however, only confirmed their diversity. Their declarations and expressions – even the Inquisition's – demonstrated that the label *Alumbrados* was pragmatically imposed over a diversity of individuals to suppress their difficult-to-grasp dissidence. Some of the Edict's articles included issues that were not always condemned, e.g., mental prayer, illumination, or prophecies. *Alumbrado* suspects expressed and declared manifest differences among themselves. Therefore, Wagner's appreciation that Alcaraz was "one of the main representatives of the *illuminist* movement"[9] becomes confusing, particularly for the consideration of Valdés' background.

The study of *Alumbrados* and Alcaraz has also another element to consider in view of Valdés: its relationship with Erasmus. One of the main lines of Bataillon's Spanish Erasmianism is his defense of Erasmianism "in the perspective of Spanish iluminism."[10] His inclusion of ecstatic preachers and recognized scholars (i.e. from Melchor to Juan de Vergara) under the *Alumbrado* label is rather confusing. Bataillon's definition of Spanish Erasmianism, i.e. "intellectual reform, critical and historical culture against dogmatism (. . .) ironic attitude, Lucian criticism against superstitions (. . .) Saint Paul"[11] is by no means representative of the individuals he associates with *Alumbradism*. Furthermore, A. Dueñas, confirming Bataillon's perspective, states that "the gathering of (. . .) creative personalities (. . .) independent men (. . .) impregnated with Christian Humanism and the renewing Platonic currents, seemed (. . .) to achieve an effective unity under the guide of Erasmus;"[12] this "unity" is not consistent when the different individuals to which he refers are considered. Even though there were some parallels, these generalizations obviate essential differences and misrepresent individuals.

Between the so-called *Alumbrados* and Valdés, there were significant similarities, in addition to his relationship with Alcaraz. Valdés coincided with the unquestionably Catholic Francisco de Osuna in the term "experience." Something that

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[8] Whereas J. Longhurst, A. Selke, A. Márquez or A. Hamilton speak of them as a movement, others have identified them as a phenomenon. E.g. Fray Ramón de la Inmaculada, "El Fenómeno de los *Alumbrados* y su interpretación," En *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 79 (1958), pp. 49-80. También I.Tellechea Idígoras, "Téxtos inéditos sobre el fenómeno de los *Alumbrados*," En *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 13 (1962), 768-774.

[9] Juan de Valdés, *Le dialogue sur la doctrine chrétienne, Intr. trad. et notes Christine Wagner* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), 5.

[10] Marcel Bataillon, *Dos Conferencias: Charlas sobre la mística de los humanistas y charla sobre la historia de mis búsquedas erasmianas,"* Delivered in Colegio de México (2006), 148. Available in: *https://es.scribd.com/doc/301951009/BATAILLON-Conferencia*, Accessed June 6, 2013.

[11] Ibid, 152.

[12] Antonio Dueñas, "Juan de Valdés : Un Reformador Español en Italia," (Trieste: U. degli Studi, 1983), 4.

has not been discussed in Valdessian research is that Valdés' emblematic motto appeared in the trial of Francisco Ortiz traced to Jean Gerson, i.e. that the Christian matter is not science[13] but experience. Their definition of "experience," however, reveals a clear difference among them. Both the historical period of the early sixteenth century as well as the diversity among those accused of *Alumbradism* require a particular consideration more than a general label. And this is also the case if we are to discern which influences Valdés received from this *Alumbrado* conflict.

The study of those accused of *Alumbradism* intrinsically carries with it the difficulty of its sources. The descriptions of those accused as *Alumbrados* come mainly from accusations or confessions under inquisitorial pressures. Accusations were visibly mixed with contention or pragmatism. Defenses, on the other hand, included evasive or compliant expressions that equally distorted their belief. Because of these difficulties Gordon states that the accuracy of *Alumbrado* declarations "is difficult, if not impossible to gauge."[14] Realizing these limitations, I argue that there is still enough information to identify some basic traits of the individuals involved. Research seems to have given very scarce attention to the suspects' declarations, defenses, and favorable witnesses. Recognizing the difficulties and necessary degree of interpretation, this research relies also on the suspect's pronouncements; some of them were maintained after years of imprisonment and tortures.

A first approach or definition of *Alumbrados* will pose the question of their spiritual ancestors, which will consequently affect their connotation. The Edict against the *Alumbrados* of Toledo, 1525, attributes their errors to John Hus and John Wycliffe, continuing also with references to Luther. It further associates *Alumbrados* with Albigensians, Brethren of the Free Spirit, Begards, Beguines, Fraticelli, and Flagellants.[15] These references, however, constituted pragmatic associations. Amidst the difficulty of discerning suspicious phenomena, these associations do not demonstrate what the *Alumbrados* were dependent on; they merely piled up already condemned heresies upon them.

Twentieth-century study has also linked *Alumbrados* with prior movements. John H. Williams favors and gives reasons for the spiritual ancestry pointed to by the Edict, adding the elements of Arabic spirituality and Dutch mysticism.[16] The Arabic elements evidently refer to a rather artificial link by Miguel Asin Palacios of the *Alumbrados* to the Saidili Arabs. Palacios' approach has not been seconded by any

[13] I will keep using "science" throughout this writing due to its latin origin, its use among the characters referred to of the sixteenth century, and because it has been kept like that in Valdessian research. In Francisco de Ortiz, as well as in Valdés, "science" stands for intellectual knowledge of religion, as opposed to "experience."

[14] Arthur Gordon Kinder, *Alumbrados of the Kingdom of Toledo*, Bibliotheca Dissidentium: Répertoire Des Non-Conformistes Religieux Des Seizième et Dix-Septième Siècles T. 16 (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1994), 12.

[15] Cf. E.g. Pedro Santonja, «Las Doctrinas de los *Alumbrados* Españoles y sus Posibles Fuentes Medievales», *Dicenda: Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*, Vol 18 (2000):353-392. p. 362; Augusta E. Foley, "El Alumbradismo y sus Posibles Orígenes," In: *Actas del VIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: 22-27 Aug, 1983* ed. A. David Kossoff, et al. vol 1 (1986): 527-532.

[16] Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 7.

further research.[17] The Edict's reference to John Wycliffe is interesting because he was also mentioned by Talavera in association with the Ebionite.[18] However, the tenets expressed in the Edict are not exclusive of any leader or origin. Regarding the Edict's reference to Luther, its general descriptions and the subsequent trials betrayed its superficiality.

Former studies about *Alumbrados* referred to the use of the term *illuminated* to determine their origin. That perspective has been proven clearly inadequate both by Melquiades Andrés[19] as well as Antonio Marquez.[20] The reports of the physician Francisco de Villalobos in 1498 speaking of the "pestilence of the illuminated"[21] or that of Ocaña around 1512 concerning Fray Antonio de Pastrana being *enlightened* with Satan's darkness[22] actually constitute distortions concerning the origin and character of the *Alumbrados*. *Illuminated* was a commonly used past participle or adjective during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, especially by *Conversos*, denoting the Holy Spirit's infusion of faith and understanding. Even after the Edict and the condemnation of Alcaraz, the term continued to be used without a heretical connotation. The first use of *Alumbrados* as a different religious identification occurred as a nickname given to the circle who gathered with Bishop Juan de Cazalla around 1522 or 1523.[23] The decree issued by the Franciscans of Toledo in 1524 was the first use as an established religious category: *Via illuminatorum seu dimittentium* (illumined or abandoned way).[24] These terms gained particular relevance when they were used by the Inquisition (1525 – 1625), as well as during the Quietism of the seventeenth century, as a reaction against a suspicious and difficult-to-grasp mysticism. On the other hand, among so-called *Alumbrados*, the word that better identified the particular dissidence, different than disorders or excesses, was not *illuminated* but *abandoned*, recorded in 1519.[25]

Other suggested origins of *Alumbrados* refer to contemporary religious excesses which appeared to have a similar expression. During the seventeenth century, authors like Juan Breton or Antonio Sobrino, following the association of *Alumbrados* as a general term, and specially identifying them with the later and more questionable expressions of Llerena and Seville, grouped the *Alumbrados* with the heretics of

[17] Miguel Asín Palacios, "Sadilies y *Alumbrados*" 1945-1947. His perspective comes clearly from a deep knowledge of the Saidili Arabs, which he subsequently linked with or rather imposed on the *Alumbrados*.The references to Mohammed or Islam in *Alumbrado* trials only confirm the reigning confusion of the time (e.g., Juan del Castillo's confession [Trial of Petronila Lucena A.H.N. Leg.14 n. 2 fol. 8r.]).

[18] Hernando de Talavera, *Católica Impugnación*. (ca. 1480-1487) Ch.63 cf. p. 40 ft.n.34. Wycliffe appears in Talavera's writing in reference tosacramental confession.

[19] Andrés, "*Nueva Visión de los Alumbrados*."

[20] Márquez, *Los Alumbrados*.

[21] The word "iluminado" used in the fifteenth century in "Sumario de la medicina en Romance trovado," (c.1489) written by Villalobos, refers to an infirmity, not a spiritual way (Andrés, *Nueva Visión de los Alumbrados*, 1973, 25-26).

[22] The monk from Ocaña claimed to have heard a divine voice and intended to engender a prophet in a virgin.

[23] Andrés, *Nueva vision de los Alumbrados*, 25.

[24] Ibid, 26.

[25] (Sp. *Dexados*), AHN, Trial Alcaraz, fols 49-51, 53.

Durango.[26] By the end of the nineteenth century, Menendez Pelayo associated the origins of the *Alumbrados* with the trial against the Beata of Piedrahita in 1509.[27] All these associations were proven inadequate with the discovery of the Edict of the *Alumbrados* and the Trial of Alcaraz by Marcel Bataillon.

There is another perspective that has received only moderate attention: the connection between the *Abandonment* and Marguerite Porete's *The Mirror of Simple Souls* and Beguine mysticism.[28] Raoul Vaneigem has appropriately referred to the parallel between Porete and Isabel de la Cruz, supposed teacher of the *Abandonment,*[29] but he has not entered into the actual comparison or analysis of their teachings. Matthew Hughes has also associated the *Abandonment* with Porete's *Mirror*;[30] however, he has chosen María de Cazalla as representative of such a teaching, instead of Isabel or, more appropriately, Alcaraz. Considering other possible writings, the reading of "*Exercises of the Spiritual Life*"[31] by García Jiménez de Cisneros (Cardinal Cisneros' cousin) (1500), the anonymous "*Most brief shortcut and way to love God*,"[32] Cisneros' editions of devotional literature such as Climacus' *Spiritual Ladder*, or even the one which Alcaraz

[26] The heretics of Durango appear described in Lumen ad Gentium of Oropesa as some who claimed that the Church had to experience a higher condition of perfection through the Holy Spirit, but these heretics included sexual disorders (Oropesa, Lumen, 1979,220-221).

[27] Juan de Valdés, *Juan de Valdés. «Diálogo de doctrina cristiana», reproduction en fac-similé de l'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque nationale de Lisbonne (édition d'Alcala de Henares, 1529), Avec une introduction et des notes par Marcel Bataillon.*, ed. Marcel Bataillon (Coimbra: Impr. da Universidade, 1925), 32-33.

[28]Beguines (women) or Beghards (men) were members of religious communities which developed around the turn of the thirteenth century, particularly in the area of the Low Countries, spreading into part of the Low Countries, France, and Germany. Lambert le Bègue, Priest of Liége (Belgium) is considered by recent research the initiator of this movement. They were mendicant communities, akin to Franciscans, under whose direction many of them came during the thirteenth century. Concerning Marguerite Porete, little is known of her biography, except the writing of this book, her condemnation, and her execution in 1316. Cf. Marguerite Porete, « Le Miroir Des Âmes Simples et Anéanties, et qui seulement demeurent en vouloir et desir d'Amour, » intr. trad. et notes Max Huot de Longchamp, 1st ed. 1984 (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997) ; Marguerite Porete, « Le Miroir des Simples Âmes anéanties, » trad. Claude Louis-Combet, intr. Emilie Zum Brunn, 1st ed., 1991 (Grenoble : Eds. Jérôme Millon, 2001) ; as a forthcoming title, *A Companion to Marguerite Porete and the Mirror of Simple Souls*, ed. Wendy R. Terry and Robert Stauffer (Leiden/Boston : Brill, expected for April 2017)

[29] *La Resistance au Christianisme: Les heresies des origines au XVIIIe siecle* (Paris : Fayard, 1993).

[30] Matthew Hugues, "Abandoned to Love: The Proceso of María de Cazalla and the Mirror of Simple Souls," ed. by Medievalists.net Dec 4, 2012. Accessible in http://www.medievalists.net/2012/12/04/abandoned-to-love-the-proceso-of-maria-de-cazalla-and-the-mirror-of-simple-souls/, accessed on May, 2015.

[31] Jiménez de Cisneros, *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* (Monasterio de Montserrat: Juan Luschner, 1500). Available in: http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/dgbrah/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=44553, accessed Jan. 8, 2013.

[32] *Hun Breuissimo atajo e arte de amar a Dios ; con otra Arte de co[n]templar ; e algunas otras Reglas breues para ordenar la pie[n]sa en el amor de Dios* (Barcelona: Carles Amoros, 1513). Available in: https://books.google.es/books?vid=BNC:1001912039&printsec=frontcover&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false Accessed Feb. 20, 2016.

often referred to, Angela of Foligno,[33] the parallels between Alcaraz's *Abandonment* and Porete's *Mirror* become more patent and significant.[34]

The complex religious mapping of different movements and mystic trends during the late Middle Ages falls out of the scope of this thesis. However, the parallels between Porete's *Mirror* and Alcaraz's thought require the inclusion of Porete's writing in the discussion of Valdés' background. Even though there is no actual evidence of how the connection between the *Mirror* and some *Alumbrados* or Alcaraz took place, the political, commercial, and religious conditions of Spain certainly favor its possibility. The marriage of the Catholic Kings' daughter Juana with Philip I of the Hapsburg dynasty (1496) joined the Low Countries to Spain's territories, developing a considerable interaction regarding commerce, culture, and religion. This relationship grew in significance, particularly in the religious realm, as the figure of Charles I emerged and was crowned as Holy Roman Emperor. The more open Low Countries became a refuge of Spanish Erasmians and a resource of literature for humanists and dissidents in Spain.

In the early sixteenth century, the visionary prophet Melchor, to be discussed later, confirmed the mobility and communication of radical spiritualities and prophecies and the people's interest in them. Concerning *Beguines* and *Begards,* they held a Franciscan ideal of poverty and austerity, developing mystic speculations and visions and rejecting the institutional avenues for piety. The existing spiritual fervor and diversity in Spain during the early sixteenth century, the spiritual unrest of unassimilated *Conversos,* the significant role that Jewish descendents had in commercial relationships between the Low Countries and Spain (later accused of promoting the distribution of Lutheran literature), depict an environment in which the connection between Porete's *Mirror* with some of the so-called *Alumbrados* was clearly feasible.

Considering Porete's *Mirror* in particular, its coincidences with Alcaraz and other *Alumbrado* suspects regarding concepts, central emphases, and terms are evident. There is the denial of one's will, the *abandonment* to God as the way and characteristic of perfection and union with God. There is the individuality of spiritual knowledge which is impossible to understand by outsiders. Porete expresses a disinterest in one's eternal destiny that clearly matches the view of some *Conversos* rejecting hell. Neither Porete nor Alcaraz attribute merit to works for salvation, and Porete's liberty from the "exercise of virtues" perfectly fits into the non-ceremonialism of *Conversos*. Both maintain a pursuit of love, foreign to religious regulations or theological formation. There are some differences between Porete and Alcaraz, but their coincidences require the consideration of Porete's *Mirror* in the origin of the *Abandonment* and its influence in Alcaraz's thought. Porete's beliefs, therefore, will be referred to in this research along with the analysis of Alcaraz's thought.

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[33] Angela of Foligno, *Complete Works*, trad. Paul Lachance (New York: Paulist Press, 1993).

[34] Hamilton refers to the considerable library which Alcaraz had (1992, 26), which, again, underlines the particular affinities with Porete's *Mirror*.

Further than its influence on Alcaraz, some of the *Mirror'*s teachings are echoed in Valdés' writings. For instance, Porete's pessimistic anthropology and "salvation without works" constitute a most fitting antecedent for Valdés' use of Luther in his *Dialogue* and Valdés' adoption of justification by faith as the foundation of his spirituality. Some particular teachings, such as the transformation of the soul by the work of God, the exhortation against praying with intensity but accepting with meekness God's will, the non-dependence on creatures, or the desire to actually see God, require the consideration of Porete's *Mirror* within Valdés' background. Alcaraz and Valdés were not followers of Porete, but they were significantly influenced by her *Mirror* as the analysis of their thought will reveal. Alcaraz, as unassimilated *Converso*, adopted and adapted Porete's teaching, perhaps by way of the monks of Cifuentes and Isabel. Alcaraz's version of Porete's *Mirror*, subsequently, became a fundamental element in Valdés' eclectic thought, though not the only one.

The origins of the so-called *Alumbrados* have important implications in the study of Alcaraz and Valdés. Popular animosity toward spiritual non-conformity attributed a general stigma of neurotic and moral disorder to the *Alumbrados* that lasted for centuries. Those characteristics, however, were mentioned neither in the Edict of Toledo nor against Alcaraz or Isabel de la Cruz in particular. After the *Alumbrados* of Toledo, there were two other *waves* or expressions of reputed *Alumbradism*: In Llerena (c. 1560), and in Seville (c. 1620). These last two waves pushed the assumption of impeccability and did enter into sexual disorders. No sexual misbehavior, however, is recorded in the Edict of Toledo or in the trials of Isabel or Alcaraz. There are reliable moral accusations against the *illuminated* Francisca Hernández; however, Alcaraz was geographically disconnected and conceptually at variance with Francisca.

The inaccurate association of sexual misconduct has also affected Juan de Valdés, even reaching the 21st century. A recent monograph dedicated to Valdés, written by Daniel Crews, refers to *Alumbrados*' practices as being such that "naturally led to allegations of sexual misconduct:"

> Though certainly a minority, some *Alumbrados/alumbradas* claimed the conjugal act was a way to achieve union with God. The poor but beautiful Francisca Hernández had the ability to prevent students studying for the clergy from masturbating. Since some fondling seems to have been part of the cure, she and her followers contributed to the image of *Alumbrados* as sex-crazed deviants (. . . .) Alfonso and Juan may have had contact with Francisca's group (. . . .) The *possible* connection of Juan to Francisca Hernández's group suggests that he may have initially been attracted to the *Alumbrados* for less-than-divine reasons.[35]

Crews' speculations are unacceptable. There were no allusions of moral disorder against the *Alumbrados* of Toledo, nor against Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz. The reference to "the conjugal act," which appears in María de Cazalla's trial, had no connotation at all

[35] Daniel A Crews, *Twilight of the Renaissance the life of Juan de Valdés* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 21.

as "*a way to achieve* union with God."[36] Valdés' *second* or *third-degree* connection with Francisca Hernández was subsequent to his contact with *Alumbrados*. Alcaraz, who was Valdés' initial contact with *Alumbrados*, unsuccessfully intended to visit her and reprove her "levity" and "false revelations."[37] Years later in Alcalá de Henares, Valdés' connected with Juan de Vergara and Bernardino Tovar, who at the time were categorically at variance with Francisca. Tovar had certainly been one of her followers, but in 1522 Vergara withdrew him from her, gaining her contempt and eventually the false accusations that gave rise to his own trial. Vergara was a key Erasmian defender at the Conference of Valladolid (1527), diametrically opposed to Francisca's teachings.[38] The association of moral suspicion against Alcaraz or Valdés, therefore, is inadequate, and the connotation of "less-than-divine reasons" for their religious interest is gratuitous.

A great deal of research on the *Alumbrados* is of limited significance when referring to Juan de Valdés. Its greatest handicap is their general consideration as a movement. The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain the different trends and characteristics among *Alumbrado* suspects. That analysis will better distinguish the background and influences on Valdés' thought, and particularly on his *Dialogue on Doctrine,* which was written in Spain in 1529.

In order to define the influence on Valdés, our thesis is that the religious phenomena around the *Alumbrados* can be described through two converging spiritualities and three general trends. On one hand there is the confluence of *Converso* and Franciscan spirituality, understanding that *Conversos* had a diverse degree of Jewish reminiscence and assimilation of traditional Christianity. At the confluence between these spiritualities, four religious trends or developments arose which were or have been linked with the *Alumbrados*. First, there were the early developments of *beatos* and prophecies, whose most radical expressions were tainted by Jewish influence (c.1512) and which had no relationship with Valdés. Secondly and thirdly, there were the apparently similar, yet conflicting, development of *Recollection* and *Abandonment.*[39] These seem to have cohabited since 1512 but were identified in 1523 and definitely severed in 1524. Fourthly, from 1524 onward, there is the documented beginning of Erasmus' influence particularly among those who were in connection with Alcalá de Henares. Valdés had a diverse relationship with these last three.

These last three trends are clearly portrayed in the extant trials of the *Alumbrados*, particularly confirmed through their declarations and defenses: the more orthodox *Recollection*, the dissident *Abandonment*, and those who followed Erasmus. Their separate consideration will begin to show the extent and significance of Valdés'

[36] That was a distortion by some accusers, written in the Edict, but reasonably disavowed by María Cazalla in her trial. Cf. Ch.4 of this thesis, "Maria de Cazalla."

[37] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols 10r, 256v.

[38] Cf. Chapter 4 of this thesis, "Juan de Vergara."

[39] *Recollection* and *Abandonment* will be discussed later.

eclecticism in *Dialogue on Doctrine*. It will show the particular way in which Valdés borrowed and re-defined his contemporary sources to express his own thought.

In order to outline these different trends within *Alumbrados* two expressions become particularly illustrative: **"**The times of the *Alumbrados*,"[40] and the accusation that Alcaraz taught that "the love of God" was only "that which he said and explained," different from others.[41] The expression, "the times of the *Alumbrados*," is found in María de Cazalla's trial. Her trial took place during the "second wave" of *Alumbrado* Trials.[42] Both María and the Inquisition used that title to refer back to the particular period when the Inquisition was alarmed and the Edict against the *Alumbrados* was issued. Those *times* included the arrests of Gaspar de Villafaña and also of Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz. Recognizing the valuable contribution of Antonio Márquez, who limited the *Alumbrados* of Toledo to the period between 1525 and 1559, [43] the expression "the times of the *Alumbrados*" locates that dissidence particularly from the first accusations and disorders, through the arrest of Villafaña, Isabel, and Alcaraz, until the Edict, that is, between c. 1519 and 1525.[44]

Secondly, the claim to teach a distinct and true love of God was a reliable appreciation of those who heard Alcaraz. The claim bears witness to a common essential interest but also to divergent perspectives. The scenario depicts a decaying, performance-based, Old Christianity amidst which a significant circle of diversely assimilated *Conversos* responded with a spirituality emphasizing a committed love-relationship with God. That common emphasis, however, did not exclude a variety of conflicting perspectives. Considering that Pedro R. Alcaraz was a particular, direct influence on Valdés, it becomes necessary, therefore, to discern between these perspectives, so that Valdés' influences might be more specifically assessed. This is the central task of this chapter.

Converso-Prophetic *Alumbradism* in the First Decades of the Sixteenth Century

The overwhelming presence of *Conversos* among the so-called *Alumbrados* is a recognized fact since the days of the Erasmian Juan Maldonado (1485-1554). [45]

[40] Lit. "The time when here took place the issue of the *Alumbrados*" (Ortega-Costa, *Trial Cazalla*, 257, fol.91r. Prosecution agreed to the expression as he asked "if it was the time when in this village was taking place the conversation of those who had as *Alumbrados*, when Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz would come …" (Ibid, fol 95)

[41] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 322v. Cf. 5v, 311r.312v.316r.

[42] First wave 1524 Alcaraz, Isabel de la Cruz, Gaspar de Bedoya, Villafaña; second wave begun with Francisca Hernandez's arrest and lasted from 1529 to1539.

[43] Márquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 28 f.

[44] In 1519 the accusations of Mari Nuñez against Alcaraz and Isabel took place. The conflict particularly emerged from 1523 among Franciscans, provoking the alarm which caused the proceedings and issue of the Edict (1525), encompasing till the time when Villafaña, and then, Alcaraz and Isabel were imprisoned.

[45] Ioannis Maldonati Quaedam opuscula, (Burgos, 1541), Fol. 3e.12. Cited in Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, 211.

Giordano refers to *Alumbradism* as that which substituted the "model of spirituality that germinated in the courts of Juan II and Enrique IV:" An internal Christianity based on Paul, with Saint Augustine, and Plato as their theological references.[46] The diversity among *Alumbrados*, however, as well as the various inroads they followed within Christianity, recalls the previously discussed different degrees in which *Conversos* assimilated Christianity.

Particularly in reference to the *Alumbrados*, the fact that the overwhelming majority of them were *Conversos*[47] has been minimally discussed as it refers to its religious characteristics and significance. Gordon Kinder briefly refers to their reverence for the text of Scriptures as well as their reluctance for the elaborate ritual of their contemporary Catholicism.[48] Melquiades Andrés points to *Converso* identity as "a fundamental reality for penetrating the system and psychology of its main characters."[49] He, however, only refers to *Conversos*' "special interest in illumination, internal piety, vocal prayer, and their contempt for external rituals, and possible connections with the spiritual Jewish Kabala from fourteenth and fifteenth-century Spain."[50] Conversely, he points to a more orthodox source as the *Alumbrados*' origin – Franciscan *Recollection.*[51] Stefania Pastore, with a more unbiased approach, considers *Alumbrados* as the continuation of *Conversos* and their particular interests. She considers them as the spiritual offspring of renowned individuals who expressed their faith through the particular elements of their *Converso* identity.[52] While both Giordano and Pastore express the *Alumbrado*'s connections with those *Conversos* who served in noble or royal courts, it is necessary to consider the different expressions of *Alumbradism* in order to trace more specific developments among them.

In a general reference to *Conversos* and their evolution**,** two particular issues marked their transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century: the prevalence of Old Christianity, and a wave of prophetical expectations. On one hand, the death of Hernando de Talavera in 1507 definitely marked the end of missionary efforts among Jews and Moors in terms of openness and dialogue. While Old Christian Spain expressed itself through the Inquisition, the Expulsion, and the expansion of the Statutes of Blood Purity, some *Conversos* in Castile sought shelter in noblemen's houses. Those who were identified as *Alumbrados* of Toledo arose especially from the houses of Mendoza in Guadalajara, of Don Diego L. Pacheco, and of Fadrique Enríquez (Admiral of Castile). These *Alumbrados* arose in the second decade of the sixteenth century, enjoyed the noblemen's protection, and were neutralized by the fourth decade. They arose, generally speaking, from the areas of Madrid, Guadalajara, Escalona, Cifuentes,

[46] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 115.
[47] Andrés, *Nueva vision de los Alumbrados*, 22.
[48] Gordon, *Alumbrados of … Toledo* ,9.
[49] Andrés, *Nueva vision de los Alumbrados*, 22; Cf. Francisco de Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario espiritual.* Intr. y notas Melquiades Andrés Martín (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1972), 6.
[50] Andrés, *Nueva vision de los Alumbrados*, 22.
[51] Ibid, 23.
[52] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 36.

and Pastrana, spreading into Toledo, Salamanca, Valladolid and Alcalá de Henares.[53] Regarding particularly Juan de Valdés, he was present both in Pacheco's palace (1523-1524), and in Alcalá de Henares (1526-1530).

The second issue that marked the transition of *Conversos* from fifteenth to sixteenth century was the expectation of an imminent new age brought by Spain's new leadership. With the Catholic Kings coming into power, *Conversos* like Fernán Álvarez de Toledo, Hernando de Talavera, or intellectuals like Hernando el Pulgar or Juan de Lucena promoted the "myth of a new Spain" with a universal Christian significance.[54] That expectation was changed into perplexity and protest when the monarchs stood by to the Inquisition. After Isabel's death, Ferdinand yielded to the Old Christians' desire to annihilate *Conversos*, giving way to the excesses of Inquisitors like Diego de Deza and Lucero. When Philip the Fair came to the Peninsula (June, 1506),[55] the hopes of *Conversos* were revived, but upon his death (September, 1506) they were banished again. Upon Ferdinand's return to Spain from Naples (1507), Cisneros was made Cardinal and General Inquisitor. Cisneros apparently brought abuses against *Conversos* to an end.[56] Later on, contemporary with Juan de Valdés' spiritual formation and residence in Alcalá, the hope for a renewed Christianity in which Spain would hold supremacy reignited with the rise of Charles V to the throne.[57] These ups and downs brought about different voices for Christian reform, colored with prophetic-messianic expectations and with a negative view of the Inquisition.

Cardinal Cisneros singularly contributed to those messianic hopes. He became a skilled negotiator between Inquisitors and *Conversos*. Even though he maintained the rigors against Judaism, he set aside the existing obsession for blood purity. As General Inquisitor and Regent of Castile, however, he defended the Inquisition.[58] Amidst these expectations Cisneros' role acquired momentum through the conquest of Oran and his Franciscan reforms.

The conquest of Oran was the climax of several previous key events: Granada had been conquered; the Jews and Moors were either converted or expelled; and Spain, having succeeded in Italy, began its expansion into the New World. Oran, consequently, brought about a new wave of religious optimism, prophecies, and visions. Whereas the papacy was in clear decay, the Muslims constituted a common enemy around which hopes easily gathered. Cisneros, whose leadership was also political, adopted the ambition of Christ's world kingship and led a crusade towards Jerusalem. The objective

[53] Cf. Kinder, *Alumbrados of … Toledo*, 1994, 7-8.

[54] Even Sixtus IV issued the bull "*Numquam dubitavimus*" (Feb 29, 1482) accusing the Catholic Kings of abusing the privileges granted in 1478 to the Inquisitors.

[55] Through him an *Auto de Fe* was cancelled, averting 160 individuals from being executed. All *Converso*'s trials were halted.

[56] Excesses against them by the Inquisition, however, continued to be denounced through the second decade of sixteenth century.In Granada 1510, Cuenca, 1512-13, Barcelona 1510-12, Valladolid 1516, Coruña 1518, and Cordoba 1521 (Pastore, 2002, 139).

[57] Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire 1519-1556.

[58] Cisneros later said to Charles V that the peace of his kingdoms and his authority depended on maintaining the Inquisition.

was to suppress Islam and draw all nations into God's fold: *Unum ovile et unus pastor*. His goal included the reconstruction of primitive Christianity.

Eventually the Cardinal proceeded with the help of Gonzalo de Ayora and a small army. A few days after their arrival on the coast of Algiers, Cisneros conquered Oran without resistance. Shortly afterwards he returned to Spain confessing it had been "more through mystery than through the strength of weaponry."[59] He returned and wrote his General Vicar Villalpando requesting him to visit monasteries and thank the sacrifices and prayers which had propitiated such a success. Juan de Cazalla, his chaplain – later linked with the *Alumbrados* – was charged with the task of writing a detailed record of the events to Villalpando. These documents were immediately printed in Toledo.

Besides the political and social dimensions of the feat, it resounded in religious excitement throughout Christian Spain. The Beata María of Santo Domingo, fond of Savonarola and protected by the Cardinal, claimed to have prophesied the African conquest, assuring a triumphal entrance in Jerusalem. Charles de Bovelles, disciple of Lefebvre d'Etaples, in his visit to Cisneros in Toledo (1505-1506), had predicted that in the following twelve years there would be an extraordinary reform of the church accompanied by the conquest of Jerusalem and the triumph of Christianity throughout the whole world.[60] After the conquest (August, 1509) Bovelles wrote a letter with grandiose praises and encouragement regarding the task: "You have taken the plow in your hand; do not look back until the African groves are filled with the divine seed."[61]

Some *Conversos* shared in that prophetic and millennial fervor. Baptism had brought the possibility of new career prospects; enthusiasm prevailed at all levels. According to Sor María de Santo Domingo, considered "the wonder of Ferdinand's court," Jerusalem would be conquered during King Ferdinand's lifetime.[62] The anonymous *Revelation of Saint Paul* longed for the second coming of Messiah and the triumph of Christianity. These expressions were paralleled by prophetesses in Herrera del Duque, Chillón, Almodovar del Campo, and Córdoba. Some prophecies envisioned the coming of Elijah and the beginning of a Messianic era, vindicating those who had remained faithful to the Old Covenant. These prophetesses attracted a strong following among *Conversos*.[63] However, and highly significant in light of Valdés, as these Messianic expectations came face-to-face with the reality of defeat, the new wave of prophecy would shift toward the hope of church reform.

Regarding Pedro R. Alcaraz and his influence on Valdés, Alcaraz encountered this prevalence of Old Christianity and the wave of prophetical expectations. He certainly expressed his spirituality in the shelter of the Marquis' palace; however, he

[59] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, 62.
[60] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 129.
[61] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, 63.
[62] John Edwards, Elijah and the Inquisition: Messianic Prophecy among "*Conversos*" in Spain, C 1500. Notingham Medieval Studies, 28 (1984): 92.
[63] John Edwards, "The *Conversos*: A Theological Approach," In: Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, 62:1 (Jan. 1985): 45.

strongly opposed the supernatural, messianic prophecies of Olmillos. Alcaraz's concept of illumination had nothing to do with millennialism but rather with scriptural reflection and personal Christian experience. Valdés, conversely, through the influence of his brother and the Erasmian circle of the Imperial Court, did express his hope for church reform through a General Council led by Charles V.[64] Bataillon appropriately referred to Charles V as recipient of Cisneros' messianic hopes.[65]

Prophets, Beatas, and *Alumbradism*

Especially during the first stages of so-called *Alumbradism*, the leading characters were mostly associated with a supernatural spirituality whose excesses were tolerated or favored in view of their fervor. That was the case of *beatas*, female *revealers*,[66] or friars like Father Juan de Olmillos and Francisco de Ocaña. *Beatas* or *revealers* were women, and occasionally men, who adopted a radical expression of Christianity. They did not belong to any religious institution, being proud of living out a holy life outside the cloister.[67] According to the asceticism of the time, these *beatas* could manifest their radical commitment through abstinence from conjugal relationships even within marriage.[68] People came to them looking for miracles, especially attracted to their episodes of deep ecstasies that they attributed to the control of God's Spirit. Dignitaries and ecclesiastic doctors would visit them to certify the authenticity of their raptures. People, recognizing their divine call and spiritual character, would give clothes, food, or money to them. Their revelations included expectations of drastic church reform with traces of millennialism and apocalypse.

Cardinal Cisneros and his Franciscan reforms had a significant participation in this spiritual fervency. Cisneros, as many Franciscan Friars, favored *beatas* like María de Santo Domingo or Francisca Hernández. As Palacios states, during this period women in particular were tacitly encouraged to do good works and launch into the spiritual adventure of intimacy with God. It was an invitation to a spirituality that underlined God's presence in the soul in a special way, without reference to the complexities of theology; this was certainly a Franciscan-oriented spirituality,[69] fruit of the Observance's drive. Many *beatas* and *beatos* were particularly linked with the Franciscan Order, as was the case with Isabel de la Cruz, Melchor, Olmillos, Ocaña, and others who were eventually accused of *Alumbradism*.

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[64] Juan de Valdés, *Cartas inéditas de Juan de Valdés al cardenal Gonzaga. Introdución y notas por José F. Montesinos.* (Madrid: impr. de S. Aguirre, 1931), cxi.

[65] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, 82-3.

[66] Sp. *Revelanderas*.

[67] María Palacios Alcalde, "Las Beatas ante la Inquisición," in *Herejes y Conversos, Hispania Sacra*, 40 (1988): 107-131.

[68] E.g. The accusation against the beata Melchora de los Reyes could be taken as representative of some, "marriage was evil, because people married to satisfy the flesh." (AHN, Inqu. Leg. 1856.e. cited in Palacios, 1988, 111-112). Cf. Palacios, 1988, 120-121. This is highly significant in view of the controversy that arose about this issue in which Alcaraz, main influence on Juan de Valdés, was involved.

[69] Palacios, *Las Beatas*, 120-121.

The outward expression of *beatas* and prophets often underlined their subjectivity and individuality, focusing on a moral and spiritual quest for piety rather than a defense of doctrinal positions – which they usually undermined. The conflicts which arose among some of these betrayed an evident self-consciousness and vanity. On the other hand, their noblemen's protection, as well as their mutual visits and conflicts, manifested the decay of popular and institutional religion and the general urge for reform. One example of prophecies was that of Olmillos and Ocaña. These prophecies actually portrayed themselves and the Marquis as holding the Papal chair and posts of government. The initial ambiguous attitude of their Provincial and Olmillos' promotion to Provincial of the Order shortly afterwards[70] reveal the existing tolerance of those supernatural phenomena.[71]

Friar Melchor

Friar Melchor, to whom several authors refer as one of the first *Alumbrados*,[72] constituted an example of supernatural-prophetic spirituality assumed by a *Converso*. The significance of Melchor in light of Valdés is twofold. Melchor, compared with Valdés, underlines a categorical difference among those who have been generally labeled as *Alumbrados*. Secondly, Melchor's farfetched prophecies and supernatural tenets, absolutely alien from Valdés thought, took place in harmony with the supernatural spirituality tolerated or favored by Cisneros. That supernatural spirituality had some elements in common with the later supernatural phenomena and mystic tenets of *Recollection*, closer and contemporary to Valdés' religious formation and also alien from Valdés' thought.

Melchor's visions and preaching took place around 1512, with the enthusiasm of the conquest of Orán still in the air. Melchor's preaching was reported by Andrés, a Franciscan monk from Lupiana's Convent, who informed Cardinal Cisneros of Melchor's notorious success among *Conversos*.[73] Bishop Juan de Cazalla also informed Cisneros with a letter. In different degrees, both men betrayed a fluctuation between derision and fascination.

Melchor belonged to the merchant aristocracy of Burgos, a city in permanent relationships with Bruges and London. While in England, linked with the English court, Melchor felt an irresistible call to penitence and to receive especial revelations. His mission, initially, was to go to Africa to convert Muslims. As he travelled through Spain, however, Melchor entered different Orders finding nothing but degradation and

[70] Elected in the Franciscan Chapter of Escalona, 1527.

[71] AHN, Trial Alcaraz fol 8r.

[72] E.g. Kinder, *The Alumbrados, 7*. Bataillon refers to Melchor and a Franciscan monk from Toledo as the beginnings of the *Alumbrados*. The Franciscan Monk was said to be "illuminated by the darkness of Satan…" and wrote to the famous Madre Juana de la Cruz to find a virgin to conceive a prophet in her. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* Ed. 1966, 72.

[73] Bataillon 1966, 72.

corruption, "*non Deo sed ventri cupiditatibusque.*"[74] Finally he met Sor María de Santo Domingo, a *beata* and tertiary of the Dominican Order, who defended some of his prophecies as true. María encouraged him to enter the Franciscan order, considering it the most pious one, but even there he found opposition. He assumed himself to be the Rock rejected by builders who was to become the Cornerstone of the new building, an instrument of God before which nothing would resist. He claimed to have the power of being indwelled by the spirit of God and being transformed into the appearance of an owlet, a bat, or of royalty. His audience had the impression that all kings would incline before him. He spoke of God incessantly, and as he spoke, his happiness was reputed to affect even inanimate objects.

Melchor's message was Messianic, including church reform, the conquest of Jerusalem, and the conversion of the whole world to Christianity. His fascination for Jerusalem and expressions about a Messiah betrayed his *Converso* lineage. Melchor's message denied that Castile was in the Age of the Spirit under Cisneros and King Fernando; Spain was in a "Waiting Age," in the hands of a tyrant and a future antipope, delivered to cruel and ravening inquisitors. Contrary to Cisneros' personality and reforms, Melchor thought that the Cardinal would eventually bring self-indulgence to the Franciscan Order. When these evil men's influence completely reached Christianity, the bat (Melchor) would conquer them. Melchor's prophecies seemed to confirm those of Bovelles with more detail – seven of Bovelles' twelve years for a Messianic fulfillment had already taken place. According to Melchor's revelation there was to be an exceptional preaching mission carried out by spiritual and apostolic men.[75]

Melchor's journey through Lupiana, Salamanca, Toledo, Guadalajara, Andalucia, and Aragon – and his escape to France afterwards – left both opponents and enthusiastic followers behind. Regardless of the eccentricity of his claims, his obsessive fervor caused a tension between contempt and attraction: "S*ive venenata sive salutaris sit ista doctrina.*"[76] María of Santo Domingo, also called the *beata* of Piedrahita, confirmed the expectancy of great events, such as a mass conversion of Saracens or the baptism of a hundred thousand in one day. Juan de Cazalla, on the other hand, made reference to the coincidences with prophecies of Saint Brigit, Saint Catherine of Siena, and Saint Vincent Ferrer. Cazalla even referred to spiritual men in England, Spain, and in Naples who had corroborated the truthfulness of Melchor's predictions and his singular messianic calling. In Salamanca, Francisca Hernández provided testimonies in favor of his vocation, election, and unction. In Toledo Mother Marta, Benedictine *beata* of the convent of Santo Domingo, pronounced in ecstasy marvelous things about Melchor. Marta was considered by Cisneros as favored with miraculous gifts; her reputation was so great, that she received visits from the king and prelates.[77] Marta

[74] Friar Andrés' letter is in AHN, Universidades, L.1224,fols 27-28. Cited in Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed 1996, 62-63.
[75] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 134. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed 1996, 64-65.
[76] Andrés' letter cited in Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 72.
[77] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, Ed. 1996, 81.

wrote Cazalla a letter about Melchor's prophecies, pointing out both error and truth in them.

These events and individuals reveal the existing climate of religious fervor. There was "an avalanche" of "new happenings, feelings, experiences, words, and attitudes." [78] Diverse individuals experienced raptures, trances, revelations, and prophecies, claiming some kind of authority from God for church reform. Bataillon speaks of Castile as "exceedingly permeable to a spirituality eager for revelations."[79] Cardinal Cisneros favored this climate of exalted devotion among the Observant Franciscans and the reformed convents around La Salceda.[80] In addition to Cisneros, men of the nobility[81] played a crucial role in the patronizing of these religious women and men given to trances, raptures and revelations. Cisneros also sponsored the translation and publication of devotional tracts.[82] Cisneros considered himself as an instrument of a vast miracle: the renewal and expansion of Christianity.

Gaspar de Villafaña was another individual whose revelations somewhat resembled those of Melchor. He was a minor character, but his reference in the trials against Alcaraz,[83] María Cazalla,[84] and Beteta,[85] reflects that Melchor was not an exclusive example of a message tainted by Judaism.

The significance of this supernatural spirituality, at times favored and other times tolerated by institutional Christianity, lays also in its contrast with Alcaraz, who was a key influence on Valdés. Alcaraz sharply contended against these spiritual expressions, not only because of their grandiose display, but also because Alcaraz's teaching called for a wholly different religious understanding and experience. Alcaraz's variance far exceeded individual rivalries. It is confusing, therefore, to relate Melchor, Villafaña, and Valdés to the "*Alumbrado* movement."

Franciscan Spirituality, Cardinal Cisneros's Reforms and *Recollection*

Together with the recognition of the *Converso* preponderance among *Alumbrados*, key authors have traced *Alumbradism* as a distortion of Franciscan

[78]Melquiades Andrés, "El Misterio de los *Alumbrados* de Toledo, Desvelado por sus Contemporáneos, (1523-1560) (Burgos: Facultad de Teología del Norte de España, 1977), 9.

[79] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, Ed. 1996, 80.

[80] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*, 143.

[81] Kinder, *The Alumbrados*,10.

[82] E.g. *Teaching of the Heart*, 1498; Doctrine for Religious, 1499; *Cart of the two lives*, and *Exercises for the Spiritual Life*, 1500; Saint Angela de Foligno; Saint Juan Climacus; *Sun of Contemplation*; *A most brief way and art to love God*; the works of Bonaventura; *Art to Serve God*. Cf. Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez y Vicente Enrique y Tarancón, *La Siembra mística del cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la iglesia: discurso leído el día 10 de junio de 1979, en su recepción pública* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1979).

[83] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, 281r.

[84] María de Cazalla y Milagros Ortega-Costa, *Proceso de la Inquisición contra María de Cazalla* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1978), fol.64r., p.186.

[85] José Manuel Carrete Parrondo, *Movimiento Alumbrado y Renacimiento español: El proceso inquisitorial contra Luis de Beteta* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos, 1980), fol 17r-v., p.84.

Spirituality. Bataillon refers to Cisneros' endorsed mysticism as the ground from which *Illuminism* fermented.[86] As evidence that would support that view, Cisneros edited devotional literature, some of which was referred to in Alcaraz's defenses.[87] There is no doubt of Alcaraz's reliance on Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, St. Angela of Foligno, or Augustine's *Soliloquies*. There were other references used by Alcaraz to justify his thought – e.g., Saint Bernard's *Ascent to the Mount of God* or Hugo de Balma's "*Sun of Contemplative [souls].*[88] Antonio de Baeza, governor of Escalona and friend of the Marquis, is also referred to as evidence of Cisneros' literary influence. In favor of it, Antonio is associated with Alcaraz because of the former translating *De probatione spirituum* of Jean Gerson.[89] This translation, however, did not favor Cisneros' endorsed spirituality; conversely, it addressed the confusion and uncertainty of these radical religious expressions.

The Franciscan origin of *Alumbradism* is particularly defended by Melquiades Andrés. He points to the intense impulse for an internal religious life among Franciscans as the fertile ground of pseudo-mystic deviations such as the *Alumbrados*.[90] Andrés refers to the period between 1480 and 1523 as the gestation of both *Alumbradism* and the mysticism of *Recollection*. The fact that Franciscans were not subject to the Inquisition, and that theological training was scarce among them, favored the rising of the *Alumbrados*, according to Andrés. From around 1510 until 1523, Franciscans and *Conversos* promoted a spirituality that emphasized internal integrity and union with God through both will and affection. Both Observants and lay *Conversos* prayed together and used the same books, using the same language, until their divergence caused a clear separation in 1523.[91]

This research argues that even though Franciscan spirituality cohabited and could have influenced the so-called *Alumbrados* and Pedro R. Alcaraz, Alcaraz's thought did not originate in Franciscan spirituality. **A**s García Asensio has emphasized referring to this period, there was a complexity of religious currents that requires caution in establishing dependences or distinctions.[92] It is true that a good number of those accused of *Alumbradism* were both Observant Franciscans and of *Converso* lineage – Fray Melchor, Fray Francisco Ortiz, Fray Juan de Cazalla, and Fray Francisco

[86] Bat, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, 210. D. Estrada expresses that Cisneros gave impulse to the writings of Savonarola, even though the monk from Florence had been condemned and burned" (2007, 15).

[87] E.g. Jerome, Agustin, John Climacus, Bernard, Bonaventura, S.Angela de Foligno, S.Catalina of Siena, Gerson (not only the false attributed *Imitation of Christ*) (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols 119, 192, 201, et. al.).

[88] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, 164v.

[89] Cf. Jean Gerson, "Proving of Spirits," in *Great Spiritual Works by Jean Gerson*, trans. H. Austin (Revelation Insight Publishing Co., 2011).

[90] Melquiades Andrés Martín, *La teología española en el siglo XVI 1. Vol. 1*. (Madrid: BAC, 1976), 116.

[91] Ibid, 116-118.

[92] Eugenio Asensio, "El Erasmianismo y las Corrientes Espirituales Afines" (*Conversos*, Franciscanos, Italianizantes), in *Revista de Filología Española*, n.36 (1952):31-99.

de Osuna; Isabel de la Cruz was a Franciscan tertiary.[93] However, in the previous chapter on *Conversos*, we made reference to vocabulary such as "love-union with God," "perfection," etc. outside the Franciscan Order. The same is true of previously mentioned *beatas,* proceeding from the Dominican or the Benedictine Orders. The change from medieval, hagiographical, miraculous, or martyr's spirituality into an emotional, reflexive, lyric and intimate religiosity around the fifteenth century was not exclusively characteristic of the Franciscan Order. [94] Cisneros' devotional literature was certainly a catalyst for early sixteenth-century spirituality, but that does not obliterate the particular religious interests among *Conversos* in noblemen's courts, or the wider religious fervor than that of the Franciscan Order.

Franciscan spirituality is certainly necessary for the consideration of *Alumbrado* and Valdés' background. The Franciscan house of recollection in La Salceda, Cifuentes, etc. constituted a religious forum of spiritual interest, where friars, clergy, *beatas*, and laymen converged. The individuals involved in that spiritual forum, however, came predisposed with certain traits. That is clearly seen, for instance, in Isabel's or Alcaraz's faith and spirituality – e.g., their disregard of hell, or their different spirituality from the Catholic casuistry of sin and confession. Isabel or Alcaraz could certainly experience a relationship of osmosis in vocabulary and emphases; they coincided in their religious fervor. Their distinctive traits, however, corresponded to their more internal presuppositions or identities. Illumination, revelation, perfection, or love of God had a different meaning depending who was speaking. That was the whole issue in Alcaraz's vindication that he taught "the true love of God" in distinction from others. This underlines the need to discern these different *Alumbrado* trends in light of Valdés' background, in search of which influences he received.

Franciscan Piety

Typical of the period, Franciscan spirituality can be defined only in general, always subject to particular digressions or emphases. Melquiades Andrés exalts Franciscan spirituality as a "true school of spirituality," opposed to the influences of Erasmus, Savonarola, or the *Alumbrados.* These, says Andrés, had a more limited interest and influence.[95] Franciscan spirituality, he says, "is older, deeper, larger, more extended in time, according to the spirit and norms of the church and to our people's sense of austerity."[96] With all due respect to Andrés' work, his reference to a "limited

[93] Tertiary means belonging to a "third order" of a religious order. Generally the "first order" in the Catholic Church consisted of Franciscans, Dominicans, or Carmelite Friars. The "second order" consisted of contemplative nuns associated with the "first order." Tertiaries were generally lay individuals who did not take religious vows but participated in the good works of the order. They could wear some elements of the order's habit.

[94] Isaías Rodríguez points to Pedro López de Ayala as the originator of that new spirituality, even though it did not have the same influence as it did during the sixteenth century. He confirms his views along with Americo Castro and Clemente Sánchez Albornoz (*Autores Espirituales Esañoles en la Edad Media*, 1967, 183-4, 199-200).

[95] Andrés, *La Teol. Española*, I, 115.

[96] Ibid.

interest and influence" does not seem to take into account the Inquisition's rod of iron upon dissidence and particularly upon the *Alumbrados*. Andrés upholds the idea that in Spain neither *Alumbradism* nor Erasmianism can be separated from the Franciscan's *Recollection*; *Recollection* is to him the first and foundational mysticism of Spain's Golden Age. He recognizes, on the other hand, that Franciscan spirituality has not been studied systematically,[97] and that "there is no possibility of speaking of a uniform orientation."[98] His perspective and development, furthermore, obviates the spiritual decay of those times and the spiritual contribution of *Conversos*, whose interests paralleled, and were not exclusive of, Franciscan spirituality.

Two parallel tensions help delineate the general character of Franciscans which eventually affected those accused of *Alumbradism*: The tension between Observants and Conventuals, and the tension between asceticism and Humanism or theological education. First, whereas Observants desired to return to their original fervor, austerity, poverty, common life, recollection, and its former rule, Franciscan Conventuals were friends of the more prosperous convents, a softer religious life, exceptions to the rule, and personal concessions. Conventuals enjoyed certain reputation among the higher society of their time, with a controlled independence and little cloistered life. Both branches were identified as *Ordo Fratrum Minorum.*

Parallel to the struggle of a rigorous versus a more lenient practice, there was a difference among them in reference to Humanism and sacred studies. While Dominicans carefully regulated their studies, Observant Franciscans delayed their regulation until well into the sixteenth century. Conventuals were considered to maintain a cold and decaying intellectualism that resented old regulations. Observants, consequently, polarized away from university degrees, the study of theology, and particularly scholasticism and the ensuing rhetoric of Renaissance Humanism. Two personages from the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries expressed the Observant position: Villacreces and Salazar y Salinas. Pedro de Villacreces (1350-1422) represents the initial spirit of reform and Observance in Spain. Even though educated in Salamanca he claimed: "I learnt more crying in darkness in my room, than in Salamanca, in Tolosa, or in Paris studying by candlelight."[99] Lope de Salazar y Salinas (1393-1463), on the other hand, recognized the Order's lack of knowledge regarding Liberal Arts, Scripture, Scholastic Theology, and Canonical Law. Salinas, however, was quite belligerent against Scholasticism, accusing their proponents to be *verbose* doctors.[100] Instead, he encouraged Scripture-based knowledge with brief commentaries like those of Nicholas of Lira – a *Converso*, curiously enough. Salinas favored study; for him, incorrect

[97] Ibid, 83.

[98] Ibid, 100.

[99] Sp. "*Más aprendí en la cella lorando en tiniebra, que en Salamanca, o en Tolosa, o en Paris estudiando a la candela*" (quoted in Andrés, *La Teología Española*, 1977, I, 92).

[100] *Pedro Mtz de Osma around 1474 would define them as "formalistas" "fumosistas" y "verbosistas".* Pedro de Osma, *Repetitio magistry de Osma de Comparatione Deitatis, propietatis et personae*, ms. 35 de la Bibkl del cabildo catedral de Oviedo (cited in Andrés, *La Teología Española*, 1977, I, 85). Note: Melquiades calls Osma "Erasmian" because of his resentment against those "wordy doctors."

comprehension of the gospel or a presumptuous exposition of it was "the origin of all heresies."[101]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, and later accentuated through Erasmus' influence, the debate of Scholastic versus a more biblical approach to theology became fully evident. Franciscans were not interested in what Salinas and others had advocated: special houses or centers for study. The great organizer of Spanish Franciscan Observance, however, Fray Francisco de Quiñones (1480-1540), while urging their establishment, rebuked the use of academic degrees. Following this Observant tendency, between 1515 and 1525, there was the significant withdrawal of Franciscans from official professorships in the University of Alcalá and Valencia. Later in 1532, the general chapter of Tolosa prohibited the acquisition of degrees.

Observants were also reluctant about Humanism, in spite of its success at the turn of sixteenth century. When they were favored by Leo X in 1517, writers like Francisco de Osuna or the great moralist Antonio de Córdoba refused a refined style in order to be better understood. This attitude was maintained through the first half of the sixteenth century.[102] Observants stayed apart from the beautiful elaboration of speech and the study of the classics. They held to Saint Gregory's words: "In the same mouth cannot cohabit praises to Christ and Jupiter."[103] However, the Observant reluctance to adopt a formal study of theology found notorious exceptions.

Both ascetic and academic tensions express an evident oscillation and struggle within the Order of Minors. These oscillations, ratifies Melquiades, have their reflection in the frequent movements of reform since the days of the Order's foundation.[104] This strain, however, is not exclusive of Franciscans. It constitutes a recurrent confrontation since the days of Pseudo Dionysius, Saint Bernard and Abelard continuing through the mystics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This struggle was especially exacerbated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Franciscan reforms maintained a tendency of resentment against academic degrees, systematic study, and especially Scholasticism.[105] They stressed morals in terms of the confessional and the preparation of the preacher. Franciscans studied the diverse ramifications of sin, confessionals, and sacraments. They followed Dogmatic Theology through devout and brief treatises, like *Compendium Theologicae veritatis*, falsely attributed to Saint Bonaventure.[106] Whereas Conventuals had a great participation in theology, the spirit of reform withdrew Observants from university life and drew them to spiritual theology and pastoral practice. [107]

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[101] Andrés, *La Teol. Española*, I, 93.
[102] Ibid,101.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid, 88.
[105] Ibid, 88.
[106] Written by of Hugo Ruipelin of Strasburg. That became a widely used treatise for nearly four centuries (Andrés, *La Teología Española*, 1977, I, 93).
[107] Ibid, 95.

In view of Juan de Valdés, it is significant to observe that some of the tenets of Observant spirituality certainly coincided with Alcaraz particularly as it relates to sacred knowledge; Alcaraz, for example, recurred to the conflict between "men of letters" and "spiritual men."[108] These aspects of asceticism, study, and pastoral focus will be important in the consideration of Valdés' religious background and thought, that is, whether Valdés' spirituality came from Franciscans, from Alcaraz, or whether he evolved from them as he participated in Spain's Erasmian circle.

Cardinal Cisneros' Pastoral Guide: *Constitutions of the Archdiocese of Toledo: Index of what children ought to be taught (1498)*

Even though we have generally referred to Cardinal Cisneros and his edition of devotional literature, lest his pastoral perspectives be unduly associated with Alcaraz's thought and consequently with Valdés', it is convenient to briefly consider one extant writing which reflects some tenets of Cisneros' spirituality. This writing will manifest that even though Cisneros' editions promoted a religious fervor, the diverse spiritual expressions of Spain's early sixteenth century did not necessarily originate with it; some individuals, like Alcaraz, had their own traits. Furthermore, this pastoral guide is important for the relationship of Cisneros' reforms with the monastery of La Salceda, where some later *Alumbrado* suspects resided. This relationship clarifies the connotation of the more "orthodox" trend of *Alumbrados*: *Recollection.*

Gonzalo Jiménez de Cisneros (1436 - 1517) studied in the School of Saint Bartholomew in Salamanca. From Salamanca he went to Rome and became a priest. After his father's death he returned to Spain to become the Archpriest of Uceda (1465). He confronted Archbishop Carrillo and was sent to prison for six years. He was favored by Cardinal González de Mendoza – from the Mendoza family, supportive of *Conversos* prior to the Inquisition – who appointed him General Vicar of his diocese. Cisneros suffered a deep spiritual crisis that led him in 1484 to enter the Franciscan Order, joining the monastery of La Salceda. In that monastery, his asceticism became notorious: He changed his name from Gonzalo to Francisco, slept on the ground, wore cilice, doubled his fasts, retired to a rough hut in the neighboring woods of the isolated friary of Our Lady of Castañar, living as an anchorite. After seven years of monastic life, Queen Isabel and the advice of Gonzalez Mendoza convinced Cisneros to be her Confessor (1492). In 1494 he became "provincial" of the Franciscans of Castile, and in 1495 he became Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of the *Españas*. When Isabel died (1504), Ferdinand claimed regency against his son-in-law Philip, and the intervention of Cisneros left Philip as king of Castile. In 1506, just a few months later, Philip died. Ferdinand was in Naples, and Cisneros established a regent government in Castile. After Ferdinand returned from Naples, Cisneros became Cardinal and General

[108] "I have seen educated man but not spiritual having differences with spiritual people who had no education, to the point that accusing the spirituals as heretics…" (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol 23r).

Inquisitor (1507), bringing the abuses of Deza and Lucero to an end. Cisneros was irreproachable in his orthodoxy, integrity, and asceticism. Cisneros "so clearly dominates religious Spanish life during the twenty years before the outbreak of the Reformation, that we cannot but consider him if we are to understand the attitude of Spain before the Protestant Revolution."[109]

Cisneros was a unique personage**;** being a rigorous Franciscan and an untiring promoter of the Observance, he led an important advancement in theological and biblical learning. Francisco Ortiz, an eminent Franciscan preacher to be discussed later, taught Arts in the monastery of La Salceda, a place favored by Cisneros. While Cisneros' humanistic impulse was obvious, he did not allow the spirit of prayer and devotion to diminish.[110]

Cisneros, above all, was the reformer of the Franciscans, so ratified by Generals of the Order, by Observants, and by his adversaries. His reforms were in line with his personality: "High ascetic values (. . .) bold enterprises both in peace and in war (. . .) [and an] acute political vision."[111] They expressed the yearning for religious renewal and ecclesiastical reform present in the Court of the Catholic Kings especially after 1492. His reforms had to do with the correction of disorders both among the clergy and the Orders. Their goal was a renewal of *pastoral care*, so labeled by García Oro.[112] Whereas Cisneros' influence and agency in the implemented reforms "are not documented in its great majority,"[113] a valuable summary of his pastoral perspective was left in written form. Coming out of the synods of Alcalá (1497) and Talavera de la Reina (1498), which were moderated by Cisneros, a publication was issued: *Constitutions of the Archdiocese of Toledo: Index of what Children Ought to Be Taught*.[114]

The document was directed toward abbots, archbishops, friars, clergy, and all Catholics. The document's purpose focused on *care* and *dangers* of soul, [115]and its constitutions expressed a "holy zeal and purpose."[116] Its contents, however, basically constituted a manual of discipline to correct administrative, moral, and religious abuse or negligence. That was complemented with a schematic guide of Latin prayers, the creed, and commandments for children and laity. In case of transgression diverse fines were prescribed,[117] whose amounts are directed to either Synod expenses, the building

[109] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1-2.

[110] Constitution 24th reads: "*Quo dita in litteris proficiant ut spiritum sanctae orationis et devotionis non extinguatur*" (Andrés, *La Teología Española*, 1977, I, 102).

[111] José García Oro, *Cisneros y la reforma del clero español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos.* (Madrid: [Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto «Jerónimo Zurita»], 1971), 356.

[112] Ibid, 334.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Juan de Porras, ed., *Constituciones del Arzobispado de Toledo ordenadas por Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Tabla de lo que han de enseñar a los niños,* (Salmantice: Juan de Porras para Fco. Goricio, 1948), III..

[115] Ibid, II, IIII.

[116] Ibid, III.

[117] E.g. Unjustified absence from yearly synods (never really implemented) ten Florines; To require money for "oil" or "Chrisma", two *florines* of gold; not revering the sacrament, failing one mass because

of the churches, or benevolence. Pastoral guidance was expressed in terms of proper reverence to sacraments and feasts, reciting the creed, and with expressions like "forty days of pardon" for every Sunday that Christians went to be catechized,[118] or "deeds of mercy" that God would require in "detailed account" at "the day of judgment."[119] Stress was made on the ceremonial aspect of the Sacrament.[120] Not celebrating the feast of the "glorious Confessor Saint Francis" also constituted a sin.[121] Significantly, the document did not present any reference to Scriptures, apart from the command to preach the gospel. As García says, its articles may be taken as "clear antecedents of diverse Tridentine decrees."[122]

The teaching of children was garbed in religious ceremonialism. The first thing to know[123] was how to make the sign of the cross, reciting its Latin prayer as well as the Pater Noster, the Hail Mary, the Apostle's Creed, and Salve Regina – all in Latin. The faith which all Christians should believe and practice was embodied in the fourteen articles of the Holy Catholic faith, the Ten Commandments of God's Law, and the five Commandments of his Holy Church, works of mercy, and fleeing from the Seven Mortal Sins. Pastoral care was exercised on Sundays.[124] Priests were to be sure to declare the gospel of that day, at least in its literal sense.

Recognizing the integrity of Cisneros' piety,[125] the Constitution's emphasis, perspective, and the overwhelming majority of its statements confirm that the spirituality of Pedro R. de Alcaraz was of a different breed. The "spiritual things," for example, recorded in Cisneros' pastoral guidelines were things like the oil or *Chrism* as opposed to temporal gain[126] – absolutely alien to Alcaraz's thought. Alcaraz's tenets were certainly not "in accordance with the spirit and norms of the church and with our people's sense of austerity," as Andrés speaks of Franciscan spirituality. Understanding the difference between these constitutions and Alcaraz's defenses, the pastoral guidelines, values, and practice do not favor the idea of Alcaraz's piety, as so-called *Alumbrado,* originating or developing from Cisnerian or Franciscan spirituality.

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attending other masses, one *florin*; not teaching the prayers, commandments, not reading the gospels on Sunday's mass … two *reales* (to pay to the priest).

[118] *Constitutions*, VI.

[119] Ibid, VII.

[120] Ibid, VII.

[121] Ibid, Art 19. XV

[122] García Oro, *Cisneros*, 336.

[123] Significant difference with "the first thing to know" according to Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine*, later to be discussed.

[124] *Constitutions*, V.

[125] Alvar Gomez, first rigorous biographer on Cisneros (Ed. in Alcalá, 1569) attributed to him the superior level of Spanish monastic life during the sixteenth century in reference to other monasteries in Europe (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, 11). Another biography: Pedro de Aranda Quintanilla Y Mendoza, *Archetypo de virtudes, espejo de prelados el venerable Padre y siervo de Dios F. Fco Ximénez de Cisneros* (Palermo: Nicolás Bua, Impresor del S. Oficio de la Inquisición, 1653). Available in: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d-2709710, accessed May 5, 2013.

[126] *Constitutions*,VII.

Alumbrado Disorders within Catholic Orthodoxy and Francisco de Osuna's Recollection

Proceeding to the consideration of individuals closer to the *Alumbrado* conflict,[127] this research will consider Francisca Hernández, Francisco Ortiz, and Francisco de Osuna. The first two were accused and tried of *Alumbradism*. Even though both were guilty of religious disorders, they never trespassed the general boundaries of orthodox Catholicism. Regarding Osuna, even though never accused of *Alumbradism*, his relationship with Ortiz, his articulation of *Recollection*, and his own emphases and expressions make him a valuable reference in relation to Valdés. D. Ricart, in fact, associates Valdés with Osuna in light of the later Spanish Mysticism.[128] Acknowledging their differences, these three individuals remained within Catholic institutionalism and differed from the Erasmian circle in Alcalá. And these three were also essentially distinct from Alcaraz's dissidence.

Francisca Hernández

Francisca Hernández was a *beata*, well considered by Cisneros and Osuna. Francisco de Quiñones, General of the Franciscan Order was also one of her great admirers.[129] There is no hint that she was a *Converso*.[130] Her spiritual activity was first exercised in Salamanca,[131] having a close relationship with Franciscans. Antonio de Medrano was one of her devout followers. In 1519 both Francisca and Antonio were reported to the Inquisition for questionable moral behavior. While under torture, Antonio de Medrano confessed to having had sexual relations with her, even though the Inquisitors had medical reports which certified Francisca's virginity.[132] The Holy Tribunal sentenced them to live apart. Francisca then moved to Valladolid and lived for a year and a half in the home of Bernardino Tovar. Medrano did not abide by the Inquisition's restrictions and moved to Francisca's dwelling place. He abstained from speaking with her but led the mass for her, and she cooked for him.

When Francisca was in Valladolid, Bernardino Tovar became infatuated with Francisca. His half brother Juan de Vergara, before going to Flanders (1520), endeavored in vain to separate him from her. OnVergara's return in 1522, he found him

[127] We will intentionally use Alumbrado *Conflict*, understanding that it is a better word than *movement*, due to the differences and even opposition among those involved. It was a conflict between the institutional Church and them, and also of different trends among them.

[128] D. Ricart (ed.), *DDC y Salterio*, 12-13.

[129] Angela Selke, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición: proceso de Fr. Francisco Ortíz: 1529-1582* (Madrid: Guadarrama, 1968), 63. Ortiz referred to the respected authority of his brother Pedro Ortiz, theologian in Paris, not even suspected of Erasmianism, thanking with tears that "God had allowed to see such a thing in Spain," in reference to Francisca (ibid., 99).

[130] Selke, *Inqu. Francisco Ortíz*, 45.

[131] She was from Canillas, near Salamanca. She was not a Tertiary, but had a close relationship with Franciscans (Boehmer, *Francisca Hdez. un Fr. Ortiz*,1865, 2-4).

[132] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 198-9.

installed in a village near Valladolid retained by "the sorceress."[133] This time Vergara moved his brother to Alcalá de Henares. Bernardino would send her greetings from a distance through priests or disciples who befriended him.[134] The distance increasingly removed Bernardino from Francisca's influence; however, her influence continued and extended into Guadalajara and Alcalá. Fray Juan de Olmillos, Guardian of the monastery in Escalona, was also devout follower of Francisca. In Guadalajara she overshadowed Isabel de la Cruz, connecting with Bishop Juan de Cazalla and María de Cazalla, sister of Bishop Cazalla. In relationship with Alcalá, after Tovar and Vergara's severance, she deeply impressed Fray Francisco Ortiz. Eventually, Francisca was arrested in 1529, and, as an act of revenge for Tovar's departure, she made a vehement but clearly questionable accusation against both Tovar and Vergara. Francisca's questionable declarations against others have constituted the ground of some perspectives concerning *Alumbrados* constituting a corporative endeavor and Tovar being the head of the *illuminist* conspiracy. Her manipulations must be discarded in favor of a more objective appraisal.

Aside from emphasizing the moral and internal side of religion, or imparting a sort of independence from ritualism, Francisca had no theological pronouncements. The miraculous wisdom attributed to her consisted of her explanations of Scripture, "quickening the hearts to love God," and her interpretation of moral and symbolic texts apart from the "Schools' elaborated vocabulary."[135] Her religious profession included supernatural elements like raptures, miracles, and "knowing the hearts of men by looking at them."[136] Both Ortiz and Osma received objects from her that were reputed to communicate supernatural powers.[137]

Francisca's expression of faith fell within the boundaries of orthodoxy.[138] She could be excessive in her utterances or morally questionable. She was unduly exalted by her devotees' infatuation. But her supernatural raptures and attributions had been favored by most eminent church leaders. She was part of that Old Christian favored fervor and supernatural spirituality. She differed categorically from Alcaraz.

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[133] Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo" in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos t.I (1902): 477.

[134] Friends of Tovar: Villafaña y Olivares from Pastrana; Santo Domingo y Gumiel from Toledo; Juan del Castillo, Miguel de Eguía with his brother Diego, and Diego López de Husillos. Almost all of these suffered later inquisitorial proceedings caused by Francisca's declarations (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 53).

[135] Francisca spoke in reference to Song of Songs, Revelation, or the Sermon on the Mount, and also concerning the eucharist. (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,*1968, 98-99).

[136] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 113.

[137] Ortiz justified his exalted view of Francisca with the miraculous healing-restoration that he experienced from the gift of a ribbon from Francisca. (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,*1968, 98-99).

[138] As Selke has well stated, Boehmer's picture of Francisca was made out of a partial sample of Ortiz's trial (AHN, Leg.219, n.5). He did not have access to the complete transcription which is today found in Halle, Germany. Boehmer, therefore, supplied much of her image with "suggestions not always accurate," which later have been corrected with the trial of Antonio de Medrano, as well as her references and declarations in the processes of Alcaraz, Vergara, and María Cazalla. As Selke well states, Francisca "was not the forerunner of the Evangelical Reform in Spain" (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 28)

Fray Francisco de Ortiz (1497 – c. 1545)

Francisco Ortiz was born in Toledo in 1497 - his life spanned nearly the same period as Valdés. His *Converso* descent is clearly expressed in his trial. His father was Ambassador Rojas' steward, a status which provided the possibility of a university education for Francisco and his two brothers: Juan became secretary of the Admiral of Castile, whereas Pedro became an important theologian in Paris – a useful reference for Francisco to eventually refute any fondness towards Erasmus. Francisco studied in Salamanca and then in Alcalá de Henares. He entered the monastery of Cifuentes (1519) as a novice, joining the Franciscan Order in La Salceda (1520). He taught logic to the Franciscan friars in Pastrana. In 1521 Ortiz was named Preacher of the Franciscan Order, preaching for the Imperial Court. In 1523, in connection with Francisco de Osuna and the monastery in La Salceda, he protested against Alcaraz because of the latter's belief in what was identified as the *Abandonment*.

The cause of Ortiz's arrest and accusation of *Alumbrado* was precipitated in 1529. A week after Francisca's arrest, Ortiz preached a sermon in which he defended Francisca Hernández and reproached the Inquisition for arresting her. Consequently, he was sentenced in 1532 with a five year suspension of his condition as Preacher and Confessor, and with two years of confinement in a convent. In spite of Clement VII's Brief, naming him Apostolic Preacher and exempting him from all penalties from the Holy Office, and inviting him to move to the papal court,[139] Ortiz stayed in the Convent in Torrelaguna until his death around c. 1545.

The Campaign of Medina de Rioseco (1526)

In addition to his defense of Francisca, Francisco de Ortiz has been associated with the *Alumbrados* for his apparently intentional involvement in the campaign of *the Apostles of Medina*. This campaign has been associated with the "secret conspiracy" artificially construed by Francisca as she reacted towards Tovar, Vergara, and others. Not only is Francisca's reliability totally questionable, but the details involved in the Campaign rule out any religious dissidence from the institutional church, either in Ortiz or in Admiral Fadrique. The Campaign of Medina was genuinely an endeavor to renew Catholic Christianity in terms of a more upright and spiritual religious commitment.

Fadrique Enríquez de Cabrera, fourth Admiral of Castile, owned the vast manor of Medina de Rioseco and other lands, fruit of various generations of loyal service to the kings of Castile. After Queen Isabel's death, Fadrique became a close supporter of King Ferdinand, being governor of Castile during the Commoners Revolt (1520-1521). He promoted the construction of the Convent and Church of San Francisco in Medina, where he was buried on his death in 1538. His relationship with Charles V after the Commoners' Revolt is significant; Fadrique corresponded with Charles in reference to government issues, including quotes of the Gospels, of Augustine, and Aristotle. The Admiral encouraged Charles to maintain friendship with the Pope, and not to punish

[139] May 31, 1532.

exceedingly those who rebelled. In 1521, being with Cardinal Adrian, the Admiral wrote the Emperor regarding the threat of Lutheran heresy.[140]

Admiral Enríquez became Don Diego López Pacheco's brother-in-law through his second marriage (Don Diego was the nobleman at whose service were Alcaraz and Valdés). Fadrique lived about ten years longer than Pacheco, and the trouble suffered by the latter in relationship with the conflict and arrest of Alcaraz could well have discouraged Fadrique's involvement in religious reform. Fadrique previously became notorious for patronizing a wide preaching campaign: The apostles of Medina de Rioseco in 1526. The Inquisition, due to Francisca's declarations, considered this effort to be the radical expression of some *Alumbrados* and the outcome of an excessive condescendence of the Admiral.[141]

There was another supposed connection of the Admiral with the *Alumbrados*. At the end of his life he received a visit from Isabel de la Cruz, prior to her sentence to life imprisonment. Fadrique had intervened satisfactorily in the sentence against his physician, who had been accused of witchcraft by the Inquisition of Cuenca. Isabel pleaded for the Admiral's protection, but she did not receive a positive response. In 1535 Fadrique also endeavored to bring Francisco Ortiz to his palace. Ortiz's brother, as noted above, was secretary of the Admiral of Castile, and the Admiral had been previously inspired by Francisco's faith. Francisco, however, declined the Admiral's invitation. He had been tried by the Inquisition and voluntarily extended his confinement in the monastery of Torrelaguna.[142]

The Campaign of Medina was initiated in 1525 with Fadrique's charge to Juan López de Celain.[143] Celain convinced the Admiral of the need "to reform all his manors, so that people would live justly and in a Christian way."[144] The Admiral ordered Celain to recruit priests to whom he would pay a yearly salary of 20,000 maraveds, writing a letter of recommendation to favor Celain's efforts. Celain recruited some individuals from Toledo and Alcalá de Henares: Diego López de Husillos, Luis de Beteta, Villafaña, the printer Miguel de Eguía, a young Dominican called Thomas de Guzmán – a relative of the Mendoza's already known as a preacher – and probably a merchant from Burgos named Diego del Castillo. Three other individuals were probed: Miguel and Gutiérrez Ortiz from Toledo, and Francisco Ortiz. For some time, the Admiral hosted Juan López and the people recruited by him in the surroundings of Medina. Along with the preparation of the Campaign, a letter was written to the Pope requesting

[140] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 194.

[141] Ibid, 189.

[142] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, 216. Cf. Francisco Ortiz, *Epistolas familiares del muy Reuerēdo padre fray Francisco Ortiz ... de la orden de sant Francisco: embiadas a algunas personas particulares, las quales son de muy santa y prouechosa doctrina, y mucha erudicion* (En Caragoça: en casa de Bartholome de Nagera, 1552).

[143] The details of this Campaign are most clearly seen in the trial against the priest Luis de Beteta (ed. Carrete Parrondo, 1980).

[144] Cf. Carrete Parrondo, *Mov. Alumbrado y Renacimiento Español*, 101.

him to sanction it. The project was never accomplished, but its intent reached publicly notoriety.[145]

In spite of the historical connections of the Admiral with individuals whose orthodoxy was later questioned, that is not enough to accuse the Admiral or Ortiz of *Alumbradism* or even Lutheranism.[146] His associations, papal request, and warning to Emperor Charles rule out any dissident evangelism. The variety of individuals involved, furthermore, confirm that the emphasis was reviving the existing Christianity and not any particular dissidence. And, finally, the letters he exchanged with Francisco de Ortiz, express nothing but an affective, genuine, institutional-Catholic spirituality.

Francisco de Ortiz's Trial in Light of Valdés

The Trial of Francisco de Ortiz (1529-1532) as well as his writings express an unfeigned spiritual quest. Neither his daring pronouncements nor his infatuation for Francisca trespassed orthodox Catholicism. His theological education came from the humanist University of Alcalá, and some of his expressions are very significant in light of Valdés. His writings confirm the common interest and terminology of the feelings-experience-oriented spirituality that contributed to Valdés' background. Some of the declarations and explanations contained in his trial, furthermore, corroborate and contribute to a better distinction of him from Alcaraz and Juan de Cazalla. Particularly in regard to Alcaraz, the Trial sheds much light on the crucial crossroads between *Recollection* and *Abandonment*.

First of all, as our first chapter indicated, Ortiz's trial confirms the active presence of the *Converso* conflict during Valdés' formative years. He echoed some of Cartagena and Oropesa's contrasts between lineage and virtue:

> Nowadays (. . .) men are content with a dead faith, saying that they are Christians, and of a good [Old Christian] lineage, while their own wills and self-interests [147] and their vain self-esteem are very alive and invigorated within them, in such a way that they would be better called dead Christians than Old Christians.[148]

He generally considered that people needed to shake off their "condemned lukewarmness" of those "miserable times" in order to awaken to a new religious fervor.[149]

The active presence of the *Converso* conflict was also ratified by Ortiz's accusers. The Franciscan Order had installed the restrictions of Blood Purity in 1525,

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[145] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España,* ed. 1966, 215. Giordano states that the association of some of those individuals (e.g., López de Celain and Juan del Castillo) with Luther was the cause of their execution (*Apologetas de la Fe*, 189-190).

[146] Manuel de León refers to the individuals involved in the campaign as a "*Alumbrado*-Erasmian-Lutheran" circle. (*Los Protestantes y la Espiritualidad Evangélica en la España del siglo XVI*, n.d.,vol I, 139).

[147] "Their own wills and self-interests" is a significant phrase in view of Alcaraz, to be discussed later.

[148] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 141.

[149] Ibid, 67, 79-80.

with Clement VII sanctioning the exclusion of *Conversos* from all important posts and recognitions.[150] Among other similar expressions, Diego de Castañeda, Guardian of the Monastery in Ocaña, declared that "he did not want to see any *Converso* in the Order."[151] Juan de Olmillos, whose excessive raptures and apocalyptic revelations against the papacy had not prevented him from becoming Provincial of his Order, exclaimed against Ortiz: "What a slap [in the face] this rapacious Jew has given to Saint Francis!"[152] The day Ortiz preached his sermon, the Commander of the House of Mercy expressed that he wanted to see "all those who killed Jesus Christ and have come from their lineage" burned at the stake.[153] These pronouncements manifest the relevance of the previously discussed external pressures on *Conversos* and their internal struggles, particularly at the time when Valdés was publishing his *Dialogue on Doctrine*.

Typically of *Conversos*, Ortiz turned and focused on an internal religious commitment in terms of a love-relationship with God, tampering with a disregard for ceremonies and austerity.

> He who is not enamored with God cannot be holy. He who lives on bread and water can be holy, and he who daily eats turkey and a well-white-shaken delicacy can also be holy; but he who does not maintain the life of grace in his disposition,[154] with cautious care to love God and his neighbor and to keep his holy commandments, cannot be holy (. . . .) The only thing that matters is that which moves a person to do his work.[155]

This tendency was strengthened as he admired Francisca's "marvelous liberty," which seemed to undermine "external manifestations of holiness."[156] Very seldom, however, was Ortiz caught not following ceremonies.[157] Old Christianity, nevertheless, became suspicious of such an emphasis on "love." Friar Gil López de Bejar declared: "He began to preach in a different way, in such a way that he seemed different from that which he had been; (. . .) what he preached was about some loves of God, some spiritualities, almost unintelligible."[158] Contrarily, his *Familiar Epistles* are evidence of a clearly recognized and feeling-oriented Catholic spirituality.

The urge for that love-relationship included, as was the case with Juan de Cazalla or Alcaraz, a warning against making religion and asceticism the garb of vanity and self interest:

> Many seemed to despise the world – which in reality they did not despise, because they focused on themselves, seeking their own glory

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[150] Ibid, 64. In 1525, the Provintial Chapter of Escalona established that "none would be received to the Order (of St. Francis) who were of tainted lineage in a fourth degree." (Cf. Salazar, *Crónica … de la Provincia de Castilla*, Madrid: 1612, 83, quoted by Selke, 1968, 65).

[151] Ibid, 65.

[152] Sp. "¡Qué bofetada ha dado a San Francisco este judigüelo rapacejo!" (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 1968, 65).

[153] Selke, *Inqu. Francisco Ortiz*, 65.

[154] Sp: "En su ánimo," a key word and emphasis in Valdés' writings.

[155] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 94.

[156] Ibid, 84.

[157] Alcaraz declared against Ortiz: he "ate meat and fattened hens during lent," while he was preaching in the Court while in Burgos, something that Ortiz recognized and regretted (Selke, 1968, 249).

[158] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 251.

> and loving it more than God's (. . .) True love (. . .) [seeks] that God alone be glorified (. . .) with very true humility and unfeigned submission to the Holy Church, our Mother.[159]

Corroborated by the accusation of Diego López de Husillos, Ortiz defended "the simplicity of the soul being so united with God in love, [in a way] that God and the soul would not be two (. . .) in like manner as the saints were."[160]

Comparing Ortiz with Alcaraz, they had clear similarities, while their spiritualities differed categorically. Ortiz resented empty ritualism.[161] Ortiz also considered mental prayer to be better, but never denied vocal prayer.[162] He occasionally defended spiritual above or instead of physical obedience: "That which is good for a good end can be a hindrance for another thing which is better."[163] Ortiz referred to Saint Cyprian and Saint Bernard.[164] His affinities with Alcaraz, however, shed light on the people's confusion and Alcaraz insisting that his was the true, distinct teaching on the love of God. They evidently shared some emphases but maintained different theological foundations and spiritualities, which the non initiated could not perceive. To generally group them together as "*Alumbrados*," therefore, and Valdés among them, is not very enlightening.

Along with internal religion, Ortiz defended the "spiritual nature of truth."[165] He argued that "letters without God cause blindness." His arguments to see Francisca as a God-given Saint "could not be learnt in books;" it was a "divine truth."[166] His inquisitors needed to "seek and take the opinion of spiritual people, experimented in the tastes of God."[167] Ortiz answered to those who rejected him for his infatuation with Francisca that they had "no experimental knowledge[168] of the mercies I have received from God in my soul through this servant," Francisca.[169]

Among Ortiz's expressions of "spiritual" knowledge, there is one whose significance in light of Valdés can hardly be overestimated. Ortiz exhorted his inquisitors to look to "Saint Bonaventure and Gerson on the matter that together with science they had experience," so that the inquisitors "would not confuse the precious with the vile."[170] This is an almost verbatim coincidence with Valdés' key expression:

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[159] Ibid., 133.
[160] Ibid., 252.
[161] Ibid., 96.
[162] Ibid, 265.
[163] Ibid, 263.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid, 78.
[166] Ibid, 86.
[167] Ibid, 86. María de Cazalla would say that Inquisitors did not understand them because they needed "men with divine spirit" (Ortega-Costa, *Proceso M. Cazalla,*1978, p.82).
[168] "Experimental" knowledge will be a key concept in Valdés' thought.
[169] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 259.
[170] Ibid, 259. There were other similar statements statements by Ortiz. He, for instance, declared against an accusation "its truth depends on my internal experience" (Ibid., 283); He spoke of "what I *felt* . . . I will know better . . . than the attorneys (who have accuse me)" (Ibid., 283).

Christianity not being a matter of science but experience.[171] In his final recantation, Ortiz explained better his understanding of that "experience." Repenting from his trust on this feeling and experience as an explicit revelation from God, he described it as "an instinct which he estimated to be divine."[172] This is an absolute parallel with Valdés, with the only distinction that Ortiz had this experience concerning Francisca, and Valdés had it regarding the gospel as he understood it and Scripture.

The whole trial against Ortiz revolves around his subjective, spiritual assurance and knowledge concerning Francisca. Unawares of Francisca's moral flaws and unreliable reports, Ortiz justified his impossibility to err, [173] setting out his corroborating evidence[174]and confidence.[175] Ortiz, based on his feeling-experience, felt he was standing on a glorious testimony. [176] Strikingly similar to that which was attributed to Isabel and Alcaraz, Ortiz's deep and personal God-given assurance extended to smaller issues; if he felt that "the Spirit dictated within," he could take off his coat or habit and give it to a poor person, even if he were commanded not to.[177]

There is a further similarity between Ortiz and Alcaraz or Valdés, particularly the combination of Augustinian elements with a victorious perspective of religion, and the absence of a pessimistic, inevitable perspective on sin or the threat of purgatory. Ortiz expressed that his disposition[178] of obedience and humility came from Jesus Christ's favor, knowing that within himself "there was nothing good of his own or that he should fully trust."[179] His Christian experience was victorious, receiving a "continual increase of holy joy and happiness that God gives to the soul daily" as he served him.[180]

Another important element in relation to Alcaraz and Valdés is Ortiz's response to suffering for righteousness' sake, even from a Christian institution. In addition to Ortiz's affinity with Alcaraz or María Cazalla concerning dying for one's convictions and faithfulness to God, [181] suffering is considered in a positive light. As Ortiz preached the sermon which occasioned his arrest, he spoke "as if this were the last sermon" after

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[171] The Christian business (issue, matter, praxis) is not science but experience (Juan de Valdés, Cons. n. 55, OC, 610; n.57, OC, 612, 613; n.110, OC, 748).

[172] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 295.

[173] Ibid, 131.

[174] "I saw within my conscience that . . . God, with marvelous providence, had ordained that I would have talked twice with the Archbishop" (Selke , *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 90).

[175] "This writing [your accusation] will ignite with your sin in the day of Judgment …! (Ibid., 77).

[176] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 75. Cf. He knew "with all certainty that the prison for Fca. Hdez was unjust." (Ibid, 76). The same day that Fca was arrested, "very desirous to know the will of God," he suddently felt in his heart "a new and deliberated … and full will to reprimand publicly the dishonor made to God [the Inquisition's arrest of Francisca] …. it was given me the aforesaid will with the greatest joy and happiness and joy which I have ever felt in my life …" (Ibid, 89).

[177] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 117-8.

[178] Sp. "Ánimo." It is necessary to remember this term for the later discussion on Valdés' thought. It was also crucial in Valdés.

[179] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 296.

[180] Ibid,131.

[181] Ortiz pleaded "that God would be so merciful to me that . . . I might finish my life in the confession of this truth." (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968,. 125). Alcaraz was "ready to die for the truth" (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols 115r, 145v, 164v, etc; M. Cazalla, "ready to die for her friends" (Ortega-Costa, *Proceso M. Cazalla*, fol 18v, 83).

which "he would have to die."[182] His internal certainty, closely approaching that which Valdés expressed in *Dialogue on Doctrine*, made death "kind and most sweet (. . .) with evident and infallible sentiments from God." [183] Also parallel with Valdés, Ortiz declared that "the unjust ones (. . .) oppressed the servants of God," viewing inquisitors as "performing [their] office, not of shepherds, but of wolves."[184] Both Ortiz and Valdés did not question the entity of the church; they questioned and identified some who had usurped some posts in its leadership.

Regardless of Ortiz's affinities with Alcaraz, Valdés, and other so-called *Alumbrados*, there were sharp contrasts. As far as intensity, feeling-orientation, spiritual emphasis, they coincided in general terms; however, as to the origin and object of their devotion, there were strong disagreements. That is obvious in Ortiz's infatuation with Francisca. Ortiz's expressions constituted a scandal for Alcaraz, Juan de Cazalla, and his sister María.[185] Ortiz said of Francisca, for instance: "I sucked at the spiritual breasts of this very pure virgin who in Jesus Christ, her sweet husband, begat me and raised me; I drew milk of doctrine for the little ones and strong meat for the more advanced."[186] These expressions clarify some conceptual differences among *Alumbrados*. Their reporting of others at the Inquisition did not always emerge out of personal rivalry or contention. There is a great difference, for instance, between the construed accusations of Francisca Hernández against Tovar and, conversely, Alcaraz reporting his differences from Ortiz, containing verifiable and conceptual religious divergences which he expressed before any knowledge of charges against him. Alcaraz maintained his differences through torture, and even after his sentence was issued.

Regarding pastoral understanding, in spite of his focus on internal religion, Ortiz leaves no doubt of his Catholicism. The connotation of the love of God that he taught clearly reflected the asceticism of institutional Christianity. Ortiz's circumspection and consciousness resembles more the pastoral understanding of Hernando de Talavera than the teachings of María and Juan de Cazalla and much less those of Alcaraz's *Abandonment.*[187] Ortiz's requests concerning the sacraments, the mass, and confession express no dissidence from Spanish Catholicism whatsoever.[188]

Some of Ortiz's expressions could be wrongly traced to external influences, like Erasmus or Luther; however, that would constitute a misrepresentation and failure to recognize Ortiz's clear Catholicism. Similar to Erasmus' *monachatus non est pietas,* for

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[182] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 32.

[183] Ibid,114. Outstanding parallel with Valdés' reference to the Holy Spirit's grace, enabling Christians "to feel … sweet and savory any persecution that God might bring to them" (Juan de Valdés, DD, OC, 111).

[184] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 79.

[185] J.Cazalla complained to Friar Gil López de Bejar because Ortiz "excessively praised the so called Francisca" (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 251).

[186] *Strong meat* (Sp. *manjar sólido*) (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 57). Also E.g.: "In giving her to me, God as such intimate lady and mother, almost has given me the earnest of eternal life" (Ibid., 56), or "God and the angels honor … Francisca" (Ibid., 118), or "Oh my purest loves, or my blessed inwards and life of my soul and my heart and my eyes" (names referred to Francisca) (Ibid.,119).

[187] Cf. Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 59.

[188] Ibid., 138-9.

instance, Ortiz declared that "true austerity does not consist of the [friar's] tunic."[189] He also declared the possibility of reaching "a very high purity of perfection" without being a friar or nun.[190] He, however, not only spoke against Erasmus's *Moria*,[191] but he commended monasticism as a higher spirituality, and the virginal state as superior than being married, even though his comments "displeased some Erasmians."[192] His internal emphasis should be traced to his *Converso* identity and his Franciscan context, different from other *Alumbrado* suspects – e.g., Juan de Cazalla or María de Cazalla – for whom Erasmus seemed to be synonymous with the gospel.[193] Bishop Cazalla and María rather represent another trend among so-called *Alumbrados*, which will be discussed in chapter four.

The distance between Ortiz and Luther is much greater. The resemblance of his statements concerning the authority of conscience is certainly remarkable in view of the German reformer: Ortiz could not recant because his conscience did not allow him to do so, unless it was shown to him why should he disregard such a conscience.[194] He also stated, "for our glory is this: the testimony of our conscience."[195] It would be totally unreasonable and unacceptable, however, to point to this parallelism as a mark of Lutheran affinity and identification.[196] These apparent similarities reveal the characteristics of this Pre-Tridentine Spanish Christianity. These parallels require the discussion of these individuals and trends, which analysis will clarify the definition of Valdés' thought.

Francisco de Osuna with Reference to the *Abandonment* and Juan de Valdés

This chapter, thus far, has presented two distinct religious currents at the confluences and divergences of *Conversos* and Franciscan spirituality. One trend was characterized by supernatural revelations and apocalyptic and Jewish elements; the other one, even though connected with Francisca Hernández, still generally remained within institutional boundaries. The favor and recognition of institutional leaders confirm that, recognizing her excesses, Francisca emerged within this Catholic fervor and Franciscan spirituality. The mystic, fervent development of Franciscan spirituality

[189] Ibid., 96.
[190] Ibid., 73.
[191] "My soul loves and reveres friars, I always abhorred the liberty that Erasmus has in that regards . . . in spite of some without the works of Christians . . . in spite of some being loose, who put their happiness in external appearances … our sacred religion does not cease being what it is" (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 153).
[192] Ibid., 267-8.
[193] Ortega-Costa, *Trial Cazalla*, 80. Ortiz demarked himself from those who identified themselves with Erasmus (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 268-9).
[194] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 155.
[195] Ibid, 298.
[196] "Francisco Ortiz, incarcerated in Toledo . . . for a sermon preached with too many Lutheran propositions" (Leon, *Protestantes y Espiritualidad Evangélica*, Vol I, 140).

was eventually purged and articulated in Francisco de Osuna's *Third Alphabet.*[197] Osuna was very rarely mentioned in *Alumbrado* trials, and has never even remotely come under suspicion of being an *Alumbrado.* However, things were not that clear at the inception of what he called *Recollection*. Osuna's *Gracious Banquet* was forbidden by the *Index* of 1559, and even his renowned *Third Alphabet* underwent some revisions to avoid *Alumbrado* associations. [198] Even though he has been later recognized as the forerunner of Spanish mysticism, in the initial stages, the orthodoxy of his spirituality was not that clear.

Even though Osuna was never considered an *Alumbrado* suspect, his inclusion in Valdés research is justified for several reasons. In relationship to Francisco Ortiz, the reference to Osuna and *Recollection* provide a more defined contrast with Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, which was Valdés' central influence in Escalona. Osuna's teaching, presented significant similarities with Valdés, particularly as it concerns some mystic expressions. However, Valdés' seemingly parallel references had different definitions and connotations. Even though Valdés used some common terms, particularly "experience," his teaching clearly differed from Osuna and Spanish Mysticism.[199]

Even though Osuna and Valdés did not coincide chronologically in Don Diego's Palace of Escalona, both had a particular connection with it and with the Marquis Don Diego L. Pacheco. During Valdés' stay (1523), the Marquis' palace became actually a religious forum of conflicting convictions expressed by Olmillos, Sebastián, and Alcaraz. The Marquis was at times perplexed by Alcaraz's teachings; nevertheless, he clearly sought to assist Alcaraz while in prison. In 1527, Osuna dedicated his *Third Alphabet* to the Marquis with laudatory expressions [200] and with an evident encouragement for him to maintain the exercise of *Recollection*.[201] Similarly, in 1529, Valdés dedicated *Dialogue on Doctrine* to the Marquis. Later in Naples (c. 1535), as subsequent editions of Osuna's *Alphabets* were published in Spain, Valdés wrote his *Christian Alphabet* with a distinct spiritual guide that aimed at Christian perfection.[202] With reference to this general environment of religious divergences, it is significant that as Bishop Juan de Cazalla would present twelve steps to perfection in his *Light of the Soul,* Valdés also presented twelve steps to perfection in his *Christian Alphabet*. Valdés used a common vocabulary and emphasis on a love relationship with God; however, he evidently defended in Naples his own particular thought against the backdrop of his Spanish background.

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[197] Francisco de Osuna, *Tercer Abecedario espiritual*, intr.. Melquiades Andrés Martín (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1972).

[198] Father Ros refers to the fact that three sections of the two first parts of the writing were censored by the Index (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 234).

[199] D. Ricart has considered Valdés along Osuna and Spanish Mysticism (*DDC y Salterio,* 1964, 12-13).

[200] Osuna writes: "I feel that the love that your honor have for him [God] exceeds to all others'" (Francisco Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* 34).

[201] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* 35. Osuna clearly calls it "recollection" in p.36

[202] Valdés' *Alfabeto Cristiano* ca. 1536.

The purpose of the following discussion is not, of course, to provide a comprehensive discussion on Osuna's *Spiritual Alphabets* and *Recollection*. What is pertinent, in view of Alcaraz and Valdés, is Osuna relationship with Ortiz and those particular characteristics from Osuna's *Third Alphabet* that identify this more orthodox trend at "the times of the *Alumbrados."* These characteristics will enlighten the *Converso* and dissident character of Alcaraz's and Alcaraz's influence on Valdés, distinguishing Valdés from an undue association with Spanish Mysticism.

Osuna's Spiritual and Theological Formation c.1492-c. 1540

The dates of Osuna's life closely mirror those of Francisco Ortiz and Valdés. In spite of his defense of *Conversos* or his aversion to forced impositions, his biography rules out a *Converso* lineage.[203] He entered the Franciscan Order (c. 1513), studied Humanities in San Antonio de la Cabrera, and Philosophy in Torrelaguna. He then acquired his formal theological education from that place of unique spiritual confluences, Alcalá de Henares. Osuna arrived at the convent of La Salceda around 1522 or 1523,[204] receiving his first influences from the elderly Cristobal de Tendilla.[205] Soon, however, he was recognized as a teacher "in the things of the Spirit."[206] While in La Salceda, he produced the spiritual works that he later published.[207] By the time of Ortiz's trial, five of his Castilian works had been published in Seville (1528-1530). Significantly, Santidrián locates Osuna in Seville during those years.[208] That could explain Osuna's absence at Ortiz's trial, as well as Olivares going to Ortiz in Alcalá to clear his mind about *Recollection*.[209] In 1531 Osuna was named General Commissioner of *Indias*. In 1532 he participated in the General Congregation of Toulouse to go later into Flanders, where he published his Latin works. He returned to Galicia (Spain) in 1536; there are few references about him afterwards.

During the third decade of the sixteenth century the University of Alcalá experienced the influx of several religious currents: Franciscan reforms, Alonso de

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[203] Elements like his memories about his pilgrimage or his belief that bread given to the poor had medicinal properties disqualifies him as *Converso*. A *Converso* would regard those as superstitions (Santidrian ed., *Third Alphabet*, 1998, 9).

[204] A. Selke mentions that by the time Francisco Ortiz took his vows in La Salceda, Osuna was already there, locating Osuna in La Salceda at least by 1520 (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 1968, 241).

[205] Saturnino López Santidrian ed., *Tercer abecedario espiritual de Francisco de Osuna* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1998), 14.

[206] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 240. "Des 1523 (writes Father Ros) á la Salceda, on le consulte comme un maitre sur la questión du recuillement." On the other hand, Osuna's fame must have been rather local, since Salazar in his Chronicle of the Order does not mention his name, not even after 1527, the date of the publication of his *Third Alphabet*. Conversely, Ortiz is mentioned by Salazar as an eminent preacher. (Cf. Salazar, Cronica … de la provincia de Castilla, Madrid 1612 p. 83) (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 1968, 240).

[207] 1527 *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual*, 1528 *Primer Abecedario Espiritual*, 1530 *Segundo, Cuarto Abecedario* o *Ley de Amor, Gracioso Convite* (this last was included in the index of 1559), and 1531 *Norte de Estados.*

[208] Osuna, *Third Alphabet*, Santidrián ed.,17. Ros locates Osuna in Escalona between 1526 and 1530, and Selke seconds it, but there is no other evidence of it apart from the dedication of his *Third Alphabet* (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 1968, 241). Also Giordano locates Osuna in Escalona at that timen (*Apologetas de la Fe*, 2004, 116).

[209] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 232.

Madrid's pure love, Erasmus' impact, the presence of supposed *Alumbrados* of Toledo, the "budding" spiritual exercises of Ignatius Loyola, a strong Humanist and Bible interest, and the *three ways*' theology –Thomism, Scotism, and Nominalism. Spiritually, Alcalá followed the Observant rule, imposed by Cisneros in Castile after 1494. Vocal prayer, or rather merely mechanical prayer, was so emphasized by some that Alcalá's leadership had to warn them against "neglecting the lesson and forsaking the work of their hands," or decreasing in devotion and becoming "contentious and lazy."[210] There was also an hour and a half of mental prayer focused on self-examination and the Passion. Life in general developed amidst an internal and external austerity affecting "food, sleep, abstinence, corporal mortification, manual work, strict silence and confinement, [and also] buildings, churches, and sacred objects."[211] As reflected in Cisneros' works, the celebration of the mass and the Passion, "in continual weeping and groaning for our sins," were predominant themes among them.[212] These tenets will be highly significant to reflect Valdés' distant relationship with Alcalá University as he was studying there and published his *Dialogue.*

In reference to theology, Osuna and Ortiz were taught by Clement, Carrasco, Sancho de Miranda, Alfonso de Castro, Ciruelo, and Antonio de Nebrija. The last two were referred to by name in Valdés's writings, expressing his personal distance from them.[213] Osuna certainly acquired a Scholastic education but retained a biblical and spiritual emphasis rather than a speculative one; he evidently did not specialize in biblical languages, focusing instead on the positive and practical aspects of theology. As Melquiades asserts, his writings – particularly *Fourth Spiritual Alphabet* or *Law of Love* (Seville 1530) – reflect his formation in the three ways, particularly the Nominalist theology of Gabriel Biel.[214] Concerning Nominalism, the theology in vogue from 1508 to 1530 in Spain,[215] several aspects are significant: its reference to Scripture – and the church – as authority, its devaluation of human reasoning, its emphasis on the sovereign power of God, and its focus on the will concerning spirituality, all of which led to an affective spirituality that underlined experience. Nominalism stressed that God "gives to man according to his own benevolence;" and correspondingly, the individual should approach God with an equally pure and disinterested love.[216] This emphasis was evident in Franciscans, Alonso de Madrid, Francisco de Osuna, Bernardino de Laredo, and Juan

[210] *Doctrina de los religiosos en romance* (Pamplona, 1499) fol 2.3.99.110, cited by Andrés in *Third Alphabet,* 6-7. Observant Franciscans would dedicate a minimum of six hours to vocal prayer. This overemphasis and warning corroborate Alcaraz's complaint and teaching on ritual obligations while neglecting daily chores or devotion.

[211] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Andrés ed., 8.

[212] Ibid, 7.

[213] Cf. Chapter 5, "Contents of *Dialogue on Doctrine*."

[214] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Andrés ed., 4-5. The Nominalist theology of Gabriel Biel was taught in Alcalá at the time of Osuna. Biel was also for some time an important influence on Luther. Luther would claim that he could recite by memory Biel: "Gabrielem et Cameracensem pene ad verbum memoriter recitaret poterat" (Luteri Opera, n, Pref. Wittemberg 1546). Conversely, however, in 1517 Luther spoke of him as Scholastic and Pelagian (Mª Socorro Fernández-García, *Gabriel Biel, Lutero, Just.,* 1998, 891)

[215] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Santidrián ed., 11.

[216] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Andrés ed.,11.

de Cazalla, projecting a universal call towards perfection in different degrees and possibilities. Nominalism, significant in light of Valdés, defended the necessity for "reason to be subjugated to the obedience of the faith."[217] Alcalá's Nominalism "should be called a spirit of modernity, openness, progressivism, and search for truth;"[218] this was the attitude taught to Osuna.[219]

After Osuna's education in Alcalá, the convent of La Salceda brought an added spiritual input in his religious formation, as well as in Ortiz's. La Salceda was a house of recollection. These houses were also called houses of retreat, of solitude, or of prayer. These convents practiced "a more austere, silent, and recollected life."[220] Houses of recollection were "peaceful trenches in the struggle against Conventual resistance."[221] Cardinal Cisneros had been Guardian in La Salceda. According to Santidrián, the prayers in those particular convents focused on the life and Passion of Christ, which was "the basis of illumination, as well as the impulse towards deep affections."[222] This focus on the Passion will constitute an important issue, as it contrasted to Alcaraz, but it will be somewhat different in Valdés.

A significant element about Cisneros and Franciscan Observance was their favor or tolerance toward revelations and ecstasies. In contrast to Dominican precaution, Cisneros' edition of Vicente Ferrer's *Treatise of Spiritual Life* (1510) omits the chapters that inhibit those phenomena. These ecstasies were not always referred to in discussions about *Recollection*, but they were a part of its expression. Franciscans "considered raptures, ecstasies, revelations (. . .) without mistrust, and as something not far from normal spiritual life."[223] This constituted an essential difference between Franciscan spirituality and Alcaraz or Valdés.

Osuna's and Ortiz's Reaction to Alcaraz's *Abandonment* (1523-1525)

Francisco de Osuna and Ortiz contribute to the definition and distinction of Alcaraz, and Valdés by extension, through the reaction they had against Alcaraz's teaching: the *Abandonment*. The *Abandonment,* referred to by Bachiller Olivares as "the latent question," emerged amidst the development of Franciscan spirituality, creating a conflict with it.[224] The conflict emerged in 1523, developing into inquisitorial

[217] Bataillon, DDB, 256-7.

[218] Cf. Andrés. *Teología Española,* vol II, 78-79.

[219] Osuna derived from Nominalism certain aspects of his doctrine: "the recourse to spiritual experience as superior authority than that of writings, the universalization or democratization of Christian perfection, the all powerful generosity of God, who does not withold his grace . . . attributed certain importance to man's efforts." (Wagner ed., 1995, 6).

[220] Eight of those houses of recollection existed in 1522 Castile – Alcalá, Ocaña, El Castañar, Cifuentes, Escalona, Oropesa, Torrelaguna (where Ortiz's self-confinement took place), and La Salceda, to which those in Escamilla and Medinacelli were added in 1525. (Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Andrés ed.,12-13).

[221] Resented by General Ministers of the Order, such as Soncinas (1521-1523), or promoted by others like Quiñones (1523-1527). (Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Santidrián ed., 13).

[222] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Santidrián ed., 14.

[223] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Andrés ed., 9.

[224] Selke, *Inqu. Francisco Ortiz,* 40.

proceedings, a first wave of *Alumbrado* trials,[225] and the Edict of Toledo (1525). In 1523, Ortiz wrote Francisco Jiménez expressing his disagreement with Alcaraz. In 1524 the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order gathered under Quiñones and expressed their condemnation of the *Abandonment*. Also that year, Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz were imprisoned. The 1525 Edict against the *Alumbrados* of Toledo expressed the institutional rejection of *Alumbrado, Perfect, Abandoned,* or *Congregated* ones. These ones maintained a doctrine, which, according to the articles of the Edict, was neither understood nor properly appraised.

The Inquisition's references about this *latent question* were gathered in the *Book of Alumbrados*, a compendium of accusations, declarations, and confessions that probably extended through to the end of the decade. For a definition of *Recollection,* the testimonies of Bachiller Olivares, Nicholas de Enbid, and Gabriel Sánchez constitute significant and reliable sources. Osuna's articulation of *Recollection* in his *Third Alphabet* is another source which will be discussed later. Again, the definition of *Recollection* will manifest the common themes and emphases of the conflict, but it will also reveal the differences from Alcaraz's *Abandonment* and Valdés.

Recollection was in essence a method of mental prayer. Its purpose was to bring the soul to the perfection of a love-union with God through meditation on the Passion and spiritual exercises. Olivares described how they proceeded.

> We would exercise this mental prayer, which they call recollection, which does not mean to lose control of[226] the senses, but to cast off from oneself all thought and set the soul in a state of quietness. The intention was to bring the soul into a state in which one would be thinking neither of himself nor of God (. . .) the soul [then] was united with God. To get to this point, we would stay for a while on our knees and then would sit in a corner, with our eyes closed, remaining like that for a great while.[227]

Olivares' confession, in reference to him occasionally opening his eyes to avoid scandal before "those who passed by," reveals that it was a highly suspected practice, to say the least, even before ecclesiastical authorities.[228] Olivares denied that Ortiz or anyone in Pastrana would condemn vocal prayer. Vocal prayers were to be maintained. According to Olivares, Ortiz's admonition was, "when anyone was lukewarm, let him quickly pray some devotions in order to come into mental prayer."[229] To stay in that mental prayer, however, "was better than to pray vocally."[230]

Olivares was a sincerely devout man, and his reports offer no hint of manipulation or contention. He clearly points to Osuna, Cristobal de Tendilla, and Ortiz as those who guided him and others into mental prayer.[231] Eventually, desiring to clear things up, he went to Ortiz in Alcalá. Olivares is portrayed as a very conscientious man,

[225] Alcaraz, Isabel de la Cruz, Gaspar de Bedoya, and Gaspar de Villafaña.
[226] Sp: Estar derramados los sentidos.
[227] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 232.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid, 237.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid, 232.

repeating prayers at home just in case he had missed anything.[232]Olivares interacted with Alcaraz, but Nicolas de Enbid speaks of Olivares as arguing with Alcaraz, Isabel, Francisco Jiménez, and Gaspar de Bedoya. These arguments were particularly against the denial of the will, which to Enbid seemed a denial of one's free choice.[233] Alcaraz, on the other hand, associated Olivares with Francisca Hernández and Ortiz, following her pretended wonders which Alcaraz considered scandalous and "a deception from the devil." Alcaraz declared having "labored in warning them and other people" of Francisca's error.[234]

Further defining the exercise of *Recollection*, according to Olivares' declarations, Ortiz defended "not thinking of oneself, which is not achieved without effort (. . .), forgetting what is corporal in him so that the soul could be more attentive."[235] Furthermore, Ortiz discouraged thinking of God in order to "discard the mental images that the imagination creates."[236] On the other hand, and significantly, Ortiz did not remember speaking with Olivares about recollection "in the way he mentions," nor did he refer to Osuna as if they were in agreement or consensus.[237] These declarations show that at that time *Recollection* was still undeveloped, unsettled, and even suspicious. This unsettled condition is further confirmed by practices that Alcaraz was accused of in his trial or that were condemned in the Edict.[238]

Nicolas of Enbid confessed having practiced *Recollection* and having taught others to practice it "a year earlier" (c.1523). He practiced it with Olivares, Francisco Jiménez, and also with Cristóbal de Tendilla, Osuna, and Ortiz; all of them recommended *Recollection*. Nicolas described it in similar terms, as a method of prayer. Very interestingly, he referred to their advice:

> Being in this suspension,[239] there was nothing further needed (. . .) discarding all thoughts that would come up, even if they were good, because only God needed to be sought after (. . .) through this way (*Recollection*) God gave great understandings, and taught silently wonderful science in the secret [place of the] soul.[240]

Enbid traced this advice to Fray Cristobal – Enbid's declaration was actually included as an accusation against Alcaraz. Angela Selke righty links these words with the 12th article of the Edict against the *Alumbrados* – among other similarities between Ortiz and the Edict. Selke concludes that, in reference to that period's spiritual innovations, "these

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[232] Declaration of Gabriel de Vega. (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 256v-257r. fol. 276r).

[233] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol 72 r-v.

[234] Ibid. 215v, 275v.

[235] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 261-262.

[236] Ibid.

[237] "It could be that going out some time with him who is called Fray Francisco de Osuna, with whom I conversed some times . . . that in this exercise which can be called recollection . . . " (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 1968, 248-249).

[238] E.g. When caught up in raptures, Olivares would not make the sign of the cross… as others (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol 173).

[239] "Suspension" was a word used by Alcaraz. It is evident that initially this "suspension" was not defined. As Osuna and Alcaraz expressed different definitions, the conflict between *Recollection* and *Abandonment* became evident.

[240] Selke, *Inqu. Fco Ortiz*, 246. He testified on Feb. 16, 1525.

correspondences (. . .) should set us on guard against those schematic definitions and divisions that some [authors] trace today."[241] I agree, considering that they certainly had some things in common; however, what defines Alcaraz's teachings and, therefore, the stronger influence received by Valdés from the *Alumbrado* Conflict is their contrasts, which were evident in their reaction. The differences that distinguish three trends of *Alumbrados* have to do with the conceptual foundations of their spirituality and outward expressions, not so much with the actual exercise of prayer.

Gabriel Sánchez, Priest of Pastrana, also declared to have received instruction in recollection from both Osuna and Ortiz. Besides similar descriptions, some expressions become significant in relationship to Alcaraz.

> It was necessary first to have a very unfeigned will not to offend God (. . .) and that the individual would seek not to think about any other thing, but *to abandon* the will and heart to God (. . .) and that I would stay there with trust in our Lord, that there he would give spiritual knowledge, and feelings, and consolations to the soul (. . . .) And that spending much time in this recollection people could have it continually, whether they be in the choir, in the cell, or even in the market or in any other exercise.[242]

There is an interesting observation concerning Nicolas' and Sánchez's declarations. Even though initially *Recollection* and *Abandonment* were somewhat undeveloped and undefined, the similar terms "suspension" and "abandonment" were used in two connotations. Suspension had to do with "discarding all thoughts," whereas the *Abandonment* had to do with rendering the will and heart to God, trusting in God. It is easy to see that those terms were initially undefined, confused, but they steadily settled. These different meanings settled and even developed into a mystic experience versus a denial of the will and a dependence on God. This is the root and one important difference between Osuna's mysticism and Valdés' thought.

Regarding the expression of this spiritual exercise, Olivares confirms Alcaraz's variance with *Recollection*'s radical expressions and miraculous claims. Olivares stated that, particularly after reading Gerson, Ortiz restrained some excesses. Considering, however, the promotion of Olmillos to Provincial in spite of his earlier prophecies and excesses, their acceptance by institutional Christianity was obvious. Alcaraz, on the other hand, referred to La Salceda as promoting those raptures, particularly Cristobal, one of the leaders of *Recollection*.[243] Furthermore, Olivares refers to Francisca visiting frequently the convent of La Salceda and the friars referring to her miraculous healings as "taking away the temptations of the flesh," much in parallel with what Ortiz claimed through Francisca's gift of a scarlet thread.[244] Olivares also speaks of Osuna as a fervent

[241] Ibid, 247.
[242] Ibid, 248-9.
[243] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, Fol 284r.
[244] Selke *Inqu. Fco Ortiz*, 239.

admirer of Francisca and Osuna's insistent request for some beads that the *beata* had given to him (to Olivares).[245]

The picture portrayed through these declarations, particularly around "the times of the *Alumbrados*," leads to important conclusions concerning the various individuals involved in "the latent question" between *Recollection* and *Abandonment*. First, Christianity was actually experiencing a clear heterogeneity; while Osuna's works were most widely read from 1527 to 1559,[246] two of his writings had to be revised and banned respectively. Secondly, institutional Christianity imposed a performance-based religion, which as recognized by Andrés was suspicious and distrustful of "any manifestation of a spirituality of affections."[247] Thirdly, when those dubious statements were pronounced by *Conversos* or individuals alien to religious institutions, Old Christianity reacted with special acrimony (contrasting with the attitude toward Osuna). Fourthly, *Recollection* at the "times of the *Alumbrados*" was neither defined nor under consensus. Among those accused and suspected *Alumbrados*, therefore, there were those who remained within the boundaries of Catholic orthodoxy and others who could not fully assimilate institutional spirituality. Juan de Valdés would participate in all this conflict, expressing himself later with other added influences, but certainly emerging from this rather dissident, non-fully-assimilated *Converso* spirituality.

Third Spiritual Alphabet and *Recollection* in Light of Alcaraz and Valdés

Osuna's development of Franciscan spirituality was purged from ambiguities or misunderstandings of former days, and in 1527 it was defined and settled in his *Third Spiritual Alphabet*. Osuna's *Alphabets* initially existed as religious maxims, written in the form of alphabetically-ordered acrostic couplets. These passed from hand to hand without supervision. The *Alphabets* were initially three, intended to present a spiritual guide with three basic parts: first the Passion; secondly, religious exercises; and finally, love-pursuing prayer or *Recollection*. The mismanagement of Osuna's brief guides, their subjective difficulties, and the prevalence of a performance-based Christianity caused the *Third Spiritual Alphabet* to be published first. Significantly, Osuna dedicated it to the Marquis of Villena. The intention of this *Third Spiritual Alphabet*, therefore, was to correct distortions[248] as well as to respond to any reluctance to or disbelief in the exercise of *Recollection*.[249] In its contents, Osuna's *Alphabet* reflects a biblical allegorism, references to saints and the Virgin, monastic piety, and asceticism which clearly portray a full adherence to the institutional values of the Catholic Church, with the only exception of his emphasis on "mental prayer." A different picture will be portrayed by Alcaraz and later Valdés.

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[245] Ibid. Father Ros is reluctant to admit Osuna's admiration forFrancisca; he interprets that, "Pour lui faire plaisir, il a tenu a porter un chapelet benit par elle. Mince pecadille" (Ibid).

[246] Osuna, *Third Alphabet*, Santidrián ed., 24.

[247] Osuna, *Third Alphabet*, Andrés ed., 31.

[248] Ibid, 146.

[249] Ibid,148, Cf. 5º T. Cap 4.

An important coincidence and difference between Osuna and Valdés revolves around the term and meaning of spiritual "experience." While commonly an essential value and goal, they defined "experience" differently.[250] Osuna's *Recollection* definitely expressed a mystic, non-propositional, and extraordinary "experience."[251] Any endeavor to comprehend it, or curiosity[252] to understand it, should be avoided: the person needs "to be blind."[253] Like the Apostle Paul taken into the third heaven, "neither senses, internal or external, nor reason" could intervene; they ceased and were "totally withdrawn for as long as that rapture took place."[254] The experience of *Recollection*, conversely, is rather a "work" or "experienced perception" from God's hand.[255] When you experience it, you should not "put your eyes on it to know it, but your arms around to embrace it."[256]

According to Osuna, these mystic "consolations"[257] include extraordinary physical manifestations. Those who reach that experience,

> neutralize themselves, leave themselves as a dead man; they turn the eyes of the soul blind (. . .) they feel their head stunned and empty in themselves, without any strength, sensing that if they further exercised themselves, they would turn mad; and some of them receive from it [this mystic experience] a great [physical] detriment.[258]

These experiences could include voices, hollering, unaccustomed and uncontrollable movements and words.[259] Osuna, furthermore, reproved those who, "seeing in others external signs that they do not see in themselves, consider them to be mad, deceived, or demon possessed, and the lesser evil they attribute to them is hypocrisy."[260] These experiences are taken as spiritual knowledge,[261] wisdom that strengthens and comforts the soul, spiritual tastings of the soul given by God, foretastes of eternal blessings.[262]

Osuna's mystic "experience" sheds considerable light both on Alcaraz and Valdés. Alcaraz, in addition to his more dissident thought and practices, particularly rejected these outward expressions, which for him were vanity and the work of the devil. However, Alcaraz does not seem to seek or provide an alternative, even though he himself had a critical religious experience that transformed his disposition. On the other hand, Valdés, even though teaching an "experience," he did not have clear his own

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[250] Firpo refers to the same term between Alcaraz, Osuna, and Valdés, (*Entre Alumbrados*, 2000, 78), but there is an important difference beween Osuna and Valdés.

[251] This is ratified by Andrés (*Nueva Visión Alumbrados*, 1972, 68; *La Teol Española XVI.*, 1977, I, 114) and Santidrián (*Tercer Alfabeto*, 1998, 37), even though they do not underline the non-propositional nature of Osuna's mystic knowledge.

[252] This is again a crucial term which Valdés used; however, with a clearly different definition.

[253] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Andrés ed., 101.

[254] Ibid, 103. Cf. "The third heaven, where the contemplative ones are taken" (Ibid, 171).

[255] Ibid, 108.

[256] Ibid,165.

[257] "Consolations" was a very important term, which denotation Alcaraz explicitly rejected.

[258] Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* Andrés ed., 101.

[259] Ibid,149.

[260] Ibid, 148.

[261] Ibid, 152.

[262] Ibid, 154.

definition till late in his Neapolitan period, in his 110th Consideration. Even though Valdés' thought will be discussed later at length, let it suffice to say that his "experience" was not a non-propositional ecstasy. It was a spiritual, God-given dimension upon that which he understood as the gospel, Scripture, or the creed. Experience distinguished and took place at the individual's entrance into God's kingdom (somewhat echoing Alcaraz's and possibly his own experience). Experience was not exceptional but it was actually what the Christian matter consisted of. Valdés' definition of experience could be taken as an alternative proposal to *Recollection* and an answer to other individuals of his background.

This mystical, non-propositional, and ecstatic dimension of Osuna's *Recollection* is consistent with the extraordinary and miraculous spirituality of those years in institutional orthodox circles. Not only "experience" but other words of Osuna's vocabulary are often found in Valdés' teaching: e.g., contemplating, sensing, feeling, or tasting. Valdés' definition, however, was not in the context of a non-propositional, mystical experience but inexorably linked with biblical and theological reasoning. Furthermore, Osuna's raptures and ecstatic manifestations cannot be farther than the expression of Alcaraz's or Valdés' spirituality. Therefore, Ricard's association of Valdés with the incipient Spanish Mysticism and with Osuna is not appropriate.

Summary on *Conversos*, Recollection, and Valdés

Concerning the confluence of *Conversos* and the Franciscan Order, particularly after the turn of the sixteenth century, this chapter has presented two trends that were diversely associated with *Alumbradism*. The complex environment of the first decades of the sixteenth century included a morally and theologically deteriorating institutional Christianity, a performance-based enforced religion, the impulse of Cardinal Cisneros by way of devotional literature and religious reforms, and a developing Franciscan spirituality of affections. These elements eventually lay at the origin of *Recollection* and Spanish Mysticism. Considering those religious currents, however, *Conversos* followed diverse trails. Francisco Ortiz, even though associated with the *Alumbrados* in his trial, professed a Catholic spirituality. In 1523, he affirmed his orthodoxy, siding with orthodox Franciscan spirituality and differing with Alcaraz. Others, like Melchor or Villafaña, protested Christianity's decline with prophecies tainted by their Jewish identity. In this context, Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz are highlighted as less-assimilated *Conversos* who cohabited with fervent Franciscans in their quest towards perfection; some traits of their identity, however, distinguished them from Franciscan spirituality.

The crucial question, seeing its possible repercussions on Valdés, is whether Alcaraz or the *Abandonment* originated in Franciscan Spirituality as a misunderstood *Recollection* – this is Melquiades Andrés' theory. Even though the next chapter will particularly define Alcaraz's thought and its relationship with Franciscan Spirituality, the history, individuals, and texts discussed in this chapter do provide some clear initial conclusions. Considering the confusion, suspicion, and lack of definition about mental

prayer and *Recollection* during "the times of the *Alumbrados*" (1523-1525), and considering that *Recollection* was not purged and articulated until Osuna's *Third Alphabet* (1527), Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz cannot be said to have derived their *Abandonment* from *Recollection*. Melquiades Andrés sees Ortiz and Osuna walking together and discussing the nature of *Recollection*, being "necessary to fix with much precision" their ideas,[263] but there was no such precision nor do Ortiz's words reflect such friendship or consensus.[264] Even though there was an initial non-definition, there were two discernible concepts: the denial of the senses versus a denial of the will linked to a dependence on God. The latter perspective, i.e. Alcaraz's, did neither derive nor misunderstood the former.

A second consideration which calls in question Andrés' theory is the complexity of diverse manifestations within and without Franciscan spirituality, particularly during the second decade of the sixteenth century. Melchor, for instance, entered the Franciscan Order, but there is nothing that indicates any feeling-oriented spirituality, positive Bible exposition, or anything which might connect Melchor with mental prayer and *Recollection*. Outside the Franciscan circle, there was also an emphasis on internal religion, a direct relationship with God, and a spirituality of affections, clearly evident in Cartagena's *Manual of Prayer*. Franciscan spirituality cannot appropriate these elements only to itself; the spiritual fervor of this period was also present among individuals from the Benedictine and Dominican Orders.

Considering the phenomena of *beatos*, Melchor, and the development of *Recollection*, and in light of *Alumbradism* and the *Abandonment*, the religious mapping of the time should also consider the confluence of Franciscan spirituality with the diversity among *Conversos*. As the next chapter will confirm, Pedro R. Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz bear *Converso* marks that distinguished them from the beginning, reflecting no misunderstood or biased understanding of *Recollection*. No doubt they were influenced by Franciscan spirituality, but not exclusively. Evidence might confirm Andrés' claim that neither *Alumbradism* nor Erasmianism can be separated in Spain from the *Recollection* of the Franciscan Order, but it is an oversimplification when other currents are not considered, or when dependence is traced of Alcaraz on Franciscan spirituality. Neither *Alumbradism* nor Spanish Erasmianism can be separated from *Conversos* either, with their particular identity traits and spirituality. Alcaraz's distinctive traits responded also to a different breed of spirituality and not merely to an interested derivation of Catholic orthodoxy.

Another significant conclusion of this chapter refers to the so called *Alumbrado* "movement." Just considering the differences between Melchor and Ortiz, the diversity of the *Alumbrado* phenomena is evident. Melchor's message does not correspond with the Edict of Toledo against *Alumbrados* or with Alcaraz or the *Abandonment*. Melchor's supernatural and radical spirituality could be somewhat related to the fervor and mysticism aroused by Cisneros' reforms and the later supernatural, extraordinary

[263] Ibid, 14.
[264] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 248-249. Cf. Ibid, 263.

expressions of Franciscan spirituality with the addition of some Jewish traces. The expressions of Osuna, Ortiz, and even Francisca Hernández, on the other hand, took place within Catholic orthodoxy – apart from Francisca's moral issues. The Admiral, furthermore, in spite of the individual associations with those who were contacted for the campaign of Medina, or in spite of Isabel de la Cruz's petition for protection, expressed a patently orthodox Catholicism. Their spiritual quest, even though associated by some with the *Alumbrados*, clearly differs from Alcaraz's thought and emphases and also from Juan de Cazalla and the Erasmian circle in Alcalá. These differences reveal different trends within the *Alumbrado* phenomena, not a movement.

Ortiz and Osuna, particularly, refer to an essential element within their more orthodox trend that essentially differs from Alcaraz and Valdés: the mystical character of *Recollection*. Undoubtedly, one of the conflicts at the times of the *Alumbrados* involved the denial of the senses and thoughts – even about God – for the exercise of *Recollection*. Seeing that Cristobal, Osuna, and Ortiz led people diversely into this experience, the difficulty to understand it and the differences in its formulation become evident. Sánchez expressed the idea that through exercise, *Recollection* can be experienced even in the market or in any other task, which seems contradictory to Osuna's teaching in *Third Alphabet.* For Osuna, *Recollection* should be in seclusion in order to avoid distractions. As to Ortiz, even though he defended mental prayer, he does not speak of this non-propositional God-given wisdom; he discarded this feeling and experience as an explicit revelation from God; he just "felt an instinct which he estimated to be divine."[265] While both of them expressed themselves within orthodoxy, there seems to be a difference between the more austere, ascetic Osuna, following institutional schemes and frameworks – even with raptures and miracles – and the *Converso* Ortiz, for whom God's miraculous wisdom given to Francisca was essentially a moral and personal declaration of Scripture.

This chapter has also pointed out significant affinities between Osuna, Ortiz and Alcaraz, and Valdés. Ortiz and Osuna were clear exponents of the religious climate of Alcalá de Henares, later intensified by the Observant fervor in La Salceda. Their interaction and variance with Alcaraz is clearly documented. In that context, Valdés' coincident terminology and emphasis do not speak of coincident thoughts; on the contrary, it underlines the intentional assertiveness of a different spiritual guide proposed by Valdés. Valdés' use of "contemplation," "experience," "God-given knowledge" was distinct from Osuna's mysticism, with more scriptural and reason-based definitions. Valdés' assertiveness is confirmed in that both Osuna and Valdés dedicated their written guides to the same nobleman, Don Diego López Pacheco, in whose palace a considerable debate on the way and expression of the Christian religion took place. These similarities and contrasts of Alcaraz and Valdés with their environment confirm the need to go beyond verbal similarities, analyzing individuals,

[265] Ibid, 295.

definitions, and connotations within that complex environment of pre-Tridentine Castilian Christianity.

Chapter 3

Alumbrados of Toledo and Juan de Valdés (II): Pedro R. Alcaraz and the *Abandonment*

The previous chapter has presented the early prophecies of Melchor as well as the development of Franciscan Spirituality and *Recollection*, passing through the unsettled and confusing period of the *Alumbrado* conflict. Apart from Melchor, the characters distinguished themselves by their affinity with the institutional church, in spite of the suspicion that their spirituality of affections caused among religious authorities. Their orthodoxy was generally reflected in their soteriology, sacramental pastoral theology, spiritual exercises, and even the consented phenomena of supernatural, ecstatic spirituality. This chapter continues the discussion on the *Alumbrados*, particularly discussing two people who had a more direct relationship with Juan de Valdés: Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz. Isabel and Alcaraz constitute a different trend of *Alumbrados* from the more orthodox Francisca or Ortiz, and different from Osuna. Isabel and Alcaraz defended what was eventually identified as the *Abandonment*. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the different religious currents in the increasingly complex confluence of *Conversos*, Franciscan spirituality, and now the *Abandonment* of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz. Again, this thesis does not support the consideration of Alcaraz as "a great heresiarch (. . .) inspirer and spiritual father of the Castilian *Illuminist* movement;"[1] however, he did have a direct influence on Valdés. The following analysis will provide valid criteria to discern Valdés' dependence on Alcaraz, criteria that are required to understand and define Valdés' eclecticism – particularly in *Dialogue on Doctrine*.

The *Abandonment*: Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz

Alcaraz's thought has been identified with the *Abandonment* and traced to Isabel de la Cruz. The summaries of Isabel's trial hinted at the possibility that she derived her thought from derided, "simple-minded and perhaps heretic monks"[2] of the Monastery of Cifuentes. The previous chapter has referred to the significant parallel of Porete's *Mirror* with Alcaraz's *Abandonment* and the possibility of a dependence on it. The *"Mirror of Simple and Annihilated Souls, and Who Only Persevere in their Desire and Will of Love*"[3] is a call and exposition of the experience of perfection and transformation into God's image and nature (theosis). The way and objective of Porete's *Mirror* is

[1] Antonio Dueñas, *JV. Ref. Español en Italia*, 11.

[2] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol 395r. Cf. Serrano y Sanz, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Iluminado Alcarreño del siglo XVI, in *Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos*, n.1 (Jan. 1903):7.

[3] Fr. « Le Miroir des Simples Âmes anéanties et qui seulement demeurent en vouloir et désir d'amour. »

humility, or the soul brought to nothing, i.e. no will, no desire, no knowledge, and no works of herself. Humility is particularly described with a pessimistic anthropology, a dependence upon God, a denial of the will even in regards to the exercise of virtue, and a self-denial which focuses on loving God, disregarding reason and being freed from all obligations and external accountability. The final knowledge of God, the experience of perfection, the love-union with God is a non-propositional, mystic experience with the divinization of the soul (i.e. theosis).

The Mirror's spiritual progress is portrayed as the progression of seven conditions or steps. For the soul to reach the freedom of being brought to naught, it has to die three deaths. There is a death to sin, a resolution against any "shade or taste or smell of anything which God forbids in the law."[4] This death, which is the first step, takes away the remorse of conscience as long as they please God; however, these individuals are still attracted to honors, resent rejection, even though they keep themselves from vainglory and impatience.[5] There is a second step where the soul dies to natural desires in favor of virtue, desiring to imitate Christ. This endeavor, however, is still far away from the desired self-denial. The soul has to struggle with his own self and know herself (third stage). The soul needs to develop his disposition and own spirit with meditation and contemplation (fourth stage); but even then, it has to die again to one's own spirit. This third death takes away the anxiety of one's good desires, one's pursuits of virtue; the will (fifth stage) comes to a full surrender, the condition of being brought to naught. The abandonment of oneself to God's will and God's workings in the soul instead of the self pursuit of virtue (sixth stage), constitutes the freedom and glorious life of the divine life working in one's soul. In this stage, the soul simply loves God, not caring about eternal destiny or pleasing God. The surrendered soul is certain that God is producing his desires as God wishes. The soul moves at the impulse of God's leading. There is a final, seventh stage in paradise where the soul, separated from the body, will be able to see the Trinity, having become like him.

The *Mirror* presents clear differences with Alcaraz's teaching. The gradual "ladder" scheme, the non-propositional goal and mystic experience of love, the allegorical character of the *Mirror*, or the abundance of play on words is absent in Alcaraz's expression. On the other hand, the remarkable parallels of central emphases (denial of the will, abandonment, perfection that disregards regulations, spiritual nature of knowledge, God-transformation of the individual, freedom of rituals in favor of the Spirit's leading), as well as details like "merchants" (i.e. those who work for interest), people being tied up with religious exercises, reluctance toward comforting experiences from God, or the vision of God as a goal certainly suggests the possibility of a relationship of dependence.

Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, therefore, could be considered a diluted, reduced, and personalized form of Porete's "*Soul brought to naught*." These parallels will be pointed out in particular as Alcaraz's thought is discussed. After all, the Edict's pragmatic

[4] Porete, *Mirror*, Ch. 60.
[5] Ibid., Ch 62, p. 129.

identification of *Alumbrados* with "Brethren of the Free Spirit, Begards, Beguines, Fraticelli…" could actually manifest the fear and reality that teachings or practices like Porete's had not been extinguished, which could be true regarding the *Abandonment*. The origin of Isabel's teaching traced to those "simple-minded" monks constituted an oversimplification.

Isabel de la Cruz's teaching began in Guadalajara, while living under the patronage of Juana de Valencia. Juana was a second generation relative of the Mendoza's in Juan II's court. It was particularly under Juana's patronage, that Isabel came to the essential tenets of the *Abandonment*.[6] Again, it is interesting to see the religious expressions and initiatives cultivated around noble courts with the presence of *Conversos*.

Isabel came from a *Converso* family and was a dressmaker. She was a *beata*, a Franciscan tertiary in contact with friars from La Salceda. At that time these friars were experiencing intense mystic ecstasies.[7] In Guadalajara Isabel taught María de Cazalla's daughters to sew, catechizing them at the same time.[8] María de Cazalla described her religious environment: "Some people, leaving their occupations, trades and merchandises, desired to recollect themselves and serve our Lord."[9] That general description was particularly the case of Alcaraz, as will be discussed later.

Like Isabel, Mari Nuñez was also a *beata* under the patronage and among the household of Juana de Valencia. Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz had been a follower of Mari, but around 1512 he adopted Isabel's teaching, being introduced to it through a particular knowledge of God from Scripture. Apparently, Mari, even though a *beata*, entered later into an illicit relationship with the priest Hernando Díaz and received an open rebuke from Isabel and Alcaraz. Being publicly exposed, Mari felt compelled to flee to Seville with Hernando.[10] Moved by envy and resentment, Mari (together with Hernando Díaz and her maid Juana Ortega) accused Isabel and Alcaraz before the Inquisition (1519).[11] Interestingly, among her accusations, Mari Nuñez referred to a book in which Isabel expressed her teachings. There is, however, no evidence of its completion or publication.

In Guadalajara, Isabel led a group in her home, which several members of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Luna's household attended. Isabel's meetings were also attended by María Cazalla, her husband Lope de Rueda (these two to be discussed in the next chapter), and friars from Guadalajara and Toledo. Around 1512 Isabel also led

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[6] Sp. Dexamiento. "Even though that [issue] of the recollection was proven to have come out of some friars of La Salceda, concerning the abandonment, it cannot be demonstrated that it came from there" (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol 395r.).

[7] Ecstasies were also evident at that time in the monastery of San José de los Reyes.

[8] Ortega-Costa, *Trial María Cazalla*, 205.

[9] Ibid, 262, fol. 113r.

[10] An issue of public dominion. Cf. AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol.263v.

[11] 1519 was the first denunciation to the Inquisition concerning the specific group of "the *Alumbrados*." It was done by Mari Nuñez and Hernando Díaz, giving twenty-four points in their accusation. Those were reduced by the fiscal to 22 articles in October 1524.

another group in Pastrana, which Alcaraz attended.[12] Regarding Guadalajara and Don Diego Hurtado, it is significant that he also patronized Petronila de Lucena, who was tried in 1534 for *Alumbradism* and Lutheranism and subsequently absolved. Don Diego Hurtado was a nobleman who later in life gave himself to spiritual pursuits, building a chapel in his own palace with music and pomp like a royal chapel.[13] In 1522 he requested a dispensation to choose his own confessor and a full indulgence for those who would enter his chapel to see the holy sacrament displayed in his chapel on the feast of *Corpus Christi*. Don Diego's request was granted by Pope Clement VII (1523-1534). Diego Hernández, later arrested by the Inquisition as an *Alumbrado*, accused the Duke of sympathizing with the ideas of Luther, an accusation which had no consequences. Diego Hernández, on the other hand, was proven to be a very questionable witness – his accusations will be later discussed in relationship with Juan de Vergara, personally involved in the defense of Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine.* These circumstances describe the religious restlessness, fervor, and confusion that reigned in Castile during those years.

Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz was *Converso*, married, father of five children, and owner of an inn. His fervor led him to an exceptional religious commitment. While serving in the house of Juana de Valencia, Alcaraz recommended Isabel, and through him she entered into Juana's service and household. There, around 1512, Alcaraz decided to adopt Isabel's essential ideas.

Alcaraz's notoriety as a teacher was contemporary with the momentum of two friars: Juan de Olmillos, Guardian in the Franciscan Monastery of Escalona, and Francisco de Ocaña. By 1522, Olmillos' and Ocaña's miracles, prophecies, and raptures were known around Pastrana and Guadalajara. Since 1522 these two men had preached in the palace of Don Diego López Pacheco, benefitting from his protection. They preached the urgency of a radical reform with prophecies of political implications. After the victory of Charles V over Francis I of France, they would compel the reformation of the church and the Marquis would choose between Ocaña and Olmillos for the position of Pope.[14] Church governors were to be cast out "as pigs."[15] Alcaraz resented these two men's spirituality and prophecies, and, prior to any inquisitorial proceedings against him, Alcaraz denounced them in the monastery of San José de los Reyes. Their Provincial, Andrés de Ecija, visited Olmillos but responded ambiguously. When Alcaraz was later called by the Inquisition, Alcaraz referred to Olmillos' excesses, thinking that these were the cause of Inquisitorial proceedings.[16]

Don Diego López Pacheco, lord of the palace at Escalona, was II Duke of Escalona, II Marquis of Villena, Maestre of Santiago, and General Captain of the war of

[12] Other attendants in Pastrana: E.g. Francisco Ximénez of Santo Domingo, Gaspar de Bedoya, Fray Alonso López Sebastián, and Fray Diego de la Barreda.

[13] Francisco Layna Serrano, *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas en los siglos XV y XVI. Vol III,* (Madrid: Aldus, S.A., 1942), 38-39.

[14] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, 182.

[15] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, Letter Oct. 29,1524, Fol. 8r.

[16] Ibid.

Granada. As a widower, during the Catholic Kings' rule, he remarried with Juana Enríquez, sister of Fadrique Enríquez, IV Admiral of Castille.[17] In his old age, the Marquis retired to his palace in Escalona for spiritual pursuits, following with devotion the preaching of Olmillos and Ocaña. The situation changed in 1523, when Don Diego hired Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz as a bookkeeper. Alcaraz was recommended by Antonio de Baeza as a spiritual man. Alcaraz received a yearly salary of 35,000 *maraveds*, more as a preacher than as a bookkeeper. He led some meetings attended by the City Governor Antonio de Baeza with his wife Francisca and the Marquis' servants. Among these servants there was a page named Pedro de Marquina and the page Juan de Valdés. The meetings were held in the Marquis' palace as well as in Baeza's house. Francisco Ortiz referred to people saying that, "the Marquis had saints in Escalona, whereas others said that they were devils, and from there it was said that in Pastrana, Guadalajara, and Madrid, there were individuals who claimed to be *Alumbrados* and *abandoned* and *perfects* (. . .) as derision."[18]

Alcaraz was arrested in 1524, and Valdés' relationship with him ceased. Valdés probably moved to a more secure environment with his brother Alfonso, who served the Imperial Court in the surroundings of Madrid.[19] This introduction of Alfonso appears necessary to explain Juan de Valdés' later relationship with the Erasmian circle from the Court and from Alcalá de Henares. Valdés eventually resided in Alcalá de Henares from 1526 to 1529. Regarding the Marquis, Don Diego L. Pacheco was never considered part of Alcaraz's dissidence, even though he sought to favor him through his contacts with the Archbishop. In 1529, Alcaraz was sentenced to life imprisonment, having his sentence read and being publicly scourged in Escalona and in the other cities where he had preached. The Marquis died shortly after these events (November, 1529).

Concerning the teaching of the *Abandonment*, Olivares referred to his notice of it about 1522, fruit of his brother's visit to the House of recollection in Cifuentes. Olivares' brother, Francisco Ximénez, spoke with Friar Diego de Barreda and Antonio de Pastrana and returned to La Salceda referring to the thoughts he had heard from them.[20] Olivares described their spirituality as an attitude while being "recollected:"

> As it was regarding recollection (. . .) they said to him [Ximénez] that he would abandon himself, that he would not make any effort in prayer,[21] but that he would stay there, in submission to God, waiting on him for what he would give, and if thoughts came [temptations], he should not care about them (. . .) I disagreed with that, mostly concerning impure thoughts, in which there is a danger.[22]

Ximenez's description actually coincides with one of Alcaraz's secondary teachings, i.e. how to manage temptations. But this particular aspect became instrumental for Ximénez

[17] Referred to in the previous chapter, "Campaign of Medina."
[18] Cited in, Melquiades, *Nueva visión de Alumbrados*, 17.
[19] John Edward Longhurst, *Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Juan de Valdés.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950), 21.
[20] Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, 235.
[21] This is echo of Porete's *Mirror* (ch. 16, p. 76).
[22] Ibid, 236.

to express his rejection. Francisco Ortiz expressed his rejection, but more generally, deriding the *Abandonment* as "the passivity of frozen posts, more appropriate for sleep time."[23] In 1523, Alcaraz was identified and rejected from Franciscan circles because, apparently, he defended some of those teachings. In 1524, the *Abandonment* was condemned by the Franciscan Chapter and distinguished from Franciscan mental prayer. In 1528, a year after Osuna's articulation of *Recollection*, the Franciscan Chapter of Guadalajara still had to deal with that dissidence.[24]

On account of the Edict against the *Alumbrados*, the *Abandonment* is generally identified with the *Alumbrados*. Initially Boehmer or Bataillon considered the *Recollected* and the *Abandoned* as two branches of *Alumbradism*. The advancement of research, however, has identified *Alumbrado* with the *Abandonment*. Identifying *Abandonment* with *Alumbradism*, Melquiades Andrés has taken fifteen references to contemporary writers who described the *Abandonment*, the majority of whom rejected it. Andrés' conclusions follow the perspective of those who back then rejected it, an opinion also held by the Inquisition. The *Abandonment*, Andrés sustains, consisted of,

> Manipulations of the doctrine of pure love, or the law of the love of God, pushed by their religious *Converso* sensitivity and with the desire to offer an easier and surer spiritual way (. . .) based in the love of God, focusing on internal religion and not demanding works.[25]

Hamilton, confirming this easier "shortcut" characteristic, points to an anonymous writing from Barcelona, *A most brief shortcut and way to love God, with another* [added writing regarding another] *way to contemplate and some brief rules to order the mind toward the love of God.*[26] The writing is interesting, particularly in view of *Recollection,*[27] but not in view of Alcaraz's *Abandonment*. As to the "shortcut," the writing refers to the exchange of the way to perfection through "the study of moral virtues (. . .) educated and clothed with charity" for "the other way called mystic," which consists basically in the practice of praying with "fervent yearnings and desires of love," instead of "meditations, speculations, or intellectual abstract concepts."[28] The

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[23] Spanish: "Pasmo de postes helados y por convenible para el tiempo de dormir" fol.273v (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 261).

[24] Father Ros states that only a small minority of friars followed the *Abandonment*; however, Miche-Angel refers to the Franciscan Chapter of 1528 and points to the "urgency and gravity" of the issue, "ce peril d'autant plus imminent et redouable….. les religieux étaient divisés en deux camps: les uns recommandaient pardesus tout le pure et simple abandon a la volonté divine. Dáutres preferaient la voie du Recuillement" (Cited in Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 238).

[25] Melquiades Andrés Martín, "Los *Alumbrados* de Toledo según el proceso de M. de Cazalla 1532-34), en *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, 8 (1984), 65-81. Hamilton also takes this perspective (*Heresy and Mysticism*, 1992, 13-14).

[26] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, p.14. This writing is available on line and in the Biblioteca de Catalunya. Cf. Ch.1 of this thesis ft.31.

[27] I state that this writing is more akin to *Recollection* because of its emphasis on the passion of Jesus Christ, its exhortation "to cast out from the mind any phantasy, meditation, news, or imaginations, regardless how provitable they may seem, so that no movement nor conception will occupy our spirit" (fol 7r.), or its enforcement of the sacraments, ceremonial commandments, "eating and dressing and many other things" prescribed by the "Holy Mother Church," among other things. These are really alien from Alcaraz.

[28] *Brevisimo Atajo,* Fol 2r-v.

"shortcut," therefore, consists in those "fervent groanings" instead of other laborious religious exercises. It also refers to the Franciscan polarization between piety and theology. In Alcaraz, there is this rejection of speculative theology; however, there is no prescription of any "practice" or "exercise" but rather a conceptual understanding and a somewhat mystic experience.

Even though Alcaraz resented traditional religious exercises and ceremonies, "an easier and surer way" might not be an appropriate description today for Alcaraz's teaching. His view proposed a rejection of the traditional avenues of spirituality, not merely an interested expediency. Alcaraz was a layman who, owning an inn and supporting his family, acquired a considerable biblical and devotional understanding. His Christian faith and thought endured the accusations, trial, torture, and life-sentence of the Inquisition. To call it "an easier way" or a "shortcut to perfection" constitutes an over-simplification and underestimation of his spirituality.

A distinction has been made – perhaps too strongly – by J.C. Nieto between the *Abandonment* as a method of prayer among those from Cifuentes' monastery and Alcaraz's thought.[29] Ximénez's and Ortiz's report indicate merely a form of prayer, whereas Alcaraz's teaching dealt with the individual's religious life in general, including his approach to salvation, spiritual knowledge, and Scriptures. In light of its possible connection with Porete's *Mirror*, it could well be that corresponding to its cloister life, *Abandonment* was particularly a mode of prayer in the Monastery of Cifuentes; however, in Alcaraz it acquired other dimensions, according to how he understood and adapted what he heard.

The Trial of Alcaraz, Isabel de la Cruz, and Gaspar de Bedoya

The trial of Alcaraz, Isabel, and Gaspar is a document of considerable length and crucial significance, not only for the appraisal of Alcaraz's thought, but also for a better perspective of the *Alumbrados* of Toledo. Even though the transcription includes Isabel and Gaspar, the majority of the text is dedicated to Alcaraz. References to Isabel are significant but secondary, and Bedoya's appearance is almost irrelevant. Isabel is identified as the originator of Alcaraz's teaching – particularly as it concerns Spirit-led freedom and the teaching of *Abandonment*, two key aspects of Porete's *Mirror*. Alcaraz, however, seems to be the more relevant expositor, presenting a richer, more consolidated, and personal, God-illuminated thought. Isabel's briefer and simpler confession, Alcaraz's prevalence over her, and his more expanded declarations, reveal Alcaraz's personal relevance in the expression of his adapted *Abandonment*. His leading role was further demonstrated by his longer and stronger stand on his convictions, some of which extended beyond the inquisitorial torture and sentencing.

[29] Nieto's statement that they are not "one and the same", that they "should not be identified or confused," or that Alcaraz was "opposed" to the *Abandoned*, is drawing a gap too wide (*Juan de Valdés*, 1970, 75).

A general reading of the trial raises important questions. Much *Alumbrado* research refers to the Edict of Toledo (1525), the accusations against Alcaraz, or the summaries of the Prosecution and sentence. Conversely, Alcaraz's arguments, evidence, and steadfast convictions are often ignored or undermined. As Hamilton appropriately states, "we must distinguish between what the *Alumbrados* of Toledo actually taught and how their teaching was presented by the inquisitors."[30] In spite of a possible degree of personal vanity, Alcaraz's divergences and reports about other individuals are significant and confirmed by other *Alumbrado* trials. They cannot be explained away by just saying that Alcaraz Catholicized his thought, or that he accused others to evade condemnation. [31] In another aspect, a general appraisal of this trial reveals the imperatives and sensibilities of institutional Christianity: ceremonies, mass rituals meticulously performed, and particularly the vulnerability and acrimony suffered by *Converso* descendants, even when the absence of Judaism was confirmed.[32]

The trial's relationship with the Edict of Toledo is also very significant for *Alumbrado* research. The Edict was issued in urgency in 1525.[33] Around three quarters of its articles could be linked with Alcaraz. The Edict, however, was issued before he could answer the accusations, which he did in 1526. The Edict, furthermore, refers several times to Luther, but Luther is absolutely absent in Alcaraz's accusation or sentence. The *Alumbrado* conflict apparently caused a premature and condemnatory Edict, which did not correspond with the rather minor sentences issued against its suspects.

As this thesis has previously stated, we take Alcaraz's trial as a valuable source to deduce some central aspects of his thought, particularly his arguments and defense. The accusations need to be filtered through the different aspects of the conflict, but they cannot be discarded. They are tainted with personal animosity, with outsider's perplexing interpretations, and an undue emphasis and generalization of challenging statements or practices, but Alcaraz's thought is still visible. Not all charges could be reduced to the reaction and animosity of Mari Nuñez and others'. Alcaraz's defense requires a similar filter. The appeal to ignorance, lack of memory, and the orthodox rephrasing of Alcaraz's proposals need to be decoded, but they cannot be ignored. The following analysis will also take into account those cardinal teachings that he could have received or adapted from Porete's *Mirror*.

The Thought of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz

Few writers have discussed Alcaraz's thought out of the analysis of his trial. Hamilton states that "few students of Valdés have had the patience to read the entire

[30] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism,* 129. In "The *Alumbrados*: Dejamiento and its practitioners," however, Hamilton appears to give some credibility to the Edict (2010, 103-104).
[31] Serrano y Sanz, *Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz,* 1903, 13.
[32] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 184r.
[33] Cf. Preface in Marquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 230.

proceedings."[34] Firpo, as Hamilton also says, "bases himself on published material;" nevertheless, as Hamilton recognizes, "he has made an intelligent use of it."[35] The little amount of research on this document, therefore, somewhat limits the possible critical engagement of this section; however, the considerable number of references endeavor to sufficiently substantiate our assertions. Alcaraz's arguments, furthermore, will also be considered in light of his relationship with Porete's *Mirror*, which will eventually continue in Valdés' teachings.[36]

As a first approach to Alcaraz's thought, it is important to notice that, differing from Isabel de la Cruz or María de Cazalla, Alcaraz was accused of "dogmatizing," and both accusations and defenses included an "understanding." Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, regardless of what the monks of Cifuentes or others understood the term to be, was not merely "a practice" or a method of prayer[37] but a particular perspective on how to approach God, what true spirituality consisted of, and what was the expression of that true spirituality.

Before entering into the consideration of Alcaraz's tenets, it is significant to reflect on his conversion and thought formation. Isabel confessed to convincing Alcaraz, a layman without formal education, to give himself to reading the Bible. As he began to understand it, she instilled in him the desire for God's inward manifestation. At Alcaraz's initial reluctance for that manifestation, she pleaded with him, at times with tears. This personal initiation was accompanied with an encouragement to proselytize and bring people to her, which he obeyed. She told him not to get tied down with works but to focus on giving himself to God. In response, Alcaraz would arise during the night to pray. Isabel reiterated her exhortation to give himself to Bible reading and also to mental prayer and to "other spiritual exercises pertaining to the unity of affection in the love of God."[38]

Isabel's mentorship and Alcaraz's quest must have occasioned a "conversion experience." Mari Nuñez, possibly exaggerating, accused Alcaraz and Isabel of saying that they had before lived in misery, but now they were in the truth.[39] Another witness corroborated this fact and reported Alcaraz saying he was "deceived and in error previously."[40] The date of this "conversion" is not only referred to in Alcaraz's confession after torture but also ratified in Pedro de Rueda's declaration, around 1512.[41] In Alcaraz's change, the Scriptures played an essential role. Isabel marveled: "Behold,

[34] Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés*, 109.
[35] Ibid.
[36] The text of *Mirror*
[37] Hamilton speaks of "the practice of dexamiento or 'abandonment'" (*Heresy and Mysticism*, 1992, 1;Cf. *The Alumbrados*, 2010, 107). He later refers to it as a "method of meditation" (1992, 30).
[38] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 117r.
[39] In 1519 (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 43).
[40] In 1529 (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 121).
[41] Alcaraz declared that he adopted Isabel's teaching fifteen years before torture in 1527 (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol.366), and Rueda referred to that same occasion twelve years before declaration of 1525(Ibid, fol. 58r). Carlos Gilly says that the Inquisitor understood 15 when really Alcaraz said 5. Gilly's proposal endeavored to relate Alcaraz with Luther through this change (Gilly, *J.V. Traductor*, 1997, 126). That is not possible.

all the understanding God has given Alcaraz in the Scriptures."[42] Antonio Baeza, who recommended Alcaraz to the Marquis, said that "he spoke from the Scriptures like no one else," and that he was a spiritual man.[43] Several accusers were fascinated by Alcaraz's knowledge of the Bible.[44] Others reported he claimed to understand the Bible from cover to cover.[45]

Once again, this scriptural emphasis of Alcaraz, present also in other *Converso Alumbrados,* speaks of their *Converso* identity. As Hamilton states, "one of the aspects of the *Alumbrados* that most troubled Spanish churchmen in the sixteenth century was their use of the Scriptures."[46] Differing from devotional writings and paraphrased lives of Christ, *Alumbrados* read the text of Scripture, most probably *Gospels and Epistles,*[47] which has been suggested since Bataillon.[48] Their Scripture reading was reported to the Inquisition by their enemies. The *Converso* Ortiz, considered Francisca's supernatural wisdom particularly in the declaration of Scripture. For Alcaraz, Scripture seems to have been the source of his religious faith and experience. His crisis of conversion, therefore, was fruit of the reading of Scripture through the prism of Isabel's guidelines. In this aspect, he differed from the *Mirror*'s non-propositional mysticism.

This central role of Scripture in Alcaraz's "conversion" and in *Alumbrado* meetings is a necessary balance to the mysticism which has been attributed to both Alcaraz and Valdés. On one hand, Nieto, claiming an exclusive Alcaracian influence on Valdés, diluted all mystic notions in favor of an illumination which was simply a clarification of thought.[49] Certainly, Alcaraz said, "I have seen many things in saintly books as well as *interacting with good people*,"[50]which is very significant also for Valdés. The authority of Scripture and theological conversation with others were very important also in Valdés' theological method.[51] However, as Márquez and Hamilton have appropriately demonstrated, Alcaraz's experience certainly included a mystical dimension. On the other hand, to say that *Alumbrados* in general "shared with other contemporary movements a true belief in mysticism" [52] could misrepresent both Alcaraz's and Valdés' thought. In his defense, avoiding any connection with the condemned *Mirror* and the executed Porete, Alcaraz quoted Kempis' *Imitation of*

[42] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 126r.
[43] Ibid, fol. 239ss. Also corroborated by Catalina Blazquez in 1524 (Ibid, fol. 83).
[44] Ibid, fols. 89, 93v, 94r, 107.
[45] Ibid, fol. 35v.
[46] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 37.
[47] A comparison of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony (typical paraphrase of the life of Christ during that time) with the textual portions found in *Gospels and Epistles* clearly portrays the scriptural interest and faith of *Conversos* as distinguished from traditional Christianity. Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Christi Cartuxano*, Jacome Croberger, 1551; Fray Ambrosio Montesinos, *Epístolas y Evangelios,* 1544.
[48] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 244.
[49] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 233.
[50] Declaration by Alcaraz in 1524 (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol.10).
[51] Juan de Valdés, "*Comentario o Declarazión Familiar y Compendiosa sobre la Primera Epístola de San Pablo Apóstol a los Corintios*," first ed. in Venezia: Juan Philadelpho, 1557, re-ed. in Reformistas Antiguos Españoles. Vol. XI I by B.B. Wiffen and Luis Usoz y Río, 1856. pp. 34, 40. 34, 39-40, 296, 301.
[52] Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés,*109.

Christ,[53] Saint Angela de Foligno, Saint Bernard, and Hugo de Balma, defending the orthodoxy of his teachings: "I have in reverence the doctrine of the saints, and the *Soliloquies* of Saint Augustine, which have brought much consolation for me (. . .) I loaned them to many so that they may profit from such good doctrine."[54] Even though, therefore, his references locate him in a rather mystical context, his scriptural foundation discards a non-propositional mysticism. This balance will be evident through other aspects of his thought.

Alcaraz's *Abandonment*

Alcaraz's distinctive teaching and implications revolved around the term A*bandonment.*[55] Hamilton considers Alcaraz's thought as "a form of surrender to the love of God which resembled Luther's justification by faith."[56] The existence of statements that both resembled and anteceded Luther's justification by faith is evident; however, their context was spiritual rather than soteriological. I have previously referred to Alonso de Palma's statement in *De Retributio*.[57] Considering the possible dependence of Alcaraz on Porete, the *Mirror* states that the soul "is saved by faith and without works."[58] Furthermore, Porete expressed that "I have had nothing, and I can gain nothing by myself, and nobody can give me anything to pay my debts."[59] However, the answer is not Christ's atonement but mercy. As Christ did, the soul was to obey the Father, abandoning oneself to him, and letting him have mercy on us.[60] Porete's and Alcaraz's connotation has to do with the goal of entering into a perfect love-relationship with God which is achieved when self-endeavors, self-interests, and self-will have ceased in view of a full commitment to God, which includes no concern for one's eternal destiny. This context perfectly fits Alcaraz's statements. Still, as Hamilton says, Alcaraz presents a certain affinity with Luther, but the connotation is clearly different. It is inaccurate and misleading, therefore, to make the *Alumbrados* dependant on Luther, like Selke and Gilly have suggested.[61]

One of Alcaraz's particular definitions of the *Abandonment* appears in his letter of April 25, 1526.[62] Alcaraz repeatedly identifies it as "the way of humility," like Porete

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[53] Called *Contemptus mundi* in Spain and falsely attributed to Jean Gerson.

[54] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 24. Cf. Ibid, fols. 199, 201, 233, 2367, 250, 239, 246. Some of the Works quoted by Alcaraz were: *Sol de Contemplativos* by Hugo de Balma; *Mistica Theologia* and *De coelesti hierarchia* by Saint Dionisius; *Adscensio de Monte Dei* and *Diligendo Deo* by Saint Bernard; Jerome; *Parvum Bonum* by Saint Buenaventura; *Benjamin Minor* by Richard of St. Victor; *Directorio de la Vida Espiritual* by San Benito, etc.

Note: Doctrine, here, as it is typical of the times, referred not only to dogma but very commonly to rules or guidelines of conduct.

[55] Sp. *Dexamiento*.

[56] Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés*, 106. Also, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 2, 34.

[57] Cf. Chapter 1 of this thesis, ft. 190.

[58] Porete, *Mirror*, Ch. 5, p. 55.

[59] Ch. 109, p. 184.

[60] Ch. 109, p. 185.

[61] Angela Selke, *Algunos Datos Nuevos*; Gilly, *Juan de Valdés Traductor.*

[62] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols.185v-186r.

does.[63] This *Abandonment* or humility referred to a maintained disposition and exercise attached to a personal revelation granted by God. This knowledge of God was granted when the Christian kept a heart attitude to love God as the exclusive motivation of obedience. [64] The concept of *Abandonment* had implications primarily on the will, having reverberations on spiritual emotions, comforts, and temptations, including some radical ramifications.

Personal Illumination

In Alcaraz's *Abandonment,* there was a "continuous exercise of the knowledge of God and of oneself."[65] This knowledge was a supernatural and personal illumination. This personal revelation is an essential feature in Alcaraz, present from his first letters.[66] It particularly concerned

> the understanding that man should have from God and about himself, praising God and despising himself, and in all things humiliating himself, putting all confidence in God and not in himself, apart from all self and vain glory, giving in all good gifts the glory to God.[67]

As the quote above expresses, this knowledge was a gift from God, the Father of lights, from whom all good and perfect gifts come.[68] It was not so much an "arbitrary"[69] but certainly a "sovereign" gift of God. It was not a matter of science or education but of "belief and submission."[70] It had a mystic tenet, but more moderate than Porete's polarization between knowledge and love.[71] Alcaraz considered that very few "are taught and know the wisdom of the appeasement."[72] A significant difference between Alcaraz and Porete is that, whereas Porete's steps allowed that people could overcome sin and natural desires (steps 1-4) without arriving yet to the illumination of the self-denied life, Alcaraz considered that people without that illumination were "blind"[73] and "fallen."[74] This difference will be significant in the consideration of Valdés' thought.

Another essential element of Alcaraz's illumination concerned the view of the individual. Illumination stressed the contrast between God and humankind, bringing the individual to despise oneself. While human unworthiness was also used among

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[63] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fols.185v-186r Comp. Porete, *Mirror,* ch. 10.52, 53; ch. 9, p52; ch.53, 118; ch.65, p. 132-33; ch.88, p. 162.

[64] Ratified also by accusers (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 121r).

[65] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fols.185v-186r.

[66] Also present in the reports of the accusation. (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 94v).

[67] Excerpt from previously translated, extended quote (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fols.185v-186r).

[68] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol.7. This is a reiterated reference in Alcaraz's declarations, Jas. 1.17 (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 139r).

[69] So described by Hamilton (*The Alumbrados,* 2010, 106).

[70] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 53v.

[71] E.g. "For there is no God, other than he of whom one can know nothing perfectly . . . . of whom one cannot say a word, nor can all those in Paradise attain to one single point . . . (ch. 11, p. 67); "The peace of this life (abandoned), that is, divine life, does not allow to be thought, told, written" (ch 93, p. 167).

[72] "Appeasement" certainly appears as a euphemism for the dangerous term "Abandonment" (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 7v).

[73] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 97v.

[74] Ibid, fol. 155v.

Franciscans as grounds to love God all the more,[75] Alcaraz went further. He contrasted the individual with God's goodness and trustworthiness: there was nothing in the individual which can be trusted.[76] Porete would say that in order to come to the "freedom of love," people "have to come to the knowledge of their nothingness."[77] People do not know, as God does, the "horrible" nature of their sins.[78] Hamilton states concerning Alcaraz, "man could do nothing for himself but subject himself to God and recognize his own worthlessness."[79] This tenet will subsequently constitute an essential foundation of Valdés' thought.

For Alcaraz, this knowledge revealed by God was not only an introduction to this state of *Abandonment*; it was a fundamental element of the Christian experience. God, as he pleased, revealed the understanding of Scriptures[80] and inspired sermons;[81] there was no need of letters to preach.[82] God's given knowledge also extended to the impulse to do certain works; once the person was trusting God and loving God, whatever came to his heart to do, whether a natural or spiritual task, "it came and was sent from the same [God]."[83] This leading and moving of God in the human soul, and the importance of following it, is evident in Porete[84] and will be evident in Valdés. And along with Porete, the environment of Alcaraz's illumination was love; even though he emphasized the study of Scripture, "Everything was love of God and Spirit."[85]

Needless to say, all trends that emphasized the spiritual side of religion demonstrated considerable reluctance in respect of theology. It could be significant that a witness of the prosecution, without hostility, explained that Alcaraz's exhortation was "to live in faith, [and] that people should not procure so much reason (. . .) that love had to be simple."[86] Against the accusations of theologians, "those who are simple ought to suffer with resignation with their master Jesus Christ, and take the science of the cross and follow his love."[87] The significance could be in the use of "reason" and "simple," which were key terms of Porete to emphasize her mystic experience and the soul's attitude. It is very significant that Valdés' key term for natural knowledge is "human

[75] *Brevisimo Atajo*, fol 7r.
[76] Ibid, fol. 31.
[77] Ch. 45, p. 110.
[78] Ch. 47 p. 112.
[79] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 35.
[80] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 23.
[81] According to the accusation Alcaraz said that the Spirit moved people to preach something in particular (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 98r, 141v).
[82] Cf. also Ibid, fols. 68r, 77v, 129r, 133v, 156v. Alcaraz said that God "illumined things more through grace than through education" (Ibid, fol. 72).
[83] Ibid, fol. 57r. This ought to be taken cautiously, coming from the accusation, but it gives evidence that they attributed God's sanction to day to day decisions.
[84] E.g. ""all those who live striving fotr he life of perfection hat they should be on their guard and not refuse those things asked by the ardent longing of the spirit's will" Ch 79 p. 149-150.
[85] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 63.
[86] Ibid, fol. 102.
[87] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 23. Cf. also Ibid, fols. 68r, 77v, 129r, 133v, 156v. Alcaraz said that God "illumined things more through grace than through education" (Ibid, fol. 72).

prudence," constantly reiterated against spiritual, revealed wisdom. Neither Alcaraz nor Valdés, however, reached the non-propositional, mystic emphasis of Porete.[88]

Authority

Alcaraz's concept of illumination affected the issue of authority as well as self-confidence. His authority and assurance leaned on three pillars: Scripture, divine illumination, and his consciousness of that illumination. He appears to have accepted the essential dogma of Christianity; however, there was room for another, even higher, understanding of the individual's approach to God, still remaining under the general canopy or identity of Christianity. Hence, he declared that his soul "had been raised in the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, nothing against Christianity."[89] His authority, however, was based upon Scripture. In reference to the doctrine of the saints, Hernando Díaz reported Alcaraz as saying, "With holy Scripture I have to verify and do."[90] Prosecutor Angulo, furthermore, accused Alcaraz of saying that no scriptural law compelled ceremonies, fasting, and other sacred works which Christians performed.[91]

Both accusations and defense reflect Alcaraz's respect for the sacred text and his hermeneutical simplicity. Diego de Campuzano, in his accusation of Alcaraz and his followers, said, "they wanted the matter of losing one's soul in this world to be understood literally" – not caring about the salvation of one's soul but only to love and serve God.[92] Scripture was to be eminently practical and personal, without curiosity or any other desire but to please God.[93] Differing from Porete's mysticism, Alcaraz stressed the study of Scriptures: "It seemed good to me that preachers would study in order to preach, and it was wrong to despise it [study]."[94] The seeming contradictions of studying Scripture with Alcaraz's rejection of *letters* is understood in view of Angulo's accusation of Alcaraz as saying that men walked not according to the love of God but according to education and doctrines.[95] Alcaraz, therefore, only rejected the mere intellectual study of Scripture, and in particular, preachers borrowing from each other's sermons instead of speaking from their own spiritual study of Scripture.[96] The connotation, rather than not desiring its proper understanding,[97] was a practical, moral understanding.

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[88] Which Osuna did, by the way.

[89] Ibid, fol. 7. He defended the *Abandonment*, "not impeding at all . . . any holy and good exercise, whether it be exterior or interior, providing that God is the end of it" (Fol 185v-186r).

[90] Ibid, fol. 54.

[91] Ibid, fol. 347r.

[92] Ibid, fols. 98v, 141v.

[93] Ibid, fols. 102r, 142r. "It is not a matter of education;" faith was necessary to believe it and submit to it (Ibid, fol. 124).

[94] Ibid, fol. 179r.

[95] Ibid, fol. 27v.

[96] Ibid, fols. 98r, 141v.

[97] As Hamilton suggests of Isabel de la Cruz (*Heresy and Mysticism*, 1992, 37.). It is not so much that they were "endowed with a greater capacity . . . than trained theologians," as Hamilton says (*The Alumbrados*, 2010, 105); it was rather a different kind, a practical and inspiring knowledge.

Confirming his emphasis on Scripture, and differing from Porete, Alcaraz expressed how he interpreted Scripture. He clarified, "I have read the Bible not interpreting it as I wished, but being comforted with that which I could understand, and striving to serve God with its lesson, understanding the authority and credit due to the saints."[98] Alcaraz also depended on the Spirit's leading. Confessing his "inability to understand the least word of it,"[99] He did "nothing but set himself in prayer, and commit himself to God for him to illumine his understanding."[100] Interestingly, Valdés would speak of his thought as fruit of only "prayer and consideration," [101] even though he had his sources, as Alcaraz did.

Regarding authority and in addition to Scripture, personal subjective illumination had a clear and strong effect on the individual. Alcaraz expressed in his first letters, "Whoever through illumination has God in himself, is usually certain of the divine will." [102] Alcaraz said, "Any sense which anyone might speak about Holy Scripture, not being against the Holy Catholic Faith, is understood from the Holy Spirit."[103] Very significantly in light of Valdés, Alcaraz claimed that understanding Scripture "through the grace of the Holy Spirit" meant "to be in grace" and to be conscious of it.[104] Illuminated Scripture assured the individual of "being in grace," something which the church could not accept and Valdés echoed later.

Love of God

Porete and Alcaraz, as well as those involved in the *Alumbrado* conflict, urged an internal religion that pursued a love-relationship with God. The raptures and ecstasies of Olmillos were attached to preaching on the love of God. This coincidence became the catalyst for Alcaraz's earnestness: "That [Olmillos' and others' teaching] was not the love of God, but only the one which he taught."[105] A witness for Alcaraz confirmed the perplexity that such a difference caused: "the more they talked and communicated with him, the less they understood Alcaraz."[106] It is very evident in the gatherings of *Alumbrado* suspects that they held a common interest, maintaining discretion as to how much of their own particular convictions they shared with others. Osuna's *Third Alphabet*, Cazalla's *Light of the Soul* (to be discussed later), or the *Abandonment* portrayed at the same time a convergence and a crossroads of spiritual proposals.

Alcaraz' exhortation, like Porete's ideal, included a full submission in terms of love, as an inherent part of abandoning oneself to God. There was a clear moral

[98] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 165r.
[99] Ibid, fol. 168r.
[100] Ibid, fol. 89r.
[101] Juan de Valdés, OC, *110 Considerazioni*, 606.
[102] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 7v.
[103] Ibid, fol. 290v.
[104] Priest Francisco de Acedo was offended by that (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. l 86).
[105] Ibid, fol. 129r, 68r.
[106] Ibid, fol. 156rv. E.g. Diego de Contreras, counselor of the Marquis. (Ibid, fol. 85r).

foundation; "love is obedience to God and his commandments."[107] This is not only evident in the ethical character of Alcaraz' exhortations,[108] but also by the nature and effect which love produced in its possessor: "The knowledge of God's goodness caused man to be better and to abhor sin all the more."[109] In the mystical language of Porete, Virtues is personified as a teacher, "who in the name of divine Love (. . .) has totally transformed her [the soul] in itself [Virtues]." [110] Another witness significantly summarizes Alcaraz's thought as "loving God and keeping his commandments, denying their own will; and that they [people] were full of shackles and [self] will."[111]

More than an external or self-imposed obedience, Alcaraz called for a heart attitude. He described the *Abandonment* as "man approaching God continually with undivided, upright love."[112] Fasting and other compelled or customary ceremonies became shackles, "impediments to the workings of love;" love taught what the individual ought to do.[113] Porete would write that serving to Virtue is "a lifelong yoke," "a prison" to be delivered by a life of love.[114]

The individual's love for God was founded on the certainty of God's love for the individual. That was the confidence of "abandoning themselves to the love of God."[115] In fact, loving God was only possible with the love that comes from Him. Alcaraz understood that everything spiritual, corporal, and temporal, was given by the love of God.[116] This Augustinian tenet is similar to Ortiz's expressions and certainly to Valdés'. Porete, at the great debt of the human soul before God, responds that God has "paid my debts in a moment;" therefore, recognizing her nothingness to pay, "this nothingness gives all" to the soul, and the soul abandons "everything fully to the divine will."[117] This teaching of Porete, adapted by Alcaraz and communicated to Valdés certainly prepared Valdés to adopt justification by faith as the foundation of his spirituality.

Man's abandonment and God-imparted love produced definite *operations* in the individual, that is, his spiritual transformation (referred to as "operations or works of the love of God" both by Alcaraz and Porete).[118] According to Porete and consistent with Alcaraz's crisis of conversion, the soul that comes to nothingness, to abandon itself to

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[107] Alcaraz said that (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 19), contrary to Prosecutor Angulo's accusation. (Ibid, fol. 25).

[108] E.g. "To be ruled by God's love … one has to leave first his sins, because light cannot exist with darkness" (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 22v); That man be submitted to God in all things (ibid, fol. 130v); that they keep themselves from sinning (ibid, fol. 133v); that they would withdraw from all evil and draw to all which was good (ibid, fol. 233v). Porete's *Mirror* regarding the first death (i.e. to sin), the soul will admit "no shade or taste or smell of anything which God forbids in the law" (Ch. 60).

[109] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol.167r.

[110] Porete, *Mirror,* ch.21, p. 83.

[111] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 82v.

[112] Ibid., fol. 7.

[113] Ibid., fol.26v.

[114] Porete, *Mirror,* ch. 6, p. 57.

[115] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 22.

[116] Ibid, fol.32.

[117] Porete, *Mirror,* ch. 80, p. 151-152.

[118] Ibid., ch. 4 p. 55; AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol 32r, 43, 56, 127r. This is a frequent expression of Alcaraz.

the love of God, "in the twinkling of an eye (. . .) this soul is learning in the school of divine knowledge (. . .) seated in the valley of humility."[119] The *Mirror* reads, "Ah sweetest, pure, divine Love (. . .) how sweet is this changing by which I am changed into the thing that I love better than I love myself."[120] Therefore, according to Porete, the soul does not care for virtues anymore, since "virtues are always with such souls, more perfectly than with anyone else."[121]

These works of love, particularly point to God as the agent who produces virtue in the soul. Porete says that as soul was made by God without the assistance of soul, likewise God has to introduce the soul in himself, and God has to "produce the difficult works of Virtue in the soul."[122] The soul, therefore, had to abandon itself to God, for that love-relationship to produce its effects in it. Alcaraz stated that the operations of God's love "come from God, and because of love, they are granted to us, and they can have no life apart from him."[123]

Alcaraz defended a certain security within that love-relationship. The soul, being recipient of God's love and virtues, "is imprisoned and fettered and held in a country of entire peace."[124] Alcaraz, with a less allegorical style, defended that when the individual lived in this love of God he was "ruled" by this love, and it kept him from sin. Of course this brought the accusation of impeccability.[125] Alcaraz, however, rejected the idea of impeccability in those who were in the love of God.[126] He recognized the presence of the individual's evil, natural inclinations, which prevailed "unless his (God's) love would not keep him."[127]

Love, for Alcaraz, was so closely identified with God that he was accused of claiming that God was in his heart, implying that his heart was God. He certainly believed that God dwelled in him.[128] In reference to Scripture, God was love, and whoever remained in love remained in God and God in him.[129] Alcaraz's words could certainly echo Porete's when she wrote that God's will was the soul's self-denial "until the Soul is in God and God is in the Soul, and when the Soul is in such a state of divine rest, from God and through God, she has all her fullness."[130] Conversely, Alcaraz has no traces of Porete's more mystical and deification expressions: "Love [says] I am God, because Love is God and God is love, and this soul is God according to the nature of

[119] Porete, *Mirror*, ch. 9, p. 52.
[120] Ibid., ch. 28, p. 90. These words will be echoed even by Juan de Cazalla in *Light of the Soul* (Sec. II, Ch.2) to be discussed later.
[121] Porete, *Mirror*, ch. 21, p. 82.
[122] Ibid., ch. 111, p. 187.
[123] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 31.
[124] Porete, *Mirror*, Ch.44 p. 109.
[125] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 58r.
[126] Ibid., fols. 19, 162r.
[127] Ibid., fol. 19.
[128] Ibid., fols. 7, 10.
[129] Alcaraz referred to I Jn. 4.8, 16 (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols. 31, 162r).
[130] Porete, *Mirror*, ch. 12, p. 68.

love."[131] Beyond the coincidence that God illumined and transformed the individual, there is again a difference between the more mystical expression of Porete and the milder, more scriptural expression of Alcaraz.

The Will and Self-Interest

The concept of *Abandonment* directly confronted one's self-will, reaching some extreme axioms of submission, trust, and dependence on God. It certainly echoes Porete's Soul brought to naught, both in concept and in weight. In Alcaraz, the will was so essential that several times appears as the definition of his thought: "The life of the soul was summed up in that the Lord would have his will in us without any opposition on our part,"[132] or also, "Evangelical perfection lays in the denial of the will."[133] Porete's mystic expression would be a bit more radical, but the ideal is the same, i.e. that the soul would have "no will:" "Everything she [the soul] wills (. . .) is what God wills that she should will (. . . .) that the will of God may be accomplished, not at all her own will."[134]

In Alcaraz's *abandonment*, human will had its energies or "movings,"[135] which were antagonistic to the operations of God's love. In Porete's *Mirror*, as the soul has left behind her resolution or death to sin and natural desires, her contrast is between the personification of Virtue (understood as the will pursuing virtue) or Spirit (understood as self-initiative for spiritual things) and the soul brought to naught. The emphasis of Alcaraz was particularly on motivation. To pursue feelings or being moved by them betrayed an attitude of self-pursuit and self-love.[136] Alcaraz, for instance, resented the "joy and pleasure" which came from weeping over one's sins;[137] that joy in itself was its recompense.[138] Regardless how good or devout works could be, "when man took pleasure in them, not being compelled to do them," they constituted "a hindrance to the needed freedom of the soul to love God above all things."[139]

Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, however, did not mean laxity. As Nicholas de Envid, witness for the prosecution, expressed: "[*Abandonment*] means that they would offer their will to God, liberating the soul, that it would always be alert (. . .) [otherwise], engaging oneself in more than necessary things led to laxity of the soul." Furthermore, Nicholas added, speaking of Alcaraz's message, "love worked great things (. . .) waiting on our Lord with humility, [it] gave direction to the soul so that all things would be

[131] Porete, *Mirror*, ch. 21, p. 83. Hamilton appears to give some credit to this deification as it was expressed in the Edict (2010, 104).
[132] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 102.
[133] Ibid., fol. 142v.
[134] Porete, *Mirror*, ch.11, p. 68; cf. ch.12. In Porete's typical play on words "This soul knows nothing but one thing, and that is that she knows nothing, and she wishes for nothing but one thing, and that is to wish for nothing" (ch42, p. 106).
[135] E.g. AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 249r.
[136] Ibid., fol. 25.
[137] Ibid., fol. 156r.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid., fols. 100v, 141v.

done because of love and service to him."[140] This echoes Porete's expressions. In her view, the soul was said to come to perfection doing what was contrary to his will; that is, it would "obey the request that comes from his spirit," forsaking his own desires in order to live "according to the Spirit."[141] In Alcaraz, this dependence was extended to idle matters like house chores or walking on one side of the street or the other.[142]

If the will was to be denied in favor of the leading of God, much more regarding religious performances, both in Porete's and Alcaraz's ideal. Their affinities and differences, however, are very significant. Alcaraz's trial and its accusations portrayed a highly regulated religious life in Castile, particularly around the mass; abstaining from the use of blessed water, recitation of prayers, beating one's breast, bending one's head constituted a scandal and a public adherence to the *Abandonment.*[143] Particularly regarding Alcaraz, he maintained that the sign of the cross, fasts and abstinences, were self-limitations that impeded spiritual perfection.[144] This tenet seemed to be general in all of those who emphasized a spirituality of affections above ceremonies, e.g., Ortiz, Olivares, or the Cazalla's (to be discussed later). A step further, however, is expressed in Porete and Alcaraz; both spoke of slavery or "shackles" and of "merchants" or "owners" respectively regarding ceremonies and those who abided by them in view to obtain salvation or reward.[145] In Alcaraz, being *Converso,* there was an added acrimony which became evident in his open reproaches and scorn towards image veneration.[146] Also related to ceremonies and the church in general, both Alcaraz and Porete rejected any means of grace between God and the individual;[147] in words of Porete, between the love of the soul and love divine, "there are no intermediaries."[148]

The denial of any spiritual self-pursuit extended into one's eternal destiny. Love of God was to be the exclusive motivation, "no other interest [was acceptable] (. . .) either for here or for the glory beyond."[149] This extreme equally echoes Porete's teaching concerning the soul brought to naught, which "wishes for none of the joys of Paradise (. . .) nor refuses any of the torments of hell."[150] Again, perhaps in this aspect, Alcaraz's *Converso* tendencies converged and, along with Isabel, spoke of hell as being used to scare simple people, like children with the bogeyman.[151] It should be noted, however, that whereas Isabel compliantly recanted, Alcaraz strongly declared that he

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[140] Ibid., fol. 95.
[141] Porete, *Mirror,* ch. 90, p. 164.
[142] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 56. Cf. Jn de Olmillos, (Ibid, fol. 74).
[143] E.g. Talavera, *Brief Doctrine*.
[144] Ibid, fol. 53.
[145] Alcaraz: e.g., AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fols. 26r, 35, 41, 68v. Porete: *Mirror,* ch. 6, 57; ch.24, p.86; ch.58, p.134; slavery: Porete, *Mirror,* ch. 57, p. 123; "slaves and tradesmen:" Ibid., ch. 63, p. 130-131.
[146] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 26r.
[147] Ibid, fols. 25, 79v, 134v. Alcaraz defended himself from this (Ibid, fols. 172v-173r).
[148] Porete Ch.5 p.55-56.
[149] This was actually said by the accusation (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fols. 97v, 140v., 70v). Alcaraz declared that, "My trust is in God and not in merit" (Ibid, fols. 162, 168).
[150] Porete, *Mirror,* chap 41 p. 104-105.
[151] Accusation of Diego de Buenaventura (1520) reporting words that Mari Nuñez had spread (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 106v). Cf. also Juana de Ortega, 1519 (Ibid, fol. 59,r, 121, 127r).

had never denied hell.[152] He declared to believe in "the last day" and the destiny of those who "will dwell with the spirits of wickedness."[153]

Regarding eternity, it is important to realize that Alcaraz's teaching was not directed to an eternal salvation. His teaching focused on reaching "what man hopes for in this mortal life."[154] This focus evidently perplexed and provoked sixteenth-century Spanish institutional Christianity, whose pastoral ceremonial-based religion was built upon one's impending, heavy, grave, and assailing sins, with the threat of purgatory and hell. The accusation took Alcaraz's statements soteriologically: "To save the soul, [as reported of Alcaraz] there is no need but an abandonment of oneself in God," and "there is no need to do works of mercy, fasts, and other similar things."[155] *Abandonment*, however, was not a soteriological proposition but a particular approach to God and spirituality in this life.[156] Alcaraz's focus was on "keeping God's commandments (. . .) only to please God."[157]

Abandonment and Providence

The *Abandonment* to God, both in Porete and in Alcaraz, includes a reliance on God's love and care for us. As Porete wrote, the soul "cares nothing for itself: let God care for it, who loves it more than the soul loves itself."[158] This attitude, found a conflicting expression in Alcaraz, particularly regarding temptation. In his view, some temptations came from God for the individual to grow. Asking relief from those temptations would contradict God's plan and purpose through them. Prosecutor Angulo distorted this in order to accuse Alcaraz of moral negligence.[159] For Alcaraz, however, it had to do with the soul's exercise of meekness and submission.[160] According to Alcaraz, growth happened by means of the endurance of tribulation, not in its removal.[161] Diego de Espinosa declared that Alcaraz's intention regarding temptations was "that none would attempt to discard them in his own strength, but humble himself and ask God for help."[162] Even though we do not find this particular issue of temptation in Porete's *Mirror*, it evidently follows the ideal of the soul brought to naught.

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[152] Cf. Alcaraz'sConfession (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols. 112-118).In 1526 through Reginaldo's defense (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 189r).

[153] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 7. (written in 1524).

[154] Initial letters, 1524. (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol.7).

[155] Juana de Ortega, 1519. (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 190r). First article of Prosecutor Angulo, 1527 (Ibid, fol. 305r).

[156] Even though Diego de Campuzano declared about Alcaraz that his *Abandonment* "did not even care about the salvation of one's soul but only to love and serve God (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 98v, 141v), still Santidrián expresses that the *Abandonment* "is presented as a soteriological program . . . Neither works nor devotions are the things that can save, but a special contemplation" (Santidrián ed., *Tercer Alf.*, 2005, 16). A soteriological interpretation was an illegitimate charge by the accusation.

[157] Thus explained by Diego de la Barreda, within the accusation, in 1526, (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 102v), ratified by the acusation (Ibid, fol. 142).

[158] Ch. 11 p. 64. Porete

[159] E.g. AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 26v. Alcaraz's declaration certainly caused a commotion and perplexity on the hearers (Ibid, 79v, 84).

[160] Ibid, fol. 34r, 173r.

[161] Ibid, fol. 156r.

[162] Ibid, fol. 247v.

In the context of dependence on God, Alcaraz and Porete coincided in another point: prayer. Alcaraz taught that the individual should not ask anything with intensity; conversely, people were to "submit to God and show their need."[163] Porete similarly wrote that the brought-to-naught soul "begs for nothing," since she accepts everything God has given as sufficient.[164] Alcaraz corroborates and defends this as an expression of full submission to God's will.[165] Even a friend,[166] Antonio de Baeza, told him that Scripture was full of prayers and petitions, but Alcaraz, in spite of scriptural evidence, still maintained that true prayer was to present one's needs to God "without any urgency."[167] These various issues will be clearly echoed in Valdés.

Liberum Arbitrium

Highly significant in Alcaraz's *Abandonment* was the role of *liberum arbitrium,*[168] particularly in its possible association with Luther's *servum arbitrium.* Alcaraz's contempt for one's will and his reliance on God's workings created confusion over one's free choice, something essential for an institutional Christianity built on works, rituals, and merit. Alcaraz declared and ratified that he had always believed in the freedom of the individual's choice.[169] His defense was that the *Abandonment* enhanced it. Full submission and dependence on God and love for him increased one's freedom to serve him. Actually "God's servants should be free in order to rightly serve God, without worldly and fleshly passions … taking as true freedom [their] obedience to God's commandments."[170] One of his initial accusers, Hernando Díaz, verified this.[171] Pedro de Rueda, husband of María de Cazalla, left Isabel and Alcaraz and became an accuser of them. He, however, testified that Isabel declared, when someone adopted the *Abandonment*, the individual was using his freedom to do "the highest work he could choose."[172] This perspective of freedom to a better exercise of one's choice was also defended in Porete's *Mirror.*[173]

Alcaraz, on the other hand and following his emphasis on depending on God, was antagonistic to the individual's initiatives or merits. He stated that "any man-made

[163] Ibid, fols. 72. 93v.
[164] Porete, *Mirror,* ch.16 p. 76.
[165] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 170v.
[166] Not so much "one of Alcaraz's most devoted followers" as Hamilton refers to (*Heresy and Mysticism,*1992, 33).
[167] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fols. 78r. 133v.
[168] I keep the Latin expression in the form that Alcaraz and and later Valdés used it, that is, in its ablative case even though the preposition "de" was dropped out. Its use in Alcaraz manifests a particular relevance. Alcaraz's response reflected a non-technical defense for a technical accusation (i.e. denying *libero arbitrio).* Conversely in the case of Valdés, he used the technical Latin expression of *libero arbitrio,* expressing his thought in particularly theological terms.
[169] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fols. 175v, 176r.
[170] Ibid, fol. 172r.
[171] Asking Díaz about the *Abandonment* Alcaraz exhorted him to "pray to God . . . and God will work . . . because for this purpose had God given to man freedom of choice" (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 53).
[172] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 57v-58r. Also F. Díaz (Ibid, fol. 53).
[173] Porete, *Mirror,* ch. 104 p. 178-179.

building within the soul was nothing and had to be destroyed;"[174] it was "like a stick of wood in a creek, an impediment for the water to run (. . .) an impediment for God to operate in that particular work."[175] He maintained that all good gifts came from God (Jas. 1:17) and that "man could not do anything by himself except submit to God and hold himself as nothing."[176] This might have caused Enbid's perception that Alcaraz was against *liberum arbitrium,*[177] but that was not the case. However, Porete's and Alcaraz's tenets set the foundation for Valdés' later adoption of justification by faith and greater affinity with Luther and Reformed tenets.

Significant Traces of Alcaraz's Spirituality

Alcaraz's piety contrasted with popular religion and Franciscan spirituality in regard to how Jesus Christ was viewed. The first issue was Christ's Passion as the object of devotion. Elena Molina's report, emphasized by Prosecutor Angulo, presented Alcaraz as recommending the *Meditations* of Saint Augustine rather than the book on the Lord's Passion.[178] Alcaraz advised "to leave those devotions (. . .) to love God and [thus] take a step ahead," meditating not so much on the *Passion* but "on the benefits which God had given to us."[179] Reginaldo's defense awkwardly tried to explain this away referring to the *Passion*'s anonymous authorship.[180] Alcaraz's piety, however, clearly differed in that he did not focus on the human suffering of the cross, but on a continual reverence in the meditation on the Redeemer apart from his human image.[181]

There was a second issue concerning the person of Jesus Christ. Alcaraz certainly spoke in his first letter about "having the name of Jesus" continually in mind.[182] He pointed to Jesus Christ as the one who gave the understanding of *Abandonment*,[183] and who had mercifully given him the understanding of the Scriptures.[184] Alcaraz defined the true servant of Jesus Christ as him who lived in his body among men but communicated "in spirit with him [God]."[185] Angulo, in spite of these references, accused him of avoiding the reference to the name of Jesus.[186] Alcaraz's pleading for Jesus to be with him while being tortured can hardly constitute just a performance. If anything, it could reflect a *Converso* struggle to reconcile foreign

[174] This was declared by a witness called by Alcaraz (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 155v).
[175] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 156v.
[176] Ibid, fol. 94v.
[177] Ibid, fol. 72.r-v.
[178] Ibid, fols. 80r, 134v, 135r. Angulo's reference to it (Ibid, fol. 25). It is difficult to ascertain which book was referred to. The passion, however, was a "very dear theme of Franciscan observance," according to Andrés (*Theol Esp.* Vol. I., 1977, 377).
[179] Ibid, fol. 80r.
[180] Reginaldo, Alcaraz's defendant, explained that the book of the Passion was anonymous, and other books were more useful such as the contemplation of God's attributes through Cardinal S.Sixtus Cajetan's writing (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 201v).
[181] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fols. 79v, 134v.
[182] Ibid, fols. 7, 79v.
[183] Ibid, fol. 7v .
[184] Ibid, fol. 97r.
[185] Ibid, fol. 7v.
[186] Ibid, fols. 314r-v, 325.

elements to his deep identity of *Converso*, like the deity of a human being, i.e. the Trinity. This personal, internal struggle could have been the cause of the discussion of whether the Father had also been incarnated in Jesus, and not only the Son.[187]

Corroborated throughout the trial, Alcaraz strongly resented extraordinary manifestations of spirituality. Pedro de Alcaraz encountered these expressions at the palace of Escalona, through Juan de Olmillos and Francisco Ocaña. The point of consideration here is not so much their grandiose and illusory prophecies of church reform but the expression of "deep spirituality" which accompanied their daring pronouncements. Alcaraz refers to the visit of Andrés de Ecija, Provincial of the Franciscans, who initially planned to check and correct these excesses reported by Alcaraz. Olmillos evidently placed an altar in the midst of the church. During the mass, amidst the singing of the friars, Olmillos began to cry profusely. At first Andrés desired to silence the friars in order to hear Olmillos' reported prophecies. But when Andrés turned and saw Olmillos covered with tears, he waited until the end. Finally, as a correction, Olmillos was told to preach only to the Marquis.[188] In 1527 Olmillos was elected Provincial in Escalona.

These manifestations and prophecies obviously led to groupings and gatherings. Alcaraz declared that Francisca Hernández, Santander (also a preacher of the Marquis), Pedro de Zebreros (the Marquis' Confessor), and several others participated or favored these emotional outbursts. Some *beatos* experienced those raptures in their home gatherings, like López Texeda, Texeda's wife, or Fray Alonso. As a witness for Alcaraz, Juan López declared that he saw many times Antonio López experiencing tremors, ecstasies… "out of himself" in church and at home, causing division among the people: "Some took it as something good and given by God's hand, while others murmured."[189] It seemed to have particular relevance at the mass, while lifting the sacrament, or while carrying it through the streets.[190]

When Alcaraz happened to be present at those raptures, he felt "as if his heart were eaten by dogs."[191] He opposed both Olmillos and those who were moved by his tears.[192] Witnesses declared that Alcaraz mocked their tears and groaning.[193] Alcaraz referred to these outbursts as "clear wiles of the devil,"[194] "false wonders (. . .) deceits (. . .) without profit or edification (. . .) speaking wonders about themselves," taking good for evil and evil for good.[195] Alcaraz also considered weeping at the Passion as imperfection or immaturity.[196] This variance moved Alcaraz to work arduously against

[187] Discussion on John's Gospel 14 (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols. 42r, 106v).
[188] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 9.
[189] Ibid, fol. 275r.
[190] Ibid, fol. 275r, 283.
[191] Ibid, fol. 9.
[192] Ibid, fol. 132.
[193] Ibid, fol. 54r.
[194] Ibid, fol. 10v.
[195] Ibid, fol. 175v.
[196] Ibid, fols. 124v-125r

it,[197] calling out the inquisitors to proceed against it from the beginning till the end of his trial.

Prayer played an important role in Alcaraz's thought. For Alcaraz prayer constituted a direct "face to face" communication with God.[198] Even though his accusers undermined Alcaraz's practice of prayer as being the same as "talking with people,"[199] Alcaraz's view of prayer did not mean superficiality but intimacy; not everybody "knew truly how to pray."[200] Prayer was more than talking with God; it was to be "a consecration of my heart and my will, everything fully to God."[201] As opposed to rituals, prayer was "to set the spirit free for God, presenting it to him."[202]

Alcaraz's group dynamics, spiritual advice, and outreach become very significant in light of his influence on Valdés. Group life, good friendship and communication were more than ways to understand godly things;[203] "there is nothing that can help us more to follow virtue and goodness."[204] Two years later, he maintained that "spiritual conversation is necessary."[205] I do not share the view, however, that the clarification of concepts through this mutual conversation could be equated to illumination, as Nieto does regarding both Alcaraz and Valdés.[206]

Alcaraz encouraged "gathering with good people who have good desires to serve God."[207] For his accusers, however, that fellowship among likeminded individuals expressed an unacceptable segregation: They called each other "brothers [or sisters]."[208] This was resented as arrogance and secrecy: "They would praise themselves as they read the Bible (. . .) many times they withdrew themselves to secret places where they could not be seen."[209] Pedro de Rueda, as a pretended outsider but present in meetings, confirmed some exclusivism in it; he referred to John's Epistle as their motive: "Whoever does not bring this doctrine, receive him not."[210]

Concerning their public outreach, there is no doubt about the proselytizing drive of Alcaraz and his followers.[211] Even though individuals from the Marquis' household would exhort Alcaraz to refrain from publicly sharing his views, he answered that "he could not keep silence (. . .) where there is fire, it cannot be hidden."[212] He was even reported as desiring to die for the truth he believed. As to method, Alcaraz taught individuals gradually, discerning how much the person could take from his alternative

[197] Ibid, fols. 175v, 274v, etc.
[198] Ibid, fol. 7.
[199] Prosecutor Angulo, (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols. 28, 73).
[200] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 7.
[201] Diego de Espinosa talking about both Alcaraz and Isabel (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 70v).
[202] Nicholas of Enbid, without any hostility (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 95r).
[203] Cf. Footnotes n.113-114.
[204] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 7v.
[205] Ibid, fol. 151r.
[206] Nieto JV, 244.
[207] Ibid, fol..171r.
[208] Ibid, fols. 97r, 140r.
[209] Ibid, fol. 27v.
[210] Ibid, fol. 57r. 2nd Jn. 10.
[211] Ibid, fols. 61r, 69.
[212] Ibid, fol. 127v.

perspectives.[213] Once again, most of Alcaraz's traits appear reproduced in Valdés' teachings.

Juan de Valdés in Alcaraz's Trial

In Alcaraz's trial, Juan de Valdés is referred to three times: by Francisco Acevedo (presbyter in Escalona), by Antonio de Baeza, and by Alcaraz's wife. Francisco Acevedo revealed the attendants of Alcaraz's meetings, and Juan de Valdés was among them. Furthermore, Acevedo declared that these attendants, "after communicating with Alcaraz," were seen during "the divine service" of the eucharist neither praying externally nor inclining their head to the name of Jesus Christ."[214] Undoubtedly, Acevedo's declaration reveals Valdés' attendance at Alcaraz's meetings; however, this declaration has been misused. Nieto refers to a declaration of Acevedo, prior to this list, in which he declared his indignation at Alcaraz communicating with "incapable people, such as women and youth."[215] Nieto takes this reference as a proof that Valdés was very young, in order to exclude him from other religious currents except Alcaraz. However, there is no criterion to discern that Acevedo's assessment was directed to Valdés' age, since the list included married couples, widows, and other servants. No conclusion can be drawn from Acevedo's declaration in regard to Valdés' very young age, much less considering that Alcaraz's wife later refers to him as someone who could explain the sense of Alcaraz's teachings.

Another important consideration of Acevedo's declaration is that within this list of Alcaraz's attendees, there were individuals who were not followers of Alcaraz.[216] One of these is the Marquis Don Diego López Pacheco. He certainly desired the liberation of Alcaraz; he appealed to the archbishop and financially cared for him while he was in prison. However, the Marquis and his wife, as witnessed by Alonso Figueroa, felt anxious when Alcaraz told them that their works were not of God but of themselves, and that they did not know what the love of God was. They seemed to be relieved from their worry by Figueroa, also Chaplain of the Marquis, who became one of Alcaraz's accusers.[217] Another interesting attendee was Antonio de Baeza. Antonio expressed to the Inquisition his desire that justice would be made in favor of Alcaraz. He was declared as a friend of Alcaraz,[218] but he also considered Olmillos a saintly person, though Alcaraz was strongly against the latter. Another attendee, the widow of Espinosa by the name of Mari Rodrigo, testified against Alcaraz expressing how he reproached her among others, because she did not follow him.[219] She reliably expresses that even

[213] E.g. "Now you do not need anything more" (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 94r).
[214] Ibid, fol. 86 v.
[215] Ibid.
[216] The list includes the Marquis and his wife; Soria, Cuevas, and Mari Angel (maids of the Marquis' wife); Antonio de Baeza and his wife Doña Francisca; Sebastian Gutierrez and Juan de Ayala; San Román, Valdes, Marquina, Noguerol, Zuritica, and the wife of Espinosa (widow), and a maid of Corregidor Pedro de Barrios.
[217] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 69v.
[218] Ibid, fol. 67v.
[219] Ibid, fol. 75v-76.

though she had contact with Alcaraz, she was not a follower of Alcaraz but of Francisco de Lillo, her Franciscan Confessor. Another attendee, Juan de Ayala, as testified by a witness, could not be persuaded by Alcaraz to abandon vocal prayer.[220] San Roman, presbyter and chaplain of the Marquis, testified as a witness for both the prosecution[221] and the defense.[222] He told of his communications with Alcaraz and issues about ceremonies and so on,[223] but he showed no commitment to him. These individuals reveal that attendance at the meetings of those religious teachers like Alcaraz did not mean affiliation. This list referred to by Acevedo does not necessarily make Valdés a follower of Alcaraz. That will have to be tested through the comparison of their teachings.

Juan de Valdés appeared in Alcaraz's trial also when Antonio de Baeza, governor of Escalona, suggested him as a witness for Alcaraz's defense.[224] Valdés appeared as a servant of the Marquis Diego López Pacheco who was referred to as a witness to Santander's enmity to Alcaraz, both of whom preached to the Marquis. Santander had threatened to either beat up Alcaraz or bring him to the Inquisition.[225] First of all, this witnessing should include a degree of objectivity, which could not exist if Valdés was such a follower of Alcaraz as Nieto defends. Furthermore, there is a significant note in the margin of the page particularly concerning Valdés: "Alcalá." These marginal notes served to identify traits or circumstances to be taken into account later. These notes specified whether the name mentioned was considered "*Alumbrado*," or the city of residence, or something for further reference. In the case of Valdés, he was considered a person of interest to verify Antonio's information, but the reference was only to *Alcalá* de Henares, his residence at that time.

The closest reference to Valdés' participation in Alcaraz's teaching could be the letter addressed by Alcaraz's wife to the Inquisition, asking whether Valdés had declared and confirmed what he knew concerning Alcaraz's teaching (Dec. 4, 1526). She thought that Valdés's declaration "would manifest (. . .) the intention" of Alcaraz's teachings in some aspects. Antonio de Baeza, Alcaraz's friend, testified on November 16, 1526. Prior to that, Alcaraz had called his witnesses – not including Valdés. Valdés, therefore, appears to be an afterthought supplied by Alcaraz's wife or an involuntary omission of Alcaraz. The age should not be considered a problem or cause for the omission of Valdés. Considering the fact that Diego Ribero (servant of the Marquis) was twenty years old by 1524,[226] if Valdés was so knowledgeable of Alcaraz's views, his age would not have been a problem. Again, if he was to be a valuable witness, it was because he was a rather objective witness.

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[220] Ibid, fol. 67v.
[221] Corroborated by other witnesses (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 75v).
[222] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 258r-v.
[223] Ibid, fol. 74v.
[224] Ibid, fols. 262v-263r.
[225] Ibid, fol. 262r.
[226] Ibid, fol. 73v.

Juan de Valdés' testimony was absent from Alcaraz's trial probably for his religious immaturity. As we have presented earlier, Valdés' conversion from a secular, frivolous life took place around the turn of 1520's, perhaps fruit of the religious environment of the Marquis' Palace and particularly Alcaraz's preaching. The influence received by Valdés, however, will have to be tested by a comparison of his teachings with Alcaraz's, and not through these references in Alcaraz's trial. Valdés' writings will certainly reveal an important and lasting impact of Alcaraz's teaching. However, as the analysis of *Dialogue on Doctrine* will manifest, Valdés was not exclusively a follower of Alcaraz. He will grow, develop, receive other influences and will manifest a significant eclecticism that will reveal his own thought and intentional message.

Alcaraz's References to Luther and Erasmus

One of the controversies regarding *Alumbrados* is their relationship with Luther.[227] In Alcaraz's trial, there is one reference dated 1526 explicitly referring to Luther.[228] The reference is given by Reginaldo, defender of Alcaraz, in regards to the value of indulgences: "To say that they are not effective to redeem from purgatory's penalties would be a Lutheran error, but to say that they are not necessary to go to heaven would be Catholic."[229] First of all, Reginaldo's references to theologians, such as Thomas Aquinas or Luther, reveal a vocabulary foreign to Alcaraz, whose quotes are rather from "*Imitation of Christ*," Angela de Foligno, and other spiritual authors. The fact is that neither Prosecutor Angulo nor those who voted for Alcaraz's execution associated Alcaraz's teaching with Luther. As we have already noted, it is not only Alcaraz's own declarations but also Pedro de Rueda's which confirm Alcaraz's conversion and thought traceable back to 1512. Neither Alcaraz's dates nor his teachings make a Lutheran dependence plausible.

Alcaraz's trial referred also to Erasmus and his *Enchiridion*. This time it is Alcaraz, not Reginaldo, who referred to Erasmus and his *Enchiridion* as an explanation of his thought on "external exercises, ceremonies and humiliations, and all other good and holy things."[230] He alluded to the sanction and favor of Inquisitor Manrique for its Spanish translation, since Erasmus corresponded with his emphasis on "the good and perfect intention" in those things.[231] Considering Alcaraz's dependence on Porete's *Mirror,* added to their *Converso* identity, Alcaraz had no dependence relationship on Erasmus. It was an *a posteriori* resource used by Alcaraz to exonerate himself of guilt. To speak of Alcaraz as Erasmian distorts and ignores Alcaraz's fundamental teachings: *Abandonment,* illumination and knowledge of God, the operations of the love of God, the denial of self-will, his spiritual emphasis, Christian perfection, and prayer.

[227] A.Gilly, A.Selke speak of the *Alumbrados* as influenced by Lutheranism in their foundation or their basic tenets, whereas M. Andrés, J.C.Nieto and others present their separate identities, particularly based on chronology.

[228] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 198v.

[229] Ibid, fol. 198v.

[230] Ibid, fol. 338r.

[231] Ibid.

Summary on the *Alumbrados* of Toledo, Alcaraz, and Juan de Valdés

The first three chapters of this dissertation combine to portray an essential picture of Valdés' background. His *Converso* lineage, his personal conversion from general Christianity to a personal conviction and experience of faith, and his religious formation amidst the religious forum of Don Diego's palace and the *Alumbrado* conflict, will determine Valdés' focus and interests, provide a vocabulary, and engrave in Valdés very deep-rooted perspectives. These three chapters have delineated two currents of religious identity: *Conversos* and Old Christianity. While Old Christianity developed through a proliferation of rituals and a strong focus on sacraments, particularly the eucharist and confession, *Conversos* manifested significant characteristics of their distinct identity expressed diversely in different degrees of assimilation.

Franciscan spirituality, with its most pious reputation, seems to change during the first decades of the sixteenth century from a widespread miraculous spirituality of *beatas*, prophecies, ecstasies, and even miracles into the practice of methodical mental prayer and spirituality. Maintaining extraordinary expressions, this Franciscan spirituality was eventually articulated as the way of *Recollection* (1527). In the second decade of the sixteenth century, seeing that the supernatural prophecies were frustrated by reality, the reforms and Castilian devotional literature edited by Cisneros became a catalyst of more mystic pursuits. Castile was already permeated with religious fervor, and both in Franciscan convents as well as among *Conversos*, there was the quest for a more internal religion and spirituality of affections. Cisneros's Observance and devotional literature affected all Castile, but did not obliterate the distinct traits of *Conversos*. Even within dogmatically orthodox Franciscan Spirituality, taking into account the initial suspicion raised by mental prayer exercises, Ortiz's more scriptural, less ceremonial emphasis betrayed his *Converso* lineage. His spirituality, still orthodox but under suspicion as *Converso*, included in its expression the spiritualization of his suffering at the hands of Christian institutions.

In reference to the *Alumbrados*, the blurring boundaries of spiritual pursuits still betrayed two basic trends: the more orthodox mystic *Recollection* and the dissident *Abandonment* – leaving aside the Jewish tainted phenomena of Melchor and Villafaña for their irrelevance to Valdés. Franciscan spirituality was unsettled and developing. The Franciscan Order was populated by *Conversos*, who agreed with their non-scholastic and spiritual emphases. Some *Conversos*, however, reacted against unscriptural and unfeasible prophecies, against an ostentatious spirituality, against a questionable system of ceremonies and religious motivation, and against the scheme of merits in light of a dubious purgatory.

Amidst a climate of religious fervency and evident disconformity with institutional Christianity, there appear echoes of a condemned Beguine, Porete, and her *Mirror*. On one hand, the central teachings, emphases, and even some terms leave few

other possibilities than a dependence relationship of some monks of Cifuentes, Isabel, and Alcaraz on Porete's *Mirror*. Alcaraz's teaching, one of the main influences on Valdés' thought, was neither connected with Lutheranism nor derived from a misunderstood *Recollection* in his pursuit of an easier shortcut to perfection. Alcaraz adopted and adapted Porete's "soul brought to naught" through the teaching of Isabel and his own conversion experience.

On the other hand, and very significantly in view of Valdés, Alcaraz altered two aspects of Porete's teachings: her ascending progression and her mysticism. Simplifying Porete's "ladder," Alcaraz had one fundamental change. Even though at times he referred to "imperfect," he ideally spoke of "blind" or "lost" people versus those who had abandoned themselves to the love of God. The difference was made by a personal commitment to God and a revealed knowledge which made a categorical difference in the person. Valdés would maintain this contrast of "not being" or "being" on the basis of and as the fruit of a personal revelation from God and linked to a general transformation of the individual. A second difference between Alcaraz and Porete is that Alcaraz did not adopt the emphatic, non-propositional character of the soul's experience with God. Alcaraz retained significant elements like the vision of God, which will also be echoed in Valdés' writings; however, Alcaraz's concept of the knowledge of God was more scriptural, without disassociating it from scriptural reasoning.

Alcaraz's teachings, many of which derived from Porete, will remain as a ruling principle in Valdés thought. Man's disposition of humility before God, the scriptural but supernatural dimensions of God's knowledge, the spiritual understanding of God's goodness as the foundation and energy for man's sanctification and quest for God, the cohabitation of man's self-abasement with a possible experience of perfection, the spirituality expressed not through ecstasies nor human pathos but through moral and spiritual transformation will constitute essential marks of identity in Valdés. These traits will constitute a central criterion, although not the only one, according to which Valdés will adopt and use other writings, persons, and influences for the development of his thought.

The Inquisition had a first wave of trials against *Alumbrados*, impeding any possibility of Alcaraz consolidating or developing his thought. The existing religious restlessness did not subside. Other religious currents came, around which unsatisfied souls gathered. Spain received the impact of Erasmus' *Enchiridion*, and more secretly the works of Luther. These two external influences, diversely reaching the Humanist University of Alcalá, will complete the major religious currents that formed and provided the elements with which Valdés composed his first and only published writing during his lifetime: *Dialogue on Doctrine*.

Part II

Foreign Religious Influences in Alcalá de Henares and Valdés' *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*

Chapter 4

Spanish Erasmianism and Lutheranism in View of Valdés' *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*

As research focuses in on the immediate context of *Dialogue on Doctrine*, the religious influences that converged on Juan de Valdés constitute an increasingly complex and intricate scenario. Part I of this dissertation has discussed the elements of his human make-up and early religious formation, that is, the significance of his *Converso* lineage and his participation in the *Alumbrado* conflict. The way in which the *Converso* identity affected the *Alumbrado* conflict was profound and evident. Likewise, in the case of Valdés, his *Converso* lineage and his participation in the *Alumbrado* conflict directly affected his later encounter and interaction with Erasmianism and Lutheran writings. These two latter influences came to Juan de Valdés when he possibly stayed with the Imperial Court and as he clearly participated in the Erasmian circle in Alcalá de Henares.

The period considered in this chapter is the decade in which Valdés' *Dialogue* was written (1519-1529). This decade began with the first accusations of Mari Nuñez against Alcaraz and the first wave of *Alumbrado* trials. The trials of Alcaraz, Isabel, and Bedoya lasted till the end of that decade. Subsequent inquisitorial proceedings and particularly the arrest of Francisca in 1529, with her questionable declarations concerning *Alumbrado*-Lutheran conspiracies (both from her and Diego Hernández), gave way to a second wave of trials. The individuals who ended up under scrutiny of and trial by the Holy Office continued to reveal a diversity among the so-called *Alumbrados*. Juan de Valdés appears in some of those trials, but particularly in those where there is an Erasmian influence present. That could be expected, since he resided in one of the key Erasmian, humanist centers, Alcalá de Henares. The trials in which he appears, however, portray two different profiles. One profile is that of Bishop Juan de Cazalla and María de Cazalla, who, having had contact with the *Alumbrado* conflict, now presented a clear Erasmian influence. The other profile is that of Juan de Vergara,

an Erasmian scholar and avowed opponent to any *Alumbradism*. Both Juan and María Cazalla, and Vergara, will provide valuable references to evaluate Valdés' participation in the Erasmian influence that surrounded him as he wrote his *Dialogue.*

Erasmus' influence in Spain, as it entered into the decade under consideration, became more and more stigmatized by Spain's traditional, institutional Christianity. But there came a greater conflict to religious Europe and also to Spain. The turmoil of Luther in Germany not only reached Spain in a general, non-defined way, but also his writings entered into the peninsula. The general reigning ignorance and open hostility against dissidence resulted in biased accusations, unfair cross-examinations, and charges that to this day are diversely interpreted according to the presuppositions of the reader. Even though by 1528 Erasmianism became pragmatically associated with Luther (the same way that *Alumbrado* had been in the Edict of 1525), Luther acquired the hostile connotation and acrimony of a heresiarch; at the beginning of the decade he had been formally condemned by Pope Leo X, and very quickly the polarization and radicalization of postures were more than evident.

Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine* was written in the midst of those years, as those religious currents converged, clashed, and divided or polarized. It is evident how some issues, particularly among dissident currents, coincided. That is the case, for example, regarding confession, non-ceremonialism, and internal religion which even though coming from different backgrounds and including diverse characteristics, in general terms, present an affinity. They were a reaction to a common deficiency or decay. Therefore, in order to define Valdés' thought in light of his background it is necessary to go beyond historical and general similarities and analyze their writings and particular teachings.

The second part of this thesis endeavors two things, corresponding to the next two chapters. This chapter will consider the characteristics of Erasmian influence, both in individuals who were related to the *Alumbrado* conflict and in Vergara, who typified an Erasmianism alien from any *Alumbradism*. This chapter will also discuss the presence of Luther's writings in Spain. In relationship with both Erasmus and Luther, our goal will be to analyze the characteristics of those religious influences in order to find similarities and contrasts with Valdés. These affinities and contrasts will enlighten the general environment and particular influences that reached our personage.

The next chapter will focus on Valdés' *Dialogue*. The *Dialogue*, as confirmed by a number of scholars, contains textual dependences from Erasmus and Luther. While Valdés' use of these sources appear already incriminating in his environment, the extent and use of these sources reveal no exclusive affinity to any of them, but rather an eclecticism through which Valdés expressed his personal thought and central message. The task, therefore, will be to analyze Valdés' writing in light of this amalgam of religious currents.

Confluence between Erasmus' Influence and *Alumbradism*

Even though the Erasmian interpretation of Valdés[1] has been contested by Nieto and Gilly, Erasmus continues to be a necessary reference to define Valdés' thought. The manifest connections of Valdés with Pedro R. Alcaraz or Luther do not erase Valdés' participation in the Erasmian circle of Alcalá or Valdés' personal correspondence with Erasmus. More particularly, the *Dialogue's* use of and encomia for Erasmus are difficult to explain as a mere "mask," as Nieto or Gilly propose. On the other hand, Erasmian influence in Valdés' environment was differently received and expressed, as it can be distinguished in Juan and María de Cazalla from the Imperial Court and the University of Alcalá. The following discussion will portray these two Erasmian portraits, including a number of individuals and attitudes toward Erasmus. All of those individuals will have a particular relevance to Valdés and significance for his *Dialogue on Doctrine*.

Erasmus' convergence with "The Times of the *Alumbrados*" (1519-1525)

From the first references to him in Spanish history, Erasmus excited admiration, animosity, or moderate criticism. This reaction was not due to him introducing Humanism or Paulicism in Spain.[2] Humanism had entered in Spain already in the previous century.[3] Pauline religion or references to the church as the mystic body of Christ[4] were also present in the writings of *Conversos* since the fifteenth century. The notorious response or reaction to Erasmus arose from the fact that those values, whether loved or resented, were expressed among high representatives of religious and secular authorities.

Erasmus is first mentioned in Spanish documents by the Abbot of Husillos in 1516. The Abbot suggested Erasmus to Cisneros as a collaborator of the Spanish Polyglot. Cisneros invited him to participate, but Erasmus never came to Spain. Contrarily, Diego López de Zúñiga, who had also come to the University of Alcalá as the result of an invitation by Cisneros to work on the Polyglot, expressed his disagreements concerning Erasmus. After Cisneros' death, Zúñiga's criticisms turned into vehement accusations against the Rotterdamer, who, in his judgment, was

[1] Valdés "becoming in Alcalá the most typical example of Spanish Erasmianism" (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, I, 247).

[2] Bataillon's perspective of Erasmus as a prophet who brought the revelation of Pauline religion is simply inaccurate. Bataillon was not aware of the Pauline emphasis of *Conversos*, so clearly attested by their writings as well as lately by works such as Laura Giordano's (*Apologetas de la Fe*, 2004) or Stephania Pastore's (*Una Herejía Esp.*, 2010).

[3] Cf, Chapter 1 of this thesis, "Examples of *Converso* Spirituality."

[4] In 1459, Alonso de Cartagena's letter to the Pope vindicating *Conversos* against Pero Sarmiento's harassment accused Old Christians of introducing division in the "corpus mysticum" of the Church (Benito, *Prob. Converso*, 2001). Cf. also Chapter 1 of this thesis, "Alonso de Oropesa," ft.51.

questioning the pillars of Spanish Catholicism.[5] Two years later, coinciding with a second writing of Zúñiga against Erasmus,[6] a much more moderate critique was written by a famous Archbishop of Toledo, Sancho Carranza de Miranda, who was a theologian and rhetorician well reputed in Paris.[7]

Contemporary with Zúñiga's first vehement accusations, the Imperial Court came in contact with Erasmus, and some Court members became a key avenue of Erasmian influence for Alcalá de Henares and Valdés. More particularly, Valdés' twin brother, Alfonso, served in the Court as Imperial Secretary. He became a fervent follower of Erasmus as well as one of the first *reporters* of Luther's dissidence for those in Alcalá de Henares.

In 1520 the Court travelled to the Low Countries for the imperial coronation of Charles. Besides Alfonso another highly significant character travelled with the Court: Juan de Vergara. Vergara became a key Erasmian intellectual in Alcalá, but eventually he also became known for defending Valdés' *Dialogue* in front of hostile censures. In 1520, Vergara accompanied the Royal Court to Flanders, intending to mediate in the conflict between Zúñiga and Erasmus. Flanders was a freer religious space, where noteworthy Spanish humanists resided at the time, such as Juan Luis Vives and Hernando Colón. All of these men, in Flanders or in the Court, entered in close contact with Erasmus.

In those years the Court experienced a confluence of different feelings toward the religious initiatives of Erasmus and Luther. As the Court moved from Flanders to Cologne and then to the Diet of Worms, those who were fond of Erasmus continued in contact with the Rotterdamer. Erasmus at that time maintained relationships with Lutheran humanists. In spite of the increasing radicalization of the German reformer, Erasmus still endeavored to avoid Luther's excommunication by Leo X. As to Charles V, he was Flemish by birth and tradition; he had not been raised in the grave Spanish traditionalism. As a token of Charles's outsider perspective, in light of Spanish traditionalism, his Ambassador to Rome suggested to him that the distress Luther was causing to the pope could even be "a useful diplomatic tool."[8] On the other hand, Imperial counselors in Spain soon wrote Charles V advising him to act against Luther.[9] They encouraged Charles to issue a prohibition against selling, owning, reading, or speaking about Luther's books and heresies, either publicly or secretly (April, 1521). In that environment, the papal legate, Alessandro Farnese, wrote Charles V, and his letter

[5] 1520 Zúñiga published 212 accusations against Erasmus: "*Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Novi Testamenti*."

[6] 1522 Zúñiga published a more dogmatic "*Erasmi Roterodami blasphamiae et impietates*;"

[7] Sancho Carranza de Miranda, writing from Rome, "*Sanctii Carranzae a Miranda Theologi opusculum in quasdam Erasmi Roterodami Annotationes,*" March, 1522.

[8] Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles,* vol III, (Madrid: Librería católica de San José, gerente V. Sancho-Tello, 1880). Cited John Edward Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost in Spain (1517-1546).* ([Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1969), 14.

[9] Letter transcribed in: Melquiades Andrés Martín, *Adversarios españoles de Lutero en 1521: ponencia* (Ciudad Universitaria, Madrid: III Congreso de Cooperación Intelectual, Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1958).

contained a significant commentary in view of Juan de Valdés and *Conversos*. Farnese stated that all Spaniards supported orthodox Catholicism "with the exception of *Marranos*," [10] and particularly those trading in Antwerp. According to Farnese, *Marranos* supported Luther as a reaction to Spain's Inquisition.[11]

Amidst the tensions caused by Erasmus and Luther, those in Flanders and in the Court were able to think outside Spanish traditionalism and belligerence. Their broader outlook, for instance, allowed Alfonso de Valdés to write his Spanish friends about Luther and assume a third position between Rome and Luther, suggesting the need for a General Council.[12] It was also the open attitude of Juan de Vergara, who maintained a friendship with Zúñiga while at the same time resenting religious abuses and sympathizing with Erasmus' internal values. Similarly, Sancho Carranza de Miranda wrote his *Annotationes* in Rome, with a dedicatory letter to the peacemaker Juan de Vergara. Carranza's call was that Erasmus would write in a more unequivocal, orthodox way to "shut the mouth of whisperers."[13] In 1522 Erasmus, desiring to assure his relationship with the Spanish Court, dedicated his *Paraphrases of Matthew's Gospel* to Charles V. This dedication, of course, was not free from financial interests. Meanwhile, as far as traditional Spain is concerned, Zúñiga was calling Erasmus "not only a Lutheran, but the standard-bearer and prince of Lutherans."[14] Zúñiga's words eventually caused Adrian VI and Clement VII to call him to order and to be silent concerning Erasmus.

Amidst this confluence of attitudes and pressures, these religious humanists, such as Juan Luis Vives, Dr. Luis Nuñez Coronel, and Juan de Vergara, regretted Erasmus' daring pronouncements against institutional values. More than Luther's condemned heresy, Erasmus' sharp criticisms constituted the greatest challenge against the upright, internal religion to which the Rotterdamer had directed them. As far as traditional Spain was concerned, institutional Christianity increasingly associated Erasmus' **"**evangelical truth" with heretical Lutheranism. And despite Erasmus' works being sanctioned by the Archbishop of Toledo and by the General Inquisitor, that association with Lutheranism became public in the trial against Diego de Uceda (1528), whose fondness of Erasmus was charged with being Lutheranism. Significantly therefore, during the years that preceded the publication of Valdés' *Dialogue*, the emphasis of what was called *Evangelical Christianity* (differing from a ritual-based religion), stood on vulnerable and feeble grounds.[15]

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[10] Another epithet for *Conversos*.

[11] Letter of Aleandro Farnese Jan. 14, 1521 (quoted in Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, I, 129).

[12] Letters to Pedro Martyr of Anghier (1520), transcribed in Caballero, *Alonso y Juan de Valdés*, 292-307.

[13] *Sanctii Carranzae a Miranda Theologi opusculum in quasdam Erasmi Roterodami Annotationes*, Rome, March, 1522.

[14] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I,145. In reference to "Erasmi Roterodami blasphemiae et impietates," Rome, 1522.

[15] Hamilton defines "Evangelism" in view of *Alumbradism* as implying "pessimism about man, . . . reliance on the will of God . . .concern with justification and the desire for a simple form of religión base don a study of the Scriptures, and the same interest int he Pauline Epistles" (1992, pp.39-40). I believe, as

In 1522, Charles V and the Court returned to Spain. During Charles' rule, this would be the longest period that the Court would spend in the peninsula. In 1522, Juan de Vergara wrote Juan L. Vives saying, "The admiration Erasmus inspires in all Spaniards, wise and ignorant, clergy and laymen, is astonishing."[16] In 1524, Erasmus received notice from the Court about "a chosen group of Erasmians in Spain." [17] Letters reported to him the good reception of *Querela Pacis,* translated and published in 1520.[18] At the end of 1524, as Charles V moved to Madrid, near Alcalá, Erasmus' paraphrases on the Gospels and Epistles became coveted and read. Even though no direct evidence verifies it, it is quite possible that upon the arrest of Pedro R. Alcaraz, Juan de Valdés would join the Court under the protection of his brother Alfonso.[19] This inference, first suggested by Longhurst, seems coherent with his brother's protective attitude all through Juan's life, and also with the fact that Juan entered into the circle of those Erasmian humanists. [20] The different character and convictions of Juan from that Erasmian circle – as the analysis of the *Dialogue* will manifest – also coheres with a third party's intervention, like his brother Alfonso, providing a relationship with men like Juan de Vergara – a personage noted for his antagonism to *Alumbrados*.

During this first half of the 1520's, several changes reinforced Erasmian influence in Castile. In 1523, Alonso Fonseca became Archbishop of Toledo and called Juan de Vergara to be his secretary. Fonseca favored Erasmus, and under Fonseca's patronage, Miguel de Eguía[21] printed a considerable number of Erasmus' works. Amidst the open hostility of traditional voices, Eguía's editions of Erasmus included dedicatory words to Fonseca, to the Emperor, and a letter of the Emperor recognizing Erasmus. Vindicating the Rotterdamer's orthodoxy, Eguía also published *De Libero Arbitrio*. On the other hand, neither the *Colloquia* nor the *Moria* were published, manifesting the distinctive moderation of Spanish Erasmians.[22]

Turning to the *Alumbrados* and their reception of Erasmianism, the so-called *Alumbrados* clearly manifested a diverse attitude toward the Rotterdamer. Bataillon's all-encompassing perspective, grouping *Alumbrados* and Erasmus as the "religions of the spirit," is too general to describe the relationship between a diversity of individuals and the variety of how Erasmus was perceived. In Alcaraz's Trial, for example, Erasmus appears as an appeal for his defense. Obviously, however, Erasmus cannot be

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later will be discussed, that there is a categorical difference between Erasmus and Alcaraz regarding that "pessimism about man."

[16] Ibid, 183.

[17] Chancelor Gattinara, D. Alonso de Fonseca, Dr. Luis Núñez Coronel among others (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 181)

[18] Translated by the Archdeacon of Sevile, Diego López de Cortejana. Hamilton states that Erasmus was read in Latin prior to the Enchiridion's translation in 1526 (*Los Alumbrados,* 2010, 113); however, *Querela Pacis* was translated in 1520 and *Sermon on the Child Jesus* in 1516, cf. ft.95 of this chapter.

[19] First suggested by John Longhurst (1950).

[20] Nieto, speaks of Juan de Valdés retiring during those years to his home Cuenca to meditate and think through his *Dialogue* (*Juan de Valdés,* 1970, 103).

[21] Eguía was to be the printer of *Dialogue on Doctrine* , and he was later accused of *Alumbradism*,but only because of his association with Erasmianism and the Campaign of Medina de Rioseco, which had no traces of *Alumbradism*.

[22] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I,192.

used as an explanation of Alcaraz's thought. As Bataillon has clearly stated, it was not strange that they would lean on Erasmus' writings seeing that those works were sanctioned officially.[23] Alcaraz's teaching and spirituality was clearly different from Erasmus, as Huerga[24] has well stated. We have already referred to Francisco de Ortiz and his protests to some Erasmians, particularly to María de Cazalla and Juan de Cazalla, who were suspects of *Alumbradism* and open defenders of Erasmus.

Several encounters between *Alumbrados* and Erasmians portray the spectrum of their different religious expressions and help locate Valdés in relationship with them. One example is Juan de Vergara, previously referred to as a key Erasmian intellectual and personal defender of Valdés' *Dialogue*, who significantly crossed paths with the famous *Alumbrada* Francisca Hernández. In 1519 Francisca Hernández had moved to Valladolid gaining the devotion of Bernardino Tovar, Vergara's half-brother. In 1520, just before going to Flanders, Vergara unsuccessfully endeavored to withdraw Tovar from his attachment to Francisca. It was not till Vergara returned in 1522 that he succeeded, taking Tovar with him to Guadalajara, near Alcalá de Henares. Juan de Vergara's absolute antagonism to Francisca's model of spirituality became evident and confirmed by Francisca's contentious and clearly questionable accusations against Tovar, Vergara, and many others. Vergara, therefore, presents a humanist Erasmianism, which was the antithesis of Francisca's *Alumbradism*.

A very different case was that of Bishop Juan de Cazalla and his sister María. Bishop Cazalla is presented by Bachiller Olivares (a recurrent witness in *Alumbrado* trials), as introducing Erasmus' teaching in the town of Pastrana around 1524. Olivares informed the Inquisition that Cazalla took the Gospels' teachings as precepts for all Christians, and not merely as advice. Olivares understood that this emphasis was derived from Erasmus' *Enchiridion*.[25] Furthermore, the bishop's Erasmianism is confirmed by Pedro R. Alcaraz's and Isabel de la Cruz's disagreement with him. They described Bishop Cazalla reading the Greek New Testament in his meetings; Cazalla's teaching, which they resented, was labeled as *art*, seeking self-gratification instead of the edification of his hearers. Considering Bishop Cazalla's former participation in Cisneros' favor to *beatas* and more supernatural spirituality, these emphases reflect the development and change brought by influence of Erasmus on some of those religious personages.

Another *Alumbrado* suspect, Francisco Ortiz, manifested the diverse attitudes that these fervent, radical individuals had toward Erasmus. Justifying himself before the Holy Office, he declared to have preached around 1524 or 1525 in favor of the state of virginity and contrary to Erasmus' depreciation of monasticism. He spoke of Erasmus'

[23] Ibid, 222.

[24] Alvaro Huerga, "Erasmianismo y Alumbradismo," in *El Erasmianismo en España: ponencias del coloquio celebrado en la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo del 10 al 14 de junio de 1985, ed.* Manuel Revuelta Sañudo et al. (Santander: Sociedad Menendez Pelayo, 1986), 339-356.

[25] Selke, *Inqu, Fco. Ortiz*, 244.

sharp criticisms as "the salt with which hell's cooking pot boils."[26] Ortiz declared how his words "displeased some Erasmians," causing Bishop Cazalla to complain to Friar Gil. Cazalla responded in writing to Ortiz, severing their relationship. Ortiz, on the other hand, resented Cazalla being so "passionate for Erasmus."[27]

Years later under trial, Francisco Ortiz again crossed paths with Alcalá's Erasmianism. In Alcalá de Henares, Ortiz had studied under Luis Nuñez Coronel. Coronel, of *Converso* descent, had become "one of the most distinguished Erasmian intellectuals."[28] He had been referred to by Erasmus as one who had responded "most elegantly" to a Dominican friar who opposed the vernacular publication of *Enchiridion*.[29] The Inquisition was now using Ortiz's respect for Coronel as the element which would move Ortiz to retract his infatuation with Francisca Hernández. Coronel told Ortiz about the "almost inestimable harm" of the loss of his preaching, "so Catholic and profitable" in the past, but now expressing "disrespectful words" against the Inquisition's arrest of Francisca.[30] Ortiz responded with a twenty-five page booklet systematically refuting Coronel's arguments; Ortiz defended his faith in Francisca as being led by God. Accepting, however, the possibility of a man being blinded by his sins, Ortiz was willing to submit to "prayers and fasting and vigils, or any other harshness" that Coronel could suggest, asking God to keep him from any self-blindness.[31] This encounter, therefore, reflected a rather orthodox *Alumbrado* meeting with a humanistic and moderate Erasmian.

Ortiz, Alcaraz, and Cazalla, their encounters during the *Alumbrado* conflict and also the influence of Erasmus, clearly demonstrate a broad plurality of expressions that were artificially and pragmatically grouped under the Inquisitorial charge of *Alumbradism*. Within that variety, there was a more orthodox trend in Osuna and Ortiz, and a more heterodox trend in Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz. Neither of these orthodox or heterodox trends received any influence from Erasmus. They must be distinguished from the Erasmian development that appeared in Bishop Cazalla and María. Different from the Cazalla's and alien from any *Alumbrado* connotation stood Juan de Vergara. Both María de Cazalla and Juan de Vergara, however, during their trials in the early 1530's, testified about Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine*. They will be more particularly discussed in a latter section in order to consider their affinity with the *Dialogue's* teachings and to evaluate the *Dialogue's* Erasmian element.

[26] Ibid, p. 268 Cf. Ibid, 74. Ortiz also declared: "My soul loves and reveres them (monks), … I always abhorred Erasmus' liberty in this aspect" (Ibid, p. 153).
[27] Ibid, 268.
[28] Ibid, 82, ft., 9.
[29] Letter of Erasmus to Beda, 1525. Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz*, p. 82, ft. 9.
[30] Ibid, 82-83.
[31] Ibid, 83.

Erasmus' Influence preceding Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine* (1526-1529)

Within the Erasmian circle of the Imperial Court and in Alcalá, the defense of Erasmus by eminent individuals could not avoid the increasing conflicts and hostility surrounding the Rotterdamer's writings. The translation of *Enchiridion* gave a new dimension to Erasmus's influence in Spain. In 1525, from the traditional side, Fray García de Loyasa[32] expressed his alarm at the news that *Enchiridion* was to be publicly accessible.[33] The alarm arose particularly from the statement that *monachatus non est pietas* and some lines from its twentieth rule, which seemed to deny purgatory. The translation came from Alonso Fernández de Madrid, Archdeacon of Alcor. Alonso Fernández had been taught by Hernando de Talavera and by 1524 had acquired a considerable reputation as a preacher in Palencia.[34] When the alarm reached the Imperial Court, Luis Coronel defended the publication of Alonso's translation. Dr. Coronel, *Doctoris Parisiensis*,[35] had been collaborator with Frans van der Hulst in the Inquisition of the Low Countries. Now, as secretary of General Inquisitor Don Alonso Manrique, Coronel obtained Manrique's sanction, and the book was published in 1526.[36] The same year of its publication, the *Enchiridion*'s reception required a second edition. In this second edition, the Archdeacon included a dedication to Inquisitor Manrique.

For Erasmus' works, and particularly *Enchiridion*, the efforts to procure the sanction of high ecclesiastical authorities were fully justified. In 1527 Juan Maldonado, a humanist priest in Burgos, wrote to Erasmus concerning how Spaniards had diversely reacted toward him. Humanist theologians received his writings well, and people in general, not knowing him, "sang aloud his merits."[37] On the other hand, scholastic theologians were animatedly against him, and friars were actively working against him. Juan de Vergara, in his trial, recognized "notorious exceptions;" however, he confessed to have generally undermined[38] friars because of their "hatred and animosity against Erasmus" and Erasmus' friends. The "aggressiveness and conspiracy" with which they were accustomed to react to Erasmus' criticisms was well known.[39]

The momentum and pressures affecting Erasmus' influence forced a confusing diversity that certainly challenges the idea of a Spanish Erasmian movement.[40] Sancho

[32] A Dominican Friar also part of the Imperial Court as confessor of Charles V.
[33] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I,222. Cf. 224 ft.7
[34] Ibid, 223.
[35] The reference to Paris was like a "certificate" of orthodoxy in Spain.
[36] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 193.
[37] Ibid, 252-3.
[38] Fray Bernardino declared against Vergara that Vergara used to call friars fools (Inquisición, AHN, Procesos de Fe de Juan de Vergara, Leg. 223. Ex.7, fol 12v).
[39] Ibid, 314r.
[40] Bataillon says, "It was so difficult to distinguish demanding friends from capable adversaries from afar" of Erasmus (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*,1966, I, 259).

Carranza, for instance**,** changed his moderate criticism and commended Erasmus.[41] Alonso Ruiz de Virués, on the other hand, while defending Erasmus before the Dominican Fr. Pedro de Vitoria, declared against Juan de Vergara with clear reservations against Erasmus. As eminent individuals defended Erasmus, the reaction against him and his *Enchiridion* grew in strength and confidence. These tensions led to the Conference of Valladolid (1527), where Erasmus' orthodoxy was contested.

This strife around Erasmus directly affects the use of Erasmus in Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine*. While in prison, Alcaraz found that Erasmus could be a help against inquisitorial charges. Contrarily, the animosity from Spain's traditional circles, the vacillation of some followers of Erasmus, and the coveted endorsement of high authorities revealed that Valdés' use of Erasmus constituted to a certain degree a stand rather than a safe mask.[42]

Along with the vernacular publication of *Enchiridion*, other historical events contributed to the conflict between traditional Christianity and the expectations for church reform, which were now kindled by Erasmus' writings. On one hand Charles V's victory in the battle of Pavia rekindled Cisneros' messianic hopes among Christian circles. Alfonso de Valdés, Imperial Secretary and Valdés' brother, attributed a miraculous victory to Charles. Through this "most Christian Prince," wrote Alfonso, "the whole world might receive our holy Catholic Faith, and the words of our Redeemer might be fulfilled: *Fiet unum ovile et unus pastor*."[43] This hope was adopted by other Erasmian intellectuals, such as Juan Luis Vives. [44]

On the other hand, strong and consequential turbulences came from the conflicts surrounding Charles V, the sacking of Rome, and the Conference of Valladolid. All of these served to increase the tension of the Erasmian debate. Bataillon has vividly described and documented this confluence of tensions. These tensions moved noted individuals, followers of Erasmus, to moderate their stand for Erasmus in compliance to the strict, traditional side.[45] The pressure, as Bataillon records, caused intimidation even among those who were most convinced that the Emperor would fulfill their messianic expectations.[46] Even though Charles V favored a General Council to destroy heresies, repress infidels, and restore the Holy Church, Charles' reconciliation with Pope Clement VII after the sack of Rome led to a steady decline in both the expectations of a

[41] Erasmus later answered Nicola "Give Carranza my greetings with friendship nd respect . . . that he might sing my praises with more moderation, for the sake of evil tongues" (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España,*1966, I, 259).

[42] Valdés' use of Erasmus as a "mask" is sustained particularly by Nieto and Gilly, and others who defend an Alcaracian or Lutheran interpretation of Valdés.

[43] Alfonso de Valdés, *Relación de las Nuevas de Italia,* fol 8r. Repr. in Fermin Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 1875, 488.

[44] Vives wrote "… a great number of enemies have conspired against Charles, but this is Charles' destiny . . . . these are God's decrees to show men how week is our strength in light of his power" (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España,* 1966, I, 265).

[45] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 275-283, 425-428, 447.

[46]Cf. Alfonso Valdés' letter to Erasmus on June 20, 1527 (Repr. Caballero, *Alonso y Juan,* 1875, 322-323); Vives writes Erasmus on June 13 hoping a miracle by Christ for the salvation of Christianity (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España,* 1966, I, 280).

council and in the influence of Erasmus. Valdés himself would express this fading hope through his letters.[47]

The Conference of Valladolid met just two weeks after the report of the sack of Rome reached the Court. During the Conference, the accusations against Erasmus, among other topics, dealt with the Trinity, the Inquisition's legitimacy, the sacraments, the authority of Scripture, the authority of the Fathers, the veneration of Mary, the authority of Popes and Councils, ceremonies, fasting, celibacy, indulgences, veneration of saints, images, relics, pilgrimages, and the penalties of hell. After less than two months, the threat of plague, Clement VII's imposition of silence upon the opponents of Erasmus, and perhaps General Inquisitor Manrique's hesitance to prolong the debate led him to adjourn the Conference. The charges were to be studied, awaiting a future convocation.[48] From the Conference of Valladolid the Erasmian party gained the sanction to publish Erasmus' works and silence public contenders. On the other hand, Erasmus' offense to Spanish traditionalism had been somewhat proven and expected vindication. Furthermore, the conservative contention that Erasmus portrayed a different Christ,[49] and some individuals' "careless zeal" for Erasmus,[50] forced Erasmus' defenders to moderate their position. Virués, for example, suggested to Erasmus the idea of a "general apology (. . .) in order to ensure his [Erasmus'] posthumous career."[51] Likewise Alfonso de Valdés wrote Erasmus to receive these suggestions as from friends and to correct possible "human mistakes," so that there would be "no cause of scandal before simple people," that the mouth of grumblers be shut, so that his works would "be immortal."[52]

This moderation, therefore, compliant with traditional Christianity, characterized Spanish Erasmianism. Erasmus also corresponded to his friends' recommended moderation, discerning which writings were better for translation, even though that was not always controllable.[53] In light of Valdés' *Dialogue*, it is appropriate to mention that in 1528 the translation of Erasmus' *Declaration on the Pater Noster* was published by Bernardo Pérez.[54] In the same year, together with other spiritual writings of Saint Bernard and Saint Vicente Ferrer there was the publication of Erasmus' *Paraphrases on the Pater Noster*, identifying him just as "a very famous doctor."[55] Alonso de Virués translated a set of *Colloquia* in 1529. Of particular significance are Virués' introductory letter and prefaces to every dialogue. Both his commentaries and additions to Erasmus'

[47] Valdés, *Cartas al Cardenal Gonzaga*, cxi.
[48] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 306-310.
[49] Ibid., 308.
[50] E.g. Maldonado's zeal (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, I,319).
[51] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 310.
[52] Letterof Alfonso de Valdés December 13th, 1527 (Repr. Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 1875, 350-352).
[53] Letter of Erasmus to Virués (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, I, 328).
[54] However, Valdés used Luther's *Commentary On the Lord's Praye* in his *Dialogue.*
[55] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España, ed.* 1966, I, 331. The translator was probably Maestro Bernardo Pérez, of the same spiritual family as Diego López de Cortejana y Alonso Fernández de Madrid (Ibid).

words are a valuable picture of this timid, moderate Spanish Erasmianism.[56] In 1531, Erasmus' paraphrases on Matthew and John were anonymously translated with a highly significant commentary that would parallel Valdés: "Fake Christians persecute true Christians."[57]

This forced moderation is very significant in light of Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine*. Recognizing that using Erasmus included a certain degree of a stand for *Philosophia Christi*, daring dissidences within the *Dialogue* reveal an attitude and conviction that were absent in Erasmus' followers. This affinity and difference, again, confirm Valdés' urgency as he wrote, as well as Valdés' use of his sources to express his personal teaching.

If the relationship among Valdés, Erasmian circles, and Erasmus' influence is to be evaluated, it is evident that Valdés participated in the circle of Erasmus' friends and defenders. He is referred to in the correspondence of Diego Gracián de Alderete, also Imperial Secretary of Charles V. Diego seemed to be particularly instrumental in the personal introduction of sympathizers with Erasmus, such as the Archdeacon of Alcor (translator of *Enchiridion* into Spanish). Gracián's letters reveal a significant circle of correspondence among Spanish Erasmians from the Court and the University of Alcalá, e.g., Alfonso de Valdés, Juan de Valdés, Coronel, and Francisco de Vergara (Juan de Vergara's brother). Their correspondence reveal these intellectuals' teasing jokes about friars in human and vulnerable – not vulgar – situations, such as eating, drinking, or relaxing, and involving ignorance or women. In this correspondence Gracián writes to Juan: "(. . .) perhaps you might be surprised that I dared writing you a letter without telling you a joke,"[58] or, "answer to me, my Juan, things that we would not have to read with a serious face."[59]

These references reveal Juan's friendship and wit with these men. On the other hand, the second quote makes reference to more serious discussions, if not differences, from Juan's side. In a later section on Juan de Vergara, these jokes are confirmed, clarifying Vergara's self-detachment from *Alumbradism*.[60] In Valdés' *Dialogue*, interestingly, there are sporadic, humorous references, like the novice who unable to properly discern Christians from Moors is said to be "fonder of fried bacon than of books."[61] The general tone of Valdés' *Dialogue*, however, presents a predominantly serious discussion about what he understood as true Christianity.

There are three extant letters between Erasmus himself and Juan de Valdés that refer to the Rotterdamer's relationship with Valdés while in Alcalá de Henares.[62] Little

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[56] Desiderius Erasmus, *Coloquios familiares*, trad. Alonso Ruiz de Virués, intr.. notes Andrea Herrán, y Modesto Santos (Rubí: Anthropos, 2005).

[57] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, *ed.* 1966, I, 332.

[58] A. Paz y Meliá. "Otro Erasmista Español, Diego Gracián de Alderete," in *Revista Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos* II, p. 129.

[59] Ibid., 131.

[60] AHN, *Trial J. Vergara*, fol. 262v. Cf. Ibid., 259v.

[61] Valdés, DDC, OC, 13.

[62] (1)from Basel March 1, 1528, confirming Valdés as a student in Alcalá (n.1961 repr. in Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 1875, 352), (2)from Basel March 21, 1529 (n. 2127 repr. Ibid., 429), and (3) from

can be gathered from these letters, which have been known since the late nineteenth century. Erasmus' letters include compliments, such as Juan being an "advanced youth" who pursued Liberal Arts in order to adorn virtue.[63] Juan is also portrayed as one who, being a part of those who dwell amidst the hatred and hostility of opponents, "put all care and enthusiasm to join the sincerity of Christian piety with the elegance of letters."[64] These kind words, however, apart from the recognition of a pious tendency in Juan, could well be due to Erasmus' relationship with Alfonso, Juan's brother. Alfonso, Imperial Secretary and "more Erasmian than Erasmus himself,"[65] had been instrumental in providing Erasmus with generous financial support from Charles V and other wealthy prelates like those of Toledo, Sevile, or Jaen.[66] A more significant reference, however, manifested Juan's fondness for Erasmus, which, accounting for polite eulogies, cannot deny a true appreciation for the Rotterdamer. Erasmus writing to Juan stated, "You appreciate so much these, my letters (. . .) that you do not doubt to place them among the most precious jewels."[67] These words are difficult to harmonize with Juan using Erasmus as a mere mask.

A Closer Look at Erasmian Suspects of *Alumbradism* in Light of Juan de Valdés

The previous section has presented the general conflict caused by Erasmus' writings in Spain. The following section will discuss the thought of certain individuals who were directly related with Juan de Valdés or with the *Dialogue*: Juan de Cazalla and his sister María, and Juan de Vergara. Their characteristics will confirm and describe more specifically the phenomena of *Alumbradism* and the influence of Erasmus, once again, portraying parallels and differences which will clarify Valdés' pronouncements and eclecticism. The references to portray these three individuals are the inquisitorial trials of María de Cazalla and Juan de Vergara, and the writing *Light of the Soul* by Bishop Cazalla,[68] collated with other secondary references.

María's trial provides a clear image of the development and change of some *Alumbrados* from the first initiatives of Guadalajara and Pastrana to an Erasmian influence. Initially, María had a close relationship with Isabel and also with Alcaraz; however, she withdrew from them and followed her brother, Bishop Juan de Cazalla.[69] María's declarations also argue against the idea an *Alumbrado movement*. In reference

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Freiburg January 13, 1530, expressing his complaint that Valdés did not answer his letters (n.2251, repr. Ibid., 440).

[63] Letter of March 2, 1528 (Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 1875, 352).

[64] Letter of March 21, 1529 (Ibid., 429).

[65] Caballero, *Alonso y Juan de Valdés*, 111.

[66] Ibid., 119.

[67] Letter of March 21, 1529 (Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 1875, 430).

[68] Juan de Cazalla, *Lumbre del Alma*, Bibl. Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Accesible: http://213.0.4.19/servlet/SirveObras/91337286109793495200080/index.htm , Accessed, Dec. 11, 2013.

[69] Hamilton, portraying María as an *Abandoned*, follower of Isabel and Alcaraz (*Los Alumbrados*, 2010, 109-110), appears to not recognize this this move away from Isabel and Alcaraz, but her declarations and their variance clearly support her departure.

to Valdés and *Dialogue on Doctrine*, in her trial, María was asked about Valdés' *Dialogue* and she confirmed some of its contents, as well as Valdés' authorship. Bishop Cazalla, on the other hand, had evidently come from a Franciscan supernatural spirituality to an Erasmian emphasis, clearly transmitting that influence to his sister María. Bishop Cazalla's *Light of the Soul* clearly portrays a spirituality of affections, like that which was discussed in the *Alumbrado* conflict, but with a clear influence from Erasmus. Cazalla constitutes a clear contrast with some fundamental aspects of Valdés' *Dialogue*. Concerning Juan de Vergara, he constitutes a clear example of Erasmus' influence in Spain, but distinctly apart from the *Alumbrados*. Very significantly, while Vergara's testimony provided the strongest and clearest references to Valdés' *Dialogue*, Vergara's personality and thought is evidently distant from Valdés. Those similarities and differences pose the need to consider these three individuals with more detail.

María de Cazalla

One of the great contributions of María's trial is her historical references, which, as Ortega-Costa states, depict "the historical development of heterodox *illuminism* from the first decades of the sixteenth century."[70] Concerning the environment of so-called *Alumbrados*, for instance, it is significant to confirm that a common interest among different individuals or attendance at a particular meeting did not mean a common perspective. The affinity among the so-called *Alumbrados*, regarding a non-ceremonialism or the reference to a spiritual knowledge, did not blur María's clear differences from Ortiz's developing *Recollection* or from Alcaraz's *Abandonment*. Interestingly, both accusation and defense refer to *the time* when "the things of the *Alumbrados* began to develop" in association with the beginning of "the conflict among all *Alumbrados*."[71] This vocabulary reveals the *Alumbrados* as a particular period in time and a conflict among religious people, not so much a movement. Within that conflict, María was "on good terms with some," but that relationship did not imply at all any affiliation.[72]

In regards to María's thought, even though she was accused of dogmatizing, her accusations expressed no dogmatic content but merely "doctrine," understood at that time as religious practical guidelines. Her moral pronouncements and spiritual emphasis only contained non-systematic expressions, calling people to a more committed Christianity. That was the common pursuit at that time in the area of Guadalajara. In the house of Cereceda, María "spoke on things of God's service; [she said] that we ought to love God."[73] People from Pastrana said she was a woman "committed to God (. . .) who communicated (. . .) doctrine from Saint Paul (. . .) and taught them to keep the commandments of God's law."[74] She is further reported to as saying, "I believe, sisters,

[70] Ortega Costa, *Trial M. Cazalla*, 17.
[71] Ibid, 48.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid, 44.
[74] Ibid,44.

that all of you want to go to paradise (. . .) love God and keep his commandments." She, then, "would take a book in the vernacular and read from it a portion of one of St. Paul's epistles."[75] Her practical emphasis is confirmed by her difference with Sebastián, with whom Alcaraz had a conflict in the Marquis' Palace. Contrary to Sebastian, María did not want to enter into divine speculations.[76] This is clearly different with both Alcaraz and Valdés, whose teaching included particular theological considerations, much more in the case of Valdés.

One of the accusations against María constitutes an example of the commonly distorted accusations from outsiders; it dealt with sex and family issues. Accusations and defenses clearly manifest that Mari Nuñez, main accuser of Alcaraz and Isabel, urged chastity in soul and flesh, only excepting procreation.[77] Initially, María followed Mari Nuñez's radical demands; however, when María left Mari Nuñez and adopted Isabel's and Alcaraz's spirituality, she changed her convictions and behavior. Isabel's perspective focused on obedience and love instead of physical asceticism. Because of that change, witnesses testified that she had turned Alumbrada because of her continual conversation and complicity with Isabel and Alcaraz. She changed "in all her things and [religious] exercises." In the eyes of other ladies from her town, María's radical change was taken as if she had turned "crazy." This change and polarization between asceticism and a spirituality of internal obedience explains María's declarations: "When she was in the carnal act, she was all perfect," or "all divine."[78] María's change and the ladies' accusation took place around 1519, and María's change became an article of the Edict, describing the *Alumbrados*.

> [Teachings of the *Alumbrados* as gathered and understood by Inquisitorial authorities, Article no. 25] That those who are married, when they are in their conjugal act they are more united to God that if they were in prayer. This proposition is false and erroneous and has the appearance of heresy and has to be esteemed as heretical because it is against the apostle Saint Paul and against the common spiritual advice of the Holy Church, which advises that sometimes those who are married should abstain from carnal relationships so that they might more freely and devoutly be able to dedicate themselves to prayer.[79]

It is reasonable to think that María never meant that sexual behavior constituted a spiritual exercise. The situation did not include either any sexual misbehavior. It was, most probably, an exaggeration on the part of María, who disassociated her conjugal relationship with her husband from her spiritual relationship with God. On account of this explanation, Crews' reading of Maria's expression unquestionably in accordance to the Edict's interpretation is not appropriate.[80]A certain degree of credibility should be

[75] Ibid, 45.
[76] Ibid, 258.
[77] Ibid, 60-61
[78] Ibid, 60, 64.
[79] Márquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 234.
[80] Daniel A Crews, *Twilight of the Renaissance the life of Juan de Valdés* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 21.

given to Maria's defense. Her expression appears rather as a rejection of asceticism in favor of moral and internal obedience expressed in argumentative, colloquial terms.

The change in María from Mari Nuñez's ascetic radicalism to Isabel's moral obedience did not lose its radical tenet. She apparently defended that "every time that people would love anything, whether it be husband or children or any other thing instead of God, they sinned as a capital sin." Out of that pronouncement, people inferred that simple people would sin and go to hell.[81] This accusation, not free from distortion, expressed the radical tone of her moral exhortation, also akin to Isabel's and Alcaraz's message.

Confirming important differences among so-called *Alumbrados*, while María never denied being in the past closely attached to Isabel, María equally maintained that their relationship came to an end because of a difference over an *Alumbrada*: López de Texeda's wife. The issue over Texeda's wife is interesting. Initially, María did not accept this woman's raptures and expressions, and Isabel decided to host her and test her before rejecting her claims. Later on in 1519, evidently, Isabel also rejected Texeda's wife, but Pedro de Rueda, who was María's husband, is reliably portrayed leaving Isabel and Alcaraz to follow the persuasion of Texeda's wife.[82] Alcaraz' response to Pedro's severance was that "the devil's servants" were growing.[83] These radical changes, severances, affiliations, and arguments leave no doubt as to the differences among the so-called *Alumbrados*. It is also very clear that Franciscan spirituality, open to ecstatic expressions, clearly differed from Isabel and Alcaraz's, which at the same time differed from María and Juan de Cazalla. These are the three trends that we distinguish in this dissertation in order to specify the characteristics of the so-called *Alumbrado* influence on Valdés.

María's departure from Isabel, and the subsequent influence of bishop Cazalla, must have dissipated most of Isabel's influence. She evidently began to be more educated and able to discern the worth of preachers and sermons. María, while keeping a spiritual emphasis in her teaching, evidently derived her arguments from her brother, the bishop.[84] She resented the Inquisition, because among them there were not "men with a divine spirit" as Bishop Cazalla; and hence, they did not understand them.[85] María's religious development and attachment to her brother, Bishop Cazalla, confirm Alcaraz's reproach to them, that is, that they were infatuated with each other. Bishop Cazalla said of María that she was so spiritually advanced that she had reached all perfection, being able to completely dispense with ceremonies.[86] He spoke of María as "the teacher of the *Alumbrados* in Pastrana and Guadalajara," surpassing by far

[81] Ortega Costa, *Trial M. Cazalla*, 32, 52,130,164.
[82] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 274r.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Denying for instance, that Saint Anne had been married three times, that there were three Mary's, and that she herself and her brother, bishop Cazalla said that those who had instituted those things in the Church were dull people (Ortega-Costa, 1978, 74). These arguments were referred to various times along the trial.
[85] Ortega-Costa, *Trial M. Cazalla*, 82.
[86] Ibid., 74-75.

Francisca's discernment.[87] María, correspondingly, held her brother to be a man with divine spirit. Contrarily, as has been previously noted, Alcaraz looked upon Juan de Cazalla as self-focused and seeking rhetoric instead of his audience's edification.

Having considered other *Alumbrado* suspects, it is pertinent to note that their non-ceremonialism had different connotations. Alcaraz, Ortiz, Bishop Cazalla, and Erasmus coincided in their disregard for ceremonies. It is surprising that Bishop Cazalla suggested that Maria's dispensing with ceremonies was linked to her perfection. This appears to echo some of Alcaraz and Porete's tenets. But this was totally a different connotation than Erasmus' non-ceremonialism. To ignore this difference and refer to their spirituality with an all-comprehensive label, as "religions of the Spirit"[88] can be misleading. Regarding María, she is reported as discouraging some women from "wearying themselves" with pilgrimages, or as teaching that God "did not eat [offerings] but [he desired] hearts."[89] Bishop Cazalla was accused of saying that the church was "loaded with commandments, excommunications, and other things instead of [focusing] on the salvation of souls."[90] The undergirding conviction of María's non-ceremonialism, at first could be due to Isabel's and Alcaraz's arguments; however, later, under the influence of Bishop Cazalla, it clearly adopted Erasmus' traces.

María's trial provides also significant evidence as to the "face" of Erasmus and Luther in the eyes of the Castilian Inquisition. Its relevance to Valdés is underlined, considering that her trial was in the immediate aftermath of *Dialogue on Doctrine's* publication. Prosecutor Angulo, common prosecutor against all *Alumbrado* suspects, accused María that,

> She tags Saint Thomas [Aquinas] as Aristotelian, and Scotus as dreamer and confused, reproving and denigrating Scholastic arguments (. . .) She believes and defends Erasmus as the gospel, and praises him to the point of recommending his canonization, whereas he holds and has written many errors and scandalous and reproachful things against the Holy Catholic Faith in his works and writings, and she praised very much the book called *Christian Doctrine*, [also] containing errors against the faith.[91]

The book referred as *Christian Doctrine* is Valdés' *Dialogue*, as she also testified, and which is here referred in association with Erasmus. The very contents of the accusation reveal the Cazalla's Erasmian influence, as well as the *Dialogue's* association with Erasmus; that is most reasonable, since Valdés highly recommends the Rotterdamer in the first part of it. In regard to Luther, as in Alcaraz's trial, Luther appears in María's trial in reference to bulls and the pope's authority. These were issues that did not need Luther for people to react to church abuses.

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[87] Ibid., 74.

[88] Bataillon's typical expression to comprehend *Alumbrados* and Erasmians (E.g. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, 399).

[89] Ortega-Costa, *Trial M. Cazalla*, 48-49.

[90] There was also the accusation that she said that there were higher things than the Passion, but this is inconclusive as well (Ortega-Costa, *Trial M. Cazalla*, 52-3, 83).

[91] Ortega-Costa, *Trial M. Cazalla*, 129. Cf. also article n.14 (Ibid., 130).

Bishop Juan de Cazalla and *Light of the Soul*

Juan de Cazalla, Bishop of Vera, is a most significant individual because of both his biography and thought. Cazalla was of *Converso* family from both father's and mother's side. He accompanied Cisneros in Oran's Conquest (1509). He participated in and lived during the spirituality of *beatas* and messianic prophecies. He found himself in the discussions and debates of the times of the *Alumbrados* in Pastrana.[92] He got entangled by Francisca's thicket of accusations, but his death in 1530 stopped inquisitorial proceedings against him.[93] His work, *Light of the Soul*,[94] was written in 1528 and prohibited in the *Index* of 1559. He contributes to our discussion on Valdés in that he embodied a distinct Erasmian influence among those who debated about the love of God. Valdés was also one among the different religious initiatives, also linked in some way with "the times of the *Alumbrados*."

Between Bishop Cazalla and Valdés, two affinities can be referred to: their eclecticism and their focus on a love-relationship with God. First, there is an eclecticism which could be paralleled to Valdés' *Dialogue*. Bishop Cazalla gathered natural references from Raymond Sibiuda's *Viola Anima.*[95] The main question that governed his writing, "What could I pay back to God for all the things he has given me?" is found almost verbatim in Erasmus' *Discourse on the Child Jesus*, translated into Spanish in 1516.[96] Furthermore Cazalla addressed the matter of the love of God. Cazalla also adopted the Erasmian understanding of grace and free will. Cazalla is an illustration of those individuals who, amidst his surrounding religious debate, used other sources to project his own voice.

To the previous question of man's debt to God, Cazalla answered with the individual's committed, undivided love for God. As discussed already in Chapter 2, union with God through a love-relationship constituted the terms through which Christian perfection was expressed, particularly among *Conversos*, Observant

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[92] While Bishop Cazalla, clergy, and laymen of Pastrana were "on these diversity of opinions," Francisco Ortiz came from Valladolid (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 245). This testimony confirms the diversity among *Alumbrados.*

[93] Inquisitorial proceedings were initiated according to Vergara's trial (Selke, *Inqu. Fco. Ortiz,* 1968, 244-5, ft. 66).

[94] Sp. "*Lumbre del Alma*." *Lumbre* could be translated also as glow, or radiance, but in any case it refers figuratively to man's free choice, able to direct the heart to love God, and receive the grace to achieve it.

Juan de Cazalla, "*Lumbre del Alma*," Original Pub. Juan Cromberger, Seville: 1542 and collated with the critical ed. of J.Martínez de Bujanda (Madrid, F.U. E., 1974) by Fundación Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, www.cervantesvirtual.com Found in: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/lumbre-del-alma--0/ accessed: 14/06/12.

[95] *Violeta del anima* was also prohibited in the Index of 1559. It has been referred as a source of Cazalla's *Light*, thus emphasized by Laura Giordano (*Apologetas de la Fe*, 2004, 155-174), and also linked by Bataillon with Valdés' *Dialogue* (even though this does not need to be a direct connection): Violeta ch.24 Libro III is entitled , " In regards to man's comparison with other creatures and creation and in relationship also with the love of God "that only two things have to be mainly loved, and the enmity between them." (Bataillon, DDB, 247).

[96] Cf. Desiderius Erasmus, *Tratado del niño Jesús y en loor del estado de la niñez,* 1st ed. Sevilla, 1516 . Trans. Diego de Alcocer. *Reimpreso en facsímile con un estudio preliminar de Eugenio Asensio, etc.* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1969) , 81-82.

Franciscans, and members of other Orders in Castile and Alcalá. The issue at debate among Osuna's *Third Alphabet*, Alcaraz's declarations, and Cazalla's *Light of the Soul* was not the goal or the terminology of true spirituality. The arguments revolved around how to achieve it, the nature, and manifestation of that experience of love for God. This focus is crucial in the consideration of Valdés. Not only this love for God is addressed in Valdés' *Dialogue*; the "how to" is the pivotal expression of his *Christian Alphabet*. Valdés' freer writings in Naples precisely revolve around the understanding and experience of that love-relationship with God.

Clearly parallel to Osuna or Alcaraz or Valdés, Cazalla presented man's love for God as the supreme command, different and apart from loving anything created.[97] Love must be free from "guile or laziness," away from vanities.[98] In love, "there is no travail, no pain or sadness, no anger, no anguish, but love makes sweet and delightful any work or pain."[99] Love is a universal principle, the root of virtue or vice.[100] Any service that is not realized in love for God profits nothing.[101] Love is also understood as fed and empowered by God's grace.[102] Creatures are to be loved "not in as much as they are profitable and necessary (. . .) but because they are creatures of God."[103] Man's neighbor, likewise, is loved and honored "because he is the image of God."[104] More specifically, and still fully in harmony with Alcaraz or Valdés, Cazalla defended that true love cannot have but one object;[105] internal and deep love, "so strongly unites the will with the object foremost loved, that they cannot be drawn asunder."[106] Cazalla defended that love "transforms and changes" the soul, like Erasmus who had said that "the strength of true love (. . .) makes you desire to be very similar to that which you love," in reference to what divine love can "ignite" in the soul.[107]

Contrary to true love, and still in reference to their common ground, if God is not the only and primary object of love, in reality, the individual will love God through selfish love and through his own will. Man's own will "is malicious, traitorous, a thief, and devilish, because with a sacrilegious hand it robs God (. . .) because man himself becomes its eternal honor and glory and power."[108] Self-love, furthermore, "is dark and obscure, blurring and darkening the will and the understanding, of such a kind that man cannot know himself, or God, or any other creature perfectly."[109] Self-love produces

[97] "Serve and love only God . . . with gladness," "with all your heart, soul . . . inwards, and strength" (Cazalla, *Lumbre*, Part I, Ch. 15).
[98] Cazalla, *Lumbre*, Part I, Ch.15.
[99] Ibid. Important parallel with Valdés DDC as he commented on "Give us our daily bread:" "to feel … sweet and savory any persecution that God might bring to them" (Juan de Valdés, DDC, OC, 111).
[100] Ibid., Part II, ch. 1.
[101] Ibid., Part I, ch. 16.
[102] Ibid., Part I, ch.16.
[103] Ibid., Part I, ch. 17.
[104] Ibid., Part I, ch.17.
[105] Ibid., Part II, ch. 13.
[106] Ibid., Part II, ch. 3.
[107] Erasmus, *Tratado del Niño Jesús*, 75.
[108] Cazalla, *Lumbre*, Part II, ch. 3.
[109] Ibid., Part II, ch. 4.

"arrogance, covetousness, lasciviousness, gluttony, vengeance, [and] envy." [110] God, conversely, is to be loved for himself, not for his gifts; otherwise love would be "mercenary and self-interested, and therefore, not clean love."[111] All these references underline the extent of Cazalla's coincidence with Osuna, Alcaraz, or Valdés.

In reference to the "how" man can love God, however, Cazalla presents an Erasmian perspective. Like Erasmus, Cazalla attributed to God the enabling grace to love him as a man ought to; theological Virtues, habits of the will, are "infused … by grace."[112] Bataillon suggests that this writing could have resulted "from an enthusiastic reading of Erasmus' *De Libero Arbitrio* or *Hyperapistes."*[113] As we mentioned before, the *Discourse on the Child Jesus* could have been as well an influence in this writing of Cazalla. In fundamental opposition to Alcaraz or Valdés, however, Cazalla presents love as that with which the individual must repay God, finding its origin and impulse in an optimistic view of natural man: in his free choice.

Cazalla's anthropology, diametrically opposed to Valdés', presents man as "a white parchment, in which there is neither figure nor painting but the disposition (. . .) to paint various paintings, fair or ugly (. . .) true or false."[114] Furthermore, *Light of the Soul* defends and highlights free will as the individual's greatest excellence, with which humans can actually pay God back for the benefits they have received.[115] Cazalla exalts the individual's free choice; it "reaches God and possesses him forever; through his free choice, man is immortal, intellectual, and eternal, and much alike his Creator."[116] And love, really, "is a child of free will."[117]

Parallel with Erasmus but opposite to Valdés, Cazalla's soteriology and sanctification are clearly established upon a synergism of man and God. Out of the individual's free will, the individual's virtue makes the soul perfect.[118] Love is a *human* capacity which man uses to approach either God and virtue or evil and self, and the very nature of love leads and transforms the individual according to its object; "it is a matter of choice."[119] God's grace, the good disposition of grace, is fruit of man's virtuous exercise:

> Out of that love's profitable service, from which man freely and voluntarily gives to God, man receives good disposition,[120] and it is very fruitful to himself. That love, with perseverance, keeps his good disposition in man, which is called disposition of grace.[121]

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[110] Ibid., Part II, ch.5.
[111] Ibid., Part II, ch. 6.
[112] Ibid., Part I, ch.13.
[113] Bataillon (ed.), DDB, 139.
[114] Cazalla, *Lumbre*, Part I, ch. 13.
[115] Ibid., Part I, ch.1.
[116] Ibid., Part I, ch.11.
[117] Ibid., Part I, ch.15.
[118] Ibid., Part I, ch.3.
[119] Ibid., Part II, ch. 4.
[120] Sp. "*Buen ser.*"
[121] Cazalla, *Lumbre*, Part I, ch. 16.

According to Cazalla, man's response to God for his utmost, "frightening," and "infinite" obligation, is the individual's love; but a love that originates in his free will and is enabled *a posteriori* by God's grace.[122] This optimistic anthropology, this love from the individual's free will, and his own "ability" to repay God are core elements in Cazalla but alien and directly opposed to Alcaraz's or Valdés' thought.

Also akin to Erasmus, Cazalla presents another contrast with Alcaraz and Valdés: the knowledge of God. Cazalla's dialogue clearly exalts man's reason and innate abilities. Cazalla's disciple, for instance, is brought to faith in "one God" through reason.[123] Man, through his own understanding, comes to wisdom and faith.[124] God's infinite power, wisdom, justice, and his very existence are proven through man's free choice.[125] The capacity "to feel" the things of God, that "living and excellent" competence is a granted endowment merely for being human, like free choice.[126]

These characteristics of Cazalla's grace, anthropology, and knowledge, when compared with the explicit Erasmian references of María's trial, demand an Erasmian understanding of *Light of the Soul*, even with its references to the love of God or with its mystical overtones. Surprisingly, Bataillon declared that "there is nothing Erasmian" in Cazalla's dialogue, because it is in the "antipodes of Paulicism."[127] Paulicism in Spain, however, contrary to what Bataillon claimed, neither came through Erasmus[128] nor is it the emblem of Spanish Erasmianism. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, confirmed by the works of Laura Giordano[129] and Stephania Pastore,[130] Paulicism in Spain was characteristic of oppressed *Conversos* since the fifteenth century. I disagree with Bataillon's statement concerning the difference between Cazalla and Valdés; he said that they differ as "a Franciscan fed from Scotist Scholasticism from a layman for whom the key of Christianity is Saint Paul."[131] At least in 1925, Bataillon ignored María's trial and, therefore, Cazalla's anti-scholasticism and Erasmianism. Valdés differs from Cazalla particularly in that Cazalla follows an Erasmian anthropology and soteriology whereas Valdés' follows a more Augustinian and even Lutheran perspective.

Juan de Vergara

Juan de Vergara is another very significant character in relationship with Juan de Valdés. Vergara's trial provided documentary evidence about his personal involvement with *Dialogue on Doctrine*. The assessment of his involvement or association with Valdés, however, requires a consideration of Vergara's religious personality. For such a

[122] Ibid., Part I, ch. 9, 10, 11. Part I, ch. 10 and Part II, ch. 13 respectively.
[123] Ibid., Part I, ch.5.
[124] Ibid., Part I, ch.5.
[125] "Much have I profit in the knowledge of God from our free choice" (Cazalla, *Lumbre,* Part I, ch.7).
[126] Cazalla, *Lumbre*, Part I, ch. 11.
[127] Bataillon (ed.), DDB,139.
[128] Erasmo, *El Enquiridion o Manual del caballero cristiano,* 8-9.
[129] Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*.
[130] Pastore, *Una Herejía Española*.
[131] Bataillon (ed.), DDB,142-143.

consideration, even though Vergara did not leave any writing of his own, his trial portrays a reliable profile.[132] His characteristics, as well as Valdés', reveal their position amidst the different religious currents that surrounded them. The comparison of Vergara's thought with Valdés will reveal that the former's personal involvement with the defense of the *Dialogue* was not so much out of a friendly affinity with Valdés, but rather because of the implications that a condemnation of Valdés' writing would mean to the Erasmian cause.

Vergara and Alumbrados

Previously, in the section on Erasmus' influence and *Alumbradism*, we referred to the encounter of Juan de Vergara with the *Alumbrada* Francisca Hernández and Juan withdrawing his half-brother, Bernardino Tovar, from her influence. As Tovar and other followers departed from Francisca, she retaliated with accusations against them before the Inquisition. Francisca referred to Tovar and a number of other individuals describing an *Alumbrado* conspiracy of which Tovar was one of the promoters. From Francisca's declarations Bataillon presented Tovar as "the soul of the *illuminist* conspiracy between 1525 and 1530."[133] Vergara's trial, however, clearly contests Francisca's plot. Her distortions and manipulations, also questioned by the Inquisitor, only reinforced Vergara's confidence: "If God has desired so clearly to uncover this evil [referring to Francisca's falsehood], why are such testimonies used to defame a person like me?"[134]

In light of Valdés, Tovar provides a significant reference point. Tovar appears in Vergara's trial censuring Valdés for publishing his *Dialogue* without further revision. In Vergara's trial, Tovar is also referred to as writing a long and bold reproach to Francisca after he left her.[135] Tovar categorically denied any *Alumbrado* tenet before other individuals.[136] As Vergara infringed the Inquisition's secrecy by corresponding with Tovar, Vergara's messages support Tovar's alienation from *Alumbradism*. Tovar's picture, therefore, is contrary to Bataillon's description of him as a "tireless propagandist" of the *illuminist* "spiritual adoration among the clergy in Alcalá and Guadalajara."[137] The evidence portrays Tovar as having turned away from Francisca's supernatural spirituality and having joined an Erasmian context. He was not, therefore, an *illuminist*.

Turning to Vergara, his arguments and descriptions manifested his opposition to *Alumbrados*. Vergara derided *Alumbrados*. While defending mental prayer, in light of the *Alumbrados*' supposed denial of vocal prayer, Vergara stated, "The fact that idiots have erred about this, like beasts more than men, is no motive to claim it as an error in

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[132] Inquisicion de Toledo, AHN, *Proceso contra Juan de Vergara.* Leg. 223, n. 42.

[133] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España,* I, 402.

[134] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara,* 261r. "It is a most unworthy thing that such idiocy [associating me with Alumbradism] would be set against a man as I am . . . . Would it not be enough to esteem the witness as false and perjurer in all that the witness says?" (Ibid, fol 267; Cf Ibid, 281r).

[135] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara,* fol. 258v.

[136] "Swearing that in all the days of his life that such a thing [as he was accused of] did not cross his mind" (AHN, *Trial J.Vergara,* fol. 307v).

[137] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España,*I, 399.

one who is not" denying it.[138] Vergara, furthermore, declared himself to be "enemy of these *beatas*, skeptical of their sanctimony, and the most critical against them in the world."[139] Concerning the interaction and manners of those he took as *Alumbrados*, Vergara offered an interesting description:

> I have always conducted myself as other men of my status. I have always had my shoulders in their place, without lifting them up to my ears [implying a self-consciousness of prophetic claims]. Before I state something, I say "for God," and afterwards, "God be blessed"… My clothing is neat rather than *beguine*. My conduct and duties are as are common with all men, without any seclusion or particularity. In conversations [I speak about] neither superfluous nor devotional exercises; contrarily, as some consider, [my conversation includes] a bit of murmuring (. . . .) I truly believe that, none in the kingdom who knows me would object that speaking about Dr. Vergara as *Alumbrado* is like one calling John White [John] black.[140]

Differing from *Alumbrados*, Vergara was always occupied in different business,[141] studying authors and theologies. He neither "dogmatized" [142] nor spoke in conventicles.[143] He explicitly denied having "talked with or known anyone of those called *Alumbrados*;" he knew about their beliefs only through the charges issued against Tovar.[144]

This detachment from the *Alumbrados*, considering the reliability of Vergara's defense, reveals that he did not take Juan de Valdés as *Alumbrado*. And the same can be said of others, such as Juan del Castillo or Miguel de Eguía, to whom Vergara had also related.[145] This reflects either that Valdés did not conduct himself like those whom Vergara took as *Alumbrados*, or that Vergara did not know personally or was unaware of Juan de Valdés' personality.

Vergara as Erasmian

Dr. Vergara was of a different kind than those who were involved in the *Alumbrado* conflict. Not in vain he referred to Francisca's false accusations and wondered, "Why are such testimonies used to defame a person like me?"[146] He has been estimated to be "one of the most outstanding figures of Spanish Renaissance."[147] He had been collaborator of Cisneros' Polyglot and professor in the University of Alcalá. Alonso de Fonseca, the Archbishop of Toledo, boasted of Vergara being his

[138] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara*, fol. 260v.
[139] Ibid., fol. 259v.
[140] Ibid., fol. 262r-v.
[141] Considering businesses, revenues, and properties, Vergara's last will reflects a financial affluence which differs from most of those involved in the *Alumbrado* conflict. Cf. Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, *El Erasmianismo del dr. Juan de Vergara y otras interpretaciones.* (Madrid: Sánchez, 1945), 97-109.
[142] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara*, fol. 141r.
[143] Ibid., fol. 139v.
[144] Ibid., fol. 139r.
[145] Ibid., fols. 40 r-v, 41v.
[146] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara*, fols. 261r, 262v, 281r.
[147] Manuel de la Pinta Llorente, "El Humanista Toledano Juan de Vergara: Notas para su segundo proceso," in: *La Ciudad de Dios* Jg. 58, Bd. 154 (1941): 366.

secretary: he had "a rival of Bembo and Sadoleto" for the writing of his letters.[148] In the last year of his life, Vergara became secretary of the Emperor. Luis Vives referred to him as a rare individual in terms of erudition and sound discernment.[149] Very appropriately, therefore, Bataillon has considered Vergara to be "the representative" of Spanish Erasmianism.[150]

The case and arguments expressed in Vergara's trial constitute a significant reference for Valdés, particularly seeing that Vergara's Humanism and conflicts do not relate with Valdés' themes. Prosecutor Angulo, based on the Parisian restrictions on Erasmus, accused Vergara of the "many errors, and suspicious, scandalous, and dishonorable things" of the Rotterdamer, being "second to Luther."[151] Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, lamented Vergara's arrest and defended him as a good man,[152] Vergara confessed without apology his friendship with Erasmus, "as many key princes in Christianity had [with him], both from ecclesiastic and secular circles."[153] Other arguments drawn against Vergara were, for instance, whether confession was *de iure divino* or *de iure positivo*, to which Vergara responded that to condemn confession as *de iure positivo* could be hasty, "easily condemning many doctors who held to it," e.g., Abbot Phelino Gratian, Juan Andrés, Peter Lombard, and even Saint Bonaventure.[154] Vergara was also accused of disqualifying some comments of Saint Augustine's *Quinquagenae*, to which he answered defending his learning as a "theologian (. . .) somewhat taught in Greek and Latin languages."[155] Vergara's thought, therefore, was expressed in scholarly terms, without a trace of any God-given illumination or spirituality of affections, clearly different even to the *Dialogue*'s emphasis on "feeling" the understanding of the creed or Scriptures.

Vergara's Alleged Lutheranism

One of the accusations emphasized by the Prosecution was Vergara's possession of books from Luther and Oecolampadius. The issue originated shortly before Tovar's arrest. In compliance with the Edict of Madrid against Lutheran literature (1525), Vergara brought five books from his library to be examined by the Inquisition. Those were Oecolampadius' *Commentary on Isaiah*; *On the Twelve Prophets* by Francis Lambert of Avignon; *Annotationes Joannis Bugenhagii Pomeranii* on Saint Paul's

[148] John Longhurst, "*Alumbrados*, Erasmistas y Luteranos en el Proceso de Juan de Vergara," in *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, n. 27 (1958): 121.

[149] "*vir eruditionis tan rara quam vul incognita et iuditio sanissimo, et supra quam dici posit exacto*" (cit. en Longhurst, *Alumbrados, Erasmistas y Luteranos*, 1958, 122). Cf. also: Miguel dela Pinta Llorente, *La inquisición Española y los problemas de la cultura e la intolerancia* (Madrid: 1953), 64, and of the same author, "*El Erasmianismo del Dr. Juan de Vergara y otras interpretaciones*" (Madrid: 1945).

[150] Bat 1966, I 398; even though we disagree with Bataillon's claim of Erasmianism as a spirit or a movement; we defend a wide plurality of individuals and degrees of influence which discard "a movement" per se.

[151] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara*, fol. 135v.

[152] Ibid., fol. 228r.

[153] Ibid., fol. 140v. Cf. Ibid., fol. 313r.

[154] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara*, fol. 139v. Cf. Ibid., fol. 287r.

[155] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara*, fol. 12v.

Epistles; *Didimi faventini adversus*;[156] and *Didisti idque duabus* (a work that has not yet been identified).[157] Fruit of the Inquisition's subsequent proceedings, two more books were found at the bottom of a chest in Vergara's home.[158] Of course, upon the grounds of the Edict of 1525 against the possession of heretical writings, Prosecutor Angulo accused Vergara of Lutheranism. In Valdessian research Charles Gilly points to a possible quotation of Valdés from Oecolampadius. Regardless of its almost insignificant theological relevance, most significantly, this citation illustrates Valdés' access to and use of that dissident literature as he wrote *Dialogue on Doctrine.* It is also significant that being able to use other sources, Valdés recurred to alternative writers, reflecting his personal struggle and non-conformity with institutional Christianity.

Regarding Vergara, he declared that as he accompanied the Imperial Court in Germany, books of Luther were accessible to him; in fact, in Germany, the Court was "full of them."[159] Vergara also defended himself saying that "in previous times, for a theologian, zealous for the faith, seeking books from modern heretics in order to better (. . .) refute them was praise-worthy." [160] Nevertheless, Tovar recognized the responsibility of those books, as he was in charge of procuring "new books" for Vergara's library.[161] Particularly reporting over Oecolampadius' work, he stated that he requested Diego del Castillo to bring books from Flanders, following a list of Catholic authors. Books were sold publicly in Flanders, and Diego "had some intelligence" there.[162] Apart from those specific requests, Tovar seems to have charged Diego to purchase other novelties on Diego's discretion. Oecolampadius' work supposedly came as one of these unrequested works. Furthermore, Tovar also implied that doctors in Alcalá had access to and read Oecolampadius' book; he himself had read "but a little of it."[163] Vergara, however, according to Tovar, was neither aware nor had read the book, because he was not in Alcalá at the time.[164]

Vergara's alienation from Luther was clear. Confirmed by the testimony of the Bishop of Oviedo, Vergara was not interested to see Luther in person, even though he had that possibility at the Diet of Worms, and even though Spaniards were very eager and got to see him there. In Vergara's opinion, Luther's views were most "abominable."[165] We have previously referred to Pedro Ortiz, who hearing Vergara somewhat justifying Luther's criticisms against bulls, clarified that Vergara spoke not

[156] This writing is Melanchthon's *Thoman Placentium Oratio pro Martino Luthero theologo,* Witemburg, 1521 (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España,* ed. 1966, II, 15, ft. 6).

[157] A significant contribution has been made by Jean Michel Lasperas who has completed Bataillon's record of Vergara's books. Lasperas gives a list out of which Vergara's Humanism transpires through books of Classical History, Geography, Sciences, Arts, Rhetoric and linguistics, and Religion (about 19.5% of the library, with 7 of Bible texts and Commentaries, 3 of Erasmus, and 3 others) (Lasperas, *La Librería del Dr. Juan de Vergara,*1976).

[158] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara,* fol. 44; Longhurst, *Proceso de Juan de Vergara,* 28(1958): 106.

[159] Ibid., fol. 138.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Ibid., fol. 15v.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Cf. Ibid., fols. 275-276.

[165] Ibid., fol. 137v.

defending Luther, but reproaching the great abuses about indulgences.[166] Both the matter of Vergara's library as well as his own declarations manifested Vergara's innocence regarding Luther or heresy. The scenario portrayed by the issue of Vergara's library, and Tovar in the midst of it, illustrates Valdés' access to his sources, his interest in alternative authors, as well as the indignation of Tovar for Valdés' not revising further his *Dialogue.*

During those years, and particularly in the context and ramifications of the *Alumbrado* conflict, the accusation of Lutheranism was a pragmatic epithet to build up condemnation on suspects. In like manner as Francisca's false plot led astray some authors in the past, some have taken the equally questionable words of Diego Hernández to speak of Vergara as Lutheran.[167] Diego Hernández provided a "directory of dissidents" through two lists of names associated with Luther and other dissidences; these seem to contradict Vergara's aversion to Luther. Diego Hernández said he obtained his information from Juan del Castillo. In the first list of 1532 Diego presents a list, specifying whether the individuals mentioned were "damaged," "hurting," "sick," "confessed," or "communicants."[168] In that first list, Dr. Vergara appears as "damaged." "Damaged" is also attributed to Juan de Valdés, Mateo Pascual, Juan López de Celain, Alfonso de Valdés (Imperial Secretary), and Gaspar de Villafaña (*Alumbrado* distinguished by Jewish tainted prophecies). [169] A few lines below Diego declared that Dr. Vergara was a "fine Lutheran."[170] In 1533 Diego Hernández provided a second list whose information he claimed to have derived also from Juan del Castillo. Now Castillo, along with Juan López de Celain, confessed themselves to be Lutheran and shared with Diego a list of seventy names with diverse qualifications. This time Dr. Vergara, like Juan de Valdés and Tovar, appears like a "fine deified Lutheran." Other names, such as Fray Alonso de Virués, Pedro Ortiz, Alfonso de Valdés, are incredibly identified also as "fine Lutherans."[171]

A superficial analysis of Diego's information reveals the unreliability of his testimony. If a second and different list already causes suspicion, the inclusion of Alonso de Virués and Pedro Ortiz as Lutherans settles its untrustworthiness. Vergara stated that neither did Diego know "what *Lutheran* means," nor did even he know "what *deified* means." [172] Diego Hernández's accusations proliferated, like Francisca Hernández's, only to increase their incoherencies.

Vergara, in regards to Luther, presented a parallel attitude to Erasmus; he declared, "When Luther touched only on the need to reform the church, and on articles

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[166] Longhurst, *Proceso de Juan de Vergara*, 29-30 (1959): 272.

[167] E.g. M. de León, *Los Protestantes y la Espiritualidad Evangélica en el S. XVI*, Vol I, p. 48. Hamilton speaks of Vergara being accused of Lutheranism (*Los Alumbrados,* 2010, 115), but, according to evidence, Vergara should be considered apart from those charges.

[168] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara,* fol. 44v; Longhurst, *Proceso de Juan de Vergara,* 28 (1958): 118.

[169] AHN, *Trial J.Vergara,* fol. 44v.

[170] Ibid., fol. 45r.

[171] Ibid., fol. 45 v. Interestingly, Diego Hernandez presents both Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz just as "devout ones" (Ibid).

[172] Ibid., fol. 280v.

concerning *corruptionem morum,* the whole world approved it. And those who now write against him, the same ones confess in their books that they were fond of him at the beginning."[173] As it focused on reform, according to Vergara, it was a common saying, "behold, how many Luthers should arise," and other men said, "Luther did well as he burnt the books of Canons and Decrees, because nobody uses them."[174] Nobody took these sayings as a scandal, stated Vergara. Very significantly, he added, "perhaps someone could praise Luther in some regards, since *nihil est omni ex parte malum*."[175] Vergara also admitted having referred possibly to Luther celebrating the mass after lunch, but neither defending nor accusing Luther in this issue, which neither constituted a tenable accusation.[176]

Vergara's Erasmianism and Juan de Valdés

The trial of Juan de Vergara provides specific references to Juan de Valdés and *Dialogue on Doctrine*. The letters of Gracián de Alderete already located Valdés amidst that circle of Erasmians from the Court and Alcalá, who jokingly exchanged stories of friars. Their jokes expressed a distance from that traditional, somewhat ignorant and low pseudo-spirituality which they caricaturized in friars. Bataillon wrote of Vergara and his family as partakers of an "evangelical Humanism freer than the University's," particularly noting Vergara's library.[177] Without transgressing orthodoxy, Vergara's arguments, his temperate evaluation of authorities, his consideration of Scripture, and even his optimism as he looked at the Inquisition reflected a more open faith, open through the influence of his travels and his relationship with Erasmus. Vergara's education and faith was the closest to Erasmus, with the exception of that moderation which characterized Spanish Erasmian circles.

Juan de Valdés, even though participating in that Erasmian circle in Alcalá and related to the Court, presented clear differences from them. He was just a Liberal Arts student in that circle of sacred doctors; yet, he wrote at times things that needed to be read "with a serious face." Valdés' outward appearance and speech did not emulate those *Alumbrados* referred to by Vergara. Valdés' writing, conversely, betrayed a spiritual quest whose nature and expressions paralleled rather those of "the times of the *Alumbrados*." Even though Valdés reasoned from Scripture and translated it, his pursuit was a spiritual knowledge different from Vergara's Humanism. Furthermore, Vergara's trial revealed that while Vergara was often with "the Court and absent in other places,"[178] Valdés stayed in Alcalá and enjoyed the diversity of his library. Eventually, in Italy, whereas Vergara resented conventicles and personal communications, Valdés spiritual mentorship took place precisely in those settings.

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[173] Ibid., fol. 281v. "Those who now write … confessed…" could be a reference to Erasmus? Possibly so.
[174] Ibid., fol. 281v.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid., fol. 138v.
[177] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 398.
[178] AHN, *Trial J. Vergara*, fol. 233r.fol.

These clear differences and circumstances reveal the external character of Valdés' relationship with Vergara. Evidently, Valdés' participation in that circle of Erasmians was much due to his brother's protection, rather than to Valdés' humanistic pursuits. He was certainly influenced by them, as the analysis of his *Dialogue* will manifest, but he maintained his personal convictions and thought. If Vergara defended *Dialogue on Doctrine,* it was neither for his direct knowledge of it nor for his personal favor to Valdés, but to avoid an argument that would condemn Erasmus. The whole situation confirms and enlightens Valdés' disquieted spirit and eclecticism, seeking to make his voice heard through the use of an Erasmian translation and with a partial coincidence with the Rotterdamer. Considering these matters, Valdés' participation in this Erasmian circle, or Vergara's personal involvement in Valdés' defense constitute an insufficient ground to categorize Valdés as an Erasmian. Valdés' Erasmianism cannot be imposed through a historical coincidence; Valdés' Erasmianism should be rather measured through the contents of *Dialogue on Doctrine* and its comparison with Erasmus' teaching.

Perceptions of Luther in Spain during the Times of the *Alumbrados* and preceding Valdés' *Dialogue*

The previous discussion on Erasmus' influence has revealed that, in spite of Valdés' external interaction with the Erasmian circle in Spain, Valdés kept his internal convictions and important differences from both Erasmus and those individuals. As the discussion turns now to Luther, the context, development, and characteristics of the presence of Luther's writings in Spain during this same decade will also provide the context for Valdés' use of Luther in his *Dialogue*. As in the previous section on Erasmus, this section will deal with background information, leaving the actual comparison of writings and teachings for next chapter.

Inroads of Lutheranism in Spain and Juan de Valdés

To ascertain the perception of Luther in Spain during the first half of 1520s is almost an impossible task, due to the forced secrecy that condemnations and prohibitions concerning the German reformer. Works like A. Redondo's,[179] or J. Longhurst's,[180] or J. Goñi's,[181] have provided a good record of the introduction of Luther's writings and teachings in the Peninsula. The existing data, however, has evidently shed little light as to the characteristics or perception of that verified presence.

At least in a direct form, the first introduction of Luther's writings in Spain did not seem to affect Valdés. The references to Luther in Alcaraz's trial do not seem to favor any contact of Alcaraz or Valdés either with that first set of Luther's writings sent

[179] Augustin Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne de 1520 à 1546.* ([Paris]: [Editions E. de Boccard], 1965).
[180] John Edward Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost in Spain (1517-1546).* ([Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1969).
[181] José Goñi-Gaztambide, "La imagen de Lutero en España," in *Scripta Theologica*, vol. 15, n.2 (1983): 469-528.

to Spain by Froben in 1519[182] or with the vernacular works supposedly translated and favored by *Conversos* in Antwerp.[183] In 1520, Alfonso de Valdés wrote two letters to Pedro Martyr concerning Luther's contention, but there is no evidence of these having any repercussion in his brother Juan. As Juan confessed in his own writings, he must have been still after his knightly-romance novels instead of pursuing any religious interest. Regarding Isabel or Alcaraz, as was discussed in Chapter 2, this research does not consider Isabel de la Cruz, Alcaraz, or the Edict against the *Alumbrados* of Toledo actually related to Luther. Even in the Edict, explicit references to Lutheranism were more to build up condemnation than to identify theological similarities or dependences.

In view of Valdés, one of the avenues of Luther's writings seems to have been the Imperial Court as it went to Flanders and Germany. Juan de Vergara, perhaps overstressing the fact, declared that in Germany "the Court (. . .) was full of them."[184] Luther's writings were read and distributed through the Low Countries from 1519 on.[185] In 1520 Alfonso de Valdés informed Pedro Martyr that Luther's books were sold freely in markets and streets.[186] Lutheran and Catholic authors, e.g., Redondo and Tellechea, suggest that the Court brought back to Spain some of Luther's writings.[187] This provision of writings, however, must account for the pressures imposed against Lutheranism. Luther's condemnation by Leo's *Exurge Domine* (1520), Spaniards shouting against the German reformer at Worms, and the urgency from Spain on Charles V to extirpate heresy from the country must have imposed a limitation on the Court's interest in questionable literature. It would be difficult to imagine them bringing *The Babylonian Captivity*, for example. A different case was, for instance, the works that were used by Valdés: Luther's *Commentary on the Ten Commandments* and *On the Lord's Prayer* (1518 and 1520 respectively), written prior to his condemnation. On the other hand, it is significant that the Erasmian members of the Court maintained their favor towards a General Council, something which was explicitly resented in the papal bull against Luther. The Erasmian circle, in spite of Luther's coincidence or not, did not discard their own desires for reform. As Vergara declared, he did not have a particular or personal interest in Luther; they had their own initiatives and aspirations.

Apart from the books that the Court could have brought back to Spain, there was certainly an effort to distribute Lutheran literature in Spain. Books were seized at the sea-ports of San Sebastián (1523), Valencia (1523), or coming to Aragón from Meaux (France). The intensity of Pope Adrian's letters, edicts, and book-burnings since 1521, confirm that a portion of that literature arrived in the hands of "university students,

[182] 600 samples of various opuscles sent to France and Spain (Goñi-Gaztambide, *La img. de Lutero*, 1983, 470).

[183] Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost,* 14; Goñi-Gaztambide, *La Imagen de Lutero*, 470.

[184] AHN, *Trial J. Vergara*, fol. 138r.

[185] Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne,* 113.

[186] Letter to Pedro Martir Anghiera May 13, 1521 (Caballero, *Alonso y Juan*, 1875, 307).

[187] Redondo, 117; José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *Tiempos recios: inquisición y heterodoxias* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1977), 24-25.

clergy, and other people."[188] In 1525, the envoy of a large cargo of Lutheran literature was intercepted in the seaport of Granada, causing diplomatic expressions from Charles V to the Ambassador of Venice, where the three galleys involved had come from.[189]

More than just books, since 1524, the presence of foreign Lutheran preachers is well attested. The German Blay Steve was condemned in 1524 in Valencia.[190] The trial of Hugo Celso refers to a meeting which took place between Zaragoza and Igualada. Around 1524 Celso met a French Franciscan monk, Doctor in Theology, who had been converted to Lutheranism in Germany. This French monk persuaded Celso to break his clerical vows and marry. Celso's disorders extended beyond that Lutheran influence, but his encounter and change confirm the presence of Lutheran teachings being made known.[191] Pope Clement's bull in 1526 evidenced the inroads of certain Lutheran teachings as it granted the power to absolve those who had adopted Lutheranism and had repented.[192] The statement in Vergara's trial that friars did not pay attention to German Lutheran monks, could well be an oversimplification of Lutheran inroads among Franciscans.[193]

As years advanced, the presence of Lutheran preachers, even though mixed with distorted elements, became more evident and specific. In 1527, "some people who have the reproved opinion of Luther" are identified in Galicia, "making scorn of those who are on pilgrimage to Santiago … saying that they come there more for the purpose of eating and drinking than for devotion."[194] In 1529-1530, the trial of Cornelius, a young Flemish painter serving in the household of Gaspar Godos in Valencia, portrayed a much clearer Lutheranism as he spoke to the Godos' family. Among other things, Cornelius told them that there was no purgatory, that masses for the dead were a joke, that there was no need for confession, that the pope was a thief, or that Luther had shown up the cardinals and all the other so-called learned men when he debated with them. Cornelius was arrested in December of 1529 and by May 1530 he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

These envoys of literature, preachers, or clearer teachings have never been connected directly with Valdés. Valdés' environment and writing in Alcalá de Henares present no sign of Lutheran proselytism or partisanship. The themes and emphasis of Valdés' *Dialogue* compared with *Brief Treatise of Doctrine,*[195] by the later Reformed

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[188] Letter of García de Loyasa, May 7, 1523 to the Inquisitors in Navarre (AHN, libro 319, fol. 13 v-14r.). Cited in Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne,* 131.

[189] Letter of Martin de Salinas to Archduke Ferdinand from Madrid, Feb. 8, 1525. Salinas says that there were enough Lutheran books to give one to everybody in Granada, "where only a small spark is needed to light a greatfire" (Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost,*1969, 17-18).

[190]Henry C Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, vol.3* (New York: AMS Pr., 1988), 421.

[191] Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne*, 136; testimony transcribed by Longhurst (1969, 26).

[192] Juan Antonio Llorente, *Historia Crítica de la Inquisición en España*, vol. III (Madrid: In the Censor's Press, 1822),50.

[193] Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne*, 148.

[194] AHN, Inquisición, Libro 319, fols. 396 v, 397r, cited by Redondo (*Luther et l'Espagne*, 150), and Longhurst (*Luther's Ghost*, 28).

[195] Juan Pérez de Pineda y Urbanus Regius, *Breve Tratado de Doctrina*, (Barcelona: Librería de Diego Gómez Flores, 1982).

Spaniard Juan Pérez de Pineda, discard Valdés' partisanship with the Protestant Reformation. As to how Valdés ended up using Luther's writings in his *Dialogue* amidst the environment of Cisneros' University and a circle of Erasmian influence, the answer must be found in Valdés' *Converso* restless spirit, and particularly in the tenets of Alcaraz's teachings, which had been adapted from Porete's.

The image of Luther in Spain

In the peninsula, even though Luther's "name" could "resonate"[196] around the turn to the 1520's, the Reformer's teachings extended little beyond either condemnatory epithets or criticism against church abuses. Diego L. Zúñiga, for example, writing against Erasmus in 1522, said that he found nothing in Luther's writings that could not be read in Erasmus.[197] Tellechea, a Catholic scholar, states that theologians and university teachers had a very deficient knowledge of Luther, due to the restrictions imposed on his writings.[198] Even Charles V's Ambassador to Rome referred to Luther's dissidence in a positive light, as putting political distress on the Pope.[199] Vergara's and María de Cazalla's references to Lutheranism circumscribed "the need to reform the church."[200]

A different perception was that of the Imperial Court. Initially, as Redondo states, Erasmus was considered very similar to Luther in his expressions for Christian reform. In 1518 Erasmus had published an *Enchiridion* in whose prologue he defended Luther's liberty to criticize abuses.[201] Redondo outlines the affinity between Erasmus and Luther in those years: their Christ-centeredness, an *ad fontes* in religion, the translation of Scripture to the vernacular, a disregard of saints and Mary, a resentment against religious superstition, a reproach against church corruption and the abuses of the papal see, an antagonism toward Scholasticism, and excesses in monasticism.[202]

Subsequent to Luther's condemnation in 1520, the knowledge of Luther's teachings seems to have been circumscribed to a few intellectuals. Gaztambide notes that "Spanish government, nobility, and episcopacy had acquired a precise idea of the Augustinian monk, due … to the bulls of *Exurge Domine* (15 jun., 1520), and *Decet Romanum Pontifice* (3 Jan, 1521)."[203] A "precise idea," however, is not an appropriate designation. Even though *Exurge Domine* provided some description of Luther's tenets, the descriptions from letters and edicts that Gaztambide subsequently provides include only epithets like "malignant and diabolical treacheries," questionable political associations with the Castilian Comunero revolt (1521-1522), and the possibility of

[196] Tellechea, *Tiempos Recios*, 19.
[197] Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne*, 131.
[198] José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, Lutero desde España, en *Revista de Occidente*, n. 29 (1983): 22-23.
[199] Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost,* 14.
[200] AHN, *Juan de Vergara,* fol. 281v.
[201] Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne*, 113.
[202] Ibid, 114-115.
[203] Goñi-Gaztambide , *La Imagen de Lutero*, 471.

Luther's "spark" causing "a great fire."[204] As Gaztambide himself writes, "For Spaniards, Luther was exclusively the heretic, the heretic par excellence."[205] As Tellechea writes, "the Luther that they [professional theologians, teachers of University] rarely refer to (. . .) is not the entire and true Luther, but the emaciated stereotype of the condemned propositions from the Pope or Paris."[206]

A primary text was the bull of Leo X *Exurge Domine*.[207] The bull contained forty-one articles which endeavored to depict Luther's positions. Their content is significant in regard to Valdés.[208] An overwhelming number of articles discuss sin and forgiveness in relationship to New Testament sacraments, with particular attention to penance, confession, and also purgatory.[209] The bull's presentation of Luther portrays a perspective certainly contrary to the Catholic casuistry of sin and the outer performance of the sacraments. Luther emphasized man's sinful nature:[210] "Free will after sin [the fall] is merely a theological label; and as long as one does [practices, expresses] what is in him, one sins mortally."[211] Luther, as portrayed by the bull, taught that neither did baptism take the reality of sin away, nor could sin be totally comprehended or confessed.[212] Significantly in light of Valdés, Luther is reported to say that, "imperfect charity necessarily brings (. . .) great fear, which in itself alone is enough to produce the punishment of purgatory and impedes entrance into the kingdom,"[213] and that, "in every good work, the just man sins."[214]

On the other hand, Luther's emphasis on sin reflected a different emphasis from institutional Christianity. The remedy of sin was not in the sacraments themselves.[215] For forgiveness to be effectual, belief in "that there has been forgiveness" was a necessity."[216] Luther was perceived as resenting the emphasis on and contrition for sin.[217] The desire "to confess all sins without exception" was in vain; "the best penance, a new life."[218] While sin was stressed, therefore, it did not mean a depressive

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[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Tellechea, *Lutero desde España*, 12.
[207] Papal Encyclicals Online ed., «Condemning the Errors of Martin Luther: Exurge Domine», available in: http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo10/l10exdom.htm, accessed on Feb. 19, 2015.
[208] Redondo's appreciation that half of them referred to faith without works and the other half to the Church authority fails to reflect important doctrinal aspects of *Exurge Domine* (*Luther et l'Espagne,* 1965, 116).
[209] Articles on sin and forgiveness sum up thirty six: Art. 1-27, 31-32, 35-40.
[210] "sin remains after baptism" (Papal Encyclicals Online, *Ex. Dom,*.Art.2); "the inflammable sources of sin, even if … no actual sin delay a soul …. from entrance into heaven" Art. 3
[211] *Exurge Domine,* Art. 36.
[212] "It is impossible that you know all mortal sins" (Papal Encyclicals Online, *Ex. Dom,*.Art.8); "no one is certain that he is not always sinning mortally, because of the most hidden vice of pride," (Ibid, Art.35)
[213] *Exurge Domine,* Art.4 .
[214] Ibid., Art.31.
[215] Ibid., Art.1.
[216] Ibid., Art.10.
[217] As being against the discussion on, detestation of, pondering on the gravity of sins, their number … the acquisition of eternal damnation … this contrition made a person "a hypocrite … more a sinner" (*Exurge Domine,* Art.5-6).
[218] *Exurge Domine,* Art.7.

consideration on sinful actions and guilt. Luther, according to the bull, considered purgatory as unproven and inconsistent with some of its Roman implications, but not really as a primary element of his belief.[219] The similarity of these expressions with Valdés' teaching is clear, as it will be later discussed.

As compared with *Exurge Domine*, the theological rebuttals of theologians, such as Jaime Olesa, Cipriano Benet, or Diego de Muros, reflect a much more limited image of Luther than Leo's bull. Redondo's suggestion that people could have come to adopt Luther's teachings out of these apologetic writings is really farfetched.[220] The only significant point of this literature, in light of Valdés, is perhaps Benet's desire to write concerning the inconvenience to celebrate a General Council, something which both Erasmians and Valdés kept pushing for.[221]

One work that could be significant in Valdés biography, and also for the perception of Luther, was the writing of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda against the German reformer, written in 1526 from Rome. Gaztambide refers to Sepulveda's description of Luther:

> Luther entered in religion for levity and love of idleness. Afterwards, in order to liberate himself from that most cumbersome servitude (. . .) he endeavored to cast out most holy institutions, beginning with those of lower import: (. . .) indulgences. Hence he began to fight the power of the Pope (. . .) Cardinals, liberty, vows, the mass, confession, councils (. . .) What is most grave is his arrogance, which casts out all Patristic and Theological Tradition, holding Scripture alone, interpreting it perversely, unceasingly giving birth to new monsters. A proof of that is his *De Servo Arbitrio*.[222]

Sepúlveda's strong stand is significant for Valdessian research in several regards. First of all, it confirms that whereas the name of Luther was appropriated to condemn any heretical suspicion, his description was very limited, even in the best rebuttals. Secondly, Sepúlveda was the man whom Alfonso de Valdés, due to his influences as Imperial Secretary, requested to receive Juan as he departed to Italy. No wonder, therefore, that having used some of Luther's writings in his *Dialogue* and maintaining clear dissident thoughts, Valdés hid his religious personality; in Rome, Valdés appeared simply as a man "of cape and sword,"[223] that is, a gentlemen, but with no spiritual pursuits.

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[219]Ibid., Art. 37, 39.

[220] Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne*, 129.

[221] Melquiades Andrés Martín, *Adversarios españoles de Lutero,* 180-185; Redondo, *Luther et l'Espagne*, 128.

[222] Cited in: Goñi-Gaztambide, *La Imagen de Lutero*, 473-474. Sepúlveda's "*De fato et liubero arbitrio*" disqualified Luther as "author of all evil and dishonor of our century." This work had four editions (Ibid).

[223] This is a phrase of Carnesecchi who knew Valdés in Rome, not suspecting that Valdés was so well instructed in Pauline literature.

Conclusions of Facts and Characteristics

The development of the perception of Luther in Spain enlightens considerably Valdés' use of Luther's writings and their similarities of thought. Amidst the clear "evolution of Luther's personality and Lutheranism" in Spain,[224] while confusion reigned even in the judgment of inquisitorial officers,[225] there was a more specific image accessible among those in the Imperial Court. That image, accessible through *Exurge Domine* as well as through other books, was very different from the usual gross accusations, epithets, and different from criticisms against bulls and papal authority. Considering Juan de Valdés, and not thinking of him as a Lutheran, Tellechea's description of "Spanish Lutheranism" could portray somewhat Valdés' encounter with Lutheran writings:

> In some cases, Lutheranism is [at that time] like a new ferment that leads to a discovery, to an internal conversion, to a personal, religious turn, caused by the full or partial incorporation of Lutheran ideas. In other cases, Luther appears as a mirror, somewhat imprecise, in which self-aspirations are contemplated; as a manifestation of secret spiritual yearnings, a symbol. It is the formulator of something previously intuited or lived.[226]

The second case is the picture of Valdés' use of Luther, particularly having been prepared with the spiritual emphasis of a pessimistic anthropology, a salvation without works, and other tenets of Alcaraz's teaching. His use of Luther in the *Dialogue*, however, will have to be considered along other influences and traces of Valdés' thought.

Valdés' use of Erasmus' and Luther's Writings

Amidst Erasmus' influence and Luther's inroads in Spain, Valdés' choice of sources becomes most meaningful. Valdés used Erasmus' *Inquisitio de Fide* and Luther's *Commentary on the Ten Commandments* and *On the Lord's Prayer*. *Inquisitio de Fide* is a dialogue by Erasmus published in 1524. It is written under the image of "a lesson for children" that is explained by Aulus to Barbatius. From its outset, its references to the "smell of brimstone," "excommunication,"[227] or its concluding thoughts, such as "lest I should seem to favor heretics," or "how comes it about then, that there is so great a war between you and the orthodox,"[228] unequivocally portray a

[224] Tellechea, *Tiempos Recios,* 23-24.

[225] Ibid. E.g. In the trial against Gonzalo Mejía (AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Legajo 221, n.19. Fol 17v) a witness in 1523 declared that "all goods should be owned in common" was a Lutheran teaching. Anther witness in 1524 identified resenting clerical celibacy, confession, mass offerings, tithes, or favor towards the Turks, as Lutheran beliefs – things, which in light of the whole trial obeyed more to *Converso* than to Lutheran, e.g., conducting his business on Sundays and holy days, eating roast rabbit on Friday, resentment to give alms. Gonzalo was imprisoned in 1527 (Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost,* 1969, 39).

[226] Tellechea, *Tiempos Recios,* 23-24.

[227] Desiderius Erasmus, *Inquisitio de Fide: A Colloquy, 1524,* trans. and notes Craig R. Thompson (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1975), 55.

[228] Ibid., 73.

hypothetical conversation between the author, Erasmus, and Luther concerning the understanding of the Apostle's Creed.

The background of *Inquisitio de Fide,* and Valdés' choice to gloss it, is highly significant for diverse reasons. On the side of Erasmus, *Inquisitio de Fide* is one among several writings in which Erasmus outlined the essential articles that constituted Christianity.[229] This particular dialogue, as Thompson states, "argues the supremacy of fundamental theological doctrines and the sufficiency of those doctrines (. . .) for establishing and preserving concord among Christians." [230] *Inquisitio* actually manifested Luther's agreement with those Christian essentials. Besides this dogmatic purpose, this writing presents Erasmus' perspective on how to treat those who err from the faith.

Erasmus' *Inquisitio* had a surprising, companion-publication chronologically: *De Libero Arbitrio*. Even though the actual writing time of those two works could be debatable, their publication probably was about six months apart.[231] Luther had radicalized his tenets since 1520. In 1522, with *De abroganda missa privata*, Luther expressed himself along the lines of Hus.[232] Erasmus, meanwhile, was seeking the Pope's approval,[233] being pressured from all sides to define his position, writing against Luther.[234] *Inquisitio* and *De Libero Arbitrio* reflected Erasmus' basic peacefulness. But at the same time, it reflected his Catholicity, the church outside of which there was no salvation. The more apologetic *De Libero Arbitrio*, as Bataillon rightfully suggests, brought a new religious scenario: "It is tempting to consider this debate *De Libero Arbitrio* as the point of inflection from which Humanism and reform, *Philosophia Christi* and justification by faith, irrevocably sever, having walked hand in hand for so long."[235] The difference caused by *De Libero Arbitrio* produced a far deeper division than bulls or ceremonies could have done. Man's role and ability before God in respect to virtue and salvation portrayed an essential difference in belief and spirituality.[236] In Spain, *De Libero Arbitrio* was published in 1525 by Miguel de Eguía, as a certification of Erasmus' orthodoxy. The publication was dedicated to the Archbishop of Toledo,

[229] E.g. Erasmus' Preface to the edition of Hilary of Poitier's writings, necessary points to be believed for salvation. Letter to the Bohemians present "articles by which the Church stands or falls." And now Inquisitio de Fide, the articles of the Apostle's Creed interpreted according to Nicaea and Chalcedon. (Bainton's intr. toThompson (ed.), *Inquisitio,* 1975, viii).

[230] Thompson ed., *Inquisitio*, 43.

[231] Ibid, 3.

[232] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 173. Bataillon defends 1523 as the pub. date of *De abroganda missa privata.*

[233] Ibid.

[234] Thompson presents a valuable discussion on the development of the relationship between Luther and Erasmus (*Inquisitio,* 1975, 4-34).

[235] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I,176.

[236] Redondo points to this soteriological divergence as seen by Luther since 1517 (*Luther et l'Espagne,* 1965, 114).

Fonseca, with *Precatio Dominica* and the *Paraphrasis in tertium Psalmum,* all in Latin.[237]

Another significant aspect of *Inquisitio de Fide* emerges from its translations. *Inquisitio* has two significant translations, Louis de Berquin's in French, and Valdés' in *Dialogue on Doctrine*. Louis de Berquin was a translator of Luther and Erasmus persecuted by the Sorbonne and temporarily imprisoned in 1523. In 1525 the Sorbonne formally condemned his translations of *Encomium Matrimonii, Modus Orandi Deum,* and *Inquisitio de Fide*.[238] Berquin suffered a second and third imprisonment, finally being sentenced to be burnt as a heretic in April 1529 in Paris.[239] Margaret Mann, writing on the beginnings of the Reformation in France, concluded that Berquin had inserted some Lutheran interpolations as he translated Erasmus' *Inquisitio*.[240] Berquin's translation, therefore, constitutes a showpiece of the understanding and use of Erasmus' writing by a dissident voice.

Considering the Humanist and Erasmian tendencies in Alcalá de Henares, Juan de Valdés was probably conscious of the Sorbonne's ban on Berquin's translation. Berquin's sentence and execution happened about the time of Valdés' publication of his *Dialogue*; the *Dialogue*'s first section glossed a work whose French translation had caused persecution. No wonder he fled to Italy, away from Inquisitorial proceedings.

Berquin's use of Erasmus was actually a showpiece of a known practice, also present in Spain. On June 13, 1530 the Inquisition cautioned its diverse tribunals about the ways heretics used to promulgate their teachings:

> A few days ago we were informed that Martin Luther and others among the followers and adherents of his false opinions and inventors of other new errors, realizing that they are unable to spread their books and poisonous doctrine in these lands as freely as they would like (. . .) have introduced many of their harmful opinions under the names of Catholic authors, giving false titles to their books, and in other instances including [Lutheran] glosses and additions of false expositions and errors to well-known books of approved and good doctrine.[241]

It is difficult to consider closely Valdés' gloss of Erasmus' *Inquisitio* and not see this practice. On the other hand, it is necessary to recognize that Valdés' gloss of Erasmus took about 9% of his *Dialogue*. Valdés' dissidence becomes evident, but likewise his eclecticism and his own thought, particularly as the rest of the *Dialogue* is considered.

For Valdés, therefore, *Inquisitio de Fide* constituted a defense of the Apostle's Creed as the essence of the Christian faith. Valdés' gloss was a vindication of his own orthodoxy. On the other hand, even with a manifest affinity for the *Philosophia Christi*

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[237] Erasmus' *Hiperapistes* (against Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*) was published in two parts in Spain. Erasmus wrote it in Feb 1526 and Spain in Sept. of 1526 and Sept. of 1527 respectively. The quick publication is an evidence of the desire to present Erasmus' orthodoxy.

[238] Thompson (ed.), *Inquisitio,* 49.

[239] Ibid.

[240] Cf. Margaret Mann, Erasme et les débuts de la Reforme française, 1934, p. 135 (referred in Thompson ed., 1975, 50) ; « Louis de Berquin, traducteur d'Erasme, » Revue du Seiziéme Siécle, 18(1931) :309-323.

[241] Inquisicion, AHN, Libro 320, fols. 321v-322r, 343r-v.Cited in Longhurst, 1969, 19.

of the Rotterdamer, Valdés proceeded to express his own distinct thought, which at times contradicted Erasmus. Even Bataillon recognized that Valdés' glosses were not casual but necessary for the author's intent, like Valdés' references to justification.[242] Furthermore, Valdés' anthropology, for instance, clearly opposed Erasmus, whereas it was so clearly present in Cazalla's *Light of the Soul*, for example.[243] To state, therefore, that *Dialogue on Doctrine* is moderately Erasmian[244] is to ignore Valdés' use of *Inquisitio* and his evident distinct message through the rest of Valdés' writing. Valdés' use of Erasmus' *Inquisitio* will be discussed in detail in the analysis of Valdés' *Dialogue* itself.

Regarding Reformed sources, Valdés' use of Luther and Oecolampadius is equally significant. Especially Valdés' use of Luther, discovered by Charles Gilly, constitutes positive evidence that categorically modified previous images of Valdés.[245] Some of Nieto's criticisms of Gilly become inexorably artificial when the texts provided by Gilly are compared;[246] many of them are clearly verbal translations.[247] Nieto's "justified methodological position"[248] proves itself wrong when he persists "denying all connection of Valdés with the Reformation."[249] But in the same way that Nieto forces evidence into "his methodological position," likewise Gilly.[250] Valdés' use of Luther, for Gilly, seems to add arguments for a Lutheran paternity of Alcaraz or the *Alumbrados*, even at the cost of correcting Alcaraz's recorded confession.[251] Gilly, furthermore, clearly forces the reading of over twenty *Alumbrado* sentences from the Edict of 1525 as from Luther.[252] Both Nieto's and Gilly's perspectives force the evidence into a "single-faced" Valdés. In favor of Nieto's criticisms of Gilly, it is true that Gilly presents "a mere accumulation of texts without any critical methodology."[253]

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[242] Bataillon ed. DDB, 150-1.

[243] Bataillon notices the contradiction between Valdés and Erasmus concerning *Charitas bene ordinata* …, and points to its later recurrence in Valdés *Commentary on Matthew* (Bataillon ed., DDB, 92-93).

[244] Bataillon ed., DDB, 63.

[245] Haggard's statement that a "historical link between Valdés and Luther" … Scholarship . . . renders a negative conclusion" is disproven by Gilly's evidence (Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés*, 1971, 9). Gilly's evidence also disproves Nieto's theory, i.e. that Valdés "discovered" Justification by faith, this "reformation principle" from "his own New Testament studies" possibly under the supervision of . . . Alcaraz (*Juan de Valdés Traductor*, 1997, 36).

[246] Nieto, *La Imagen Cambiante*, 30, 36.

[247] Perhaps the number suggested by Gilly is not correct; some of them should be considered together. However, apart from the extension of some of them and the clear verbal correspondence, we have found three more parallels apart from those provided by Gilly: DDB fol. xxxv, l.8-10 = WA, I,fol.463, l.38-39; DDB fol.xxv, l.18-24 = WA, I, fol. 464, l. 7-9; and DDB fol.xxir, l. 6-17 = WA, I, fol 465 l.35-466, l.1.

[248] Nieto, *La Imagen Cambiante*, 19, 21.

[249] Miguel Angel Pérez Priego, ed., *Los Valdés: pensamiento y literatura : actas del Seminario celebrado en Cuenca, Universidad Menéndez Pelayo, del 2 al 4 de diciembre de 1991* (Cuenca: Instiuto «Juan de Valdes» : Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Cuenca, 1997).

[250] Carlos Gilly, "Juan de Valdés, traductor y adaptador de escritos de Lutero en su «Diálogo de Doctrina christiana,»" *Los Valdés: Pensamiento y Literatura. Actas del Seminario celebrado en Cuenca, Universidad Menéndez Pelayo, del 2 al 4 de diciembre de 1991* (Cuenca: Instiuto «Juan de Valdes» : Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Cuenca, 1997), 36.

[251] Gilly, *Valdés trad. Lutero*, 126.

[252] Ibid., 129.

[253] Nieto, *La Imagen Cambiante*, 30.

Those parallels need to be considered with the same objectivity as when Valdés glossed Erasmus. Furthermore, Gilly's reference to Valdés' use of Oecolampadius is actually testimonial and not theological, and Valdés' dependence on Melanchthon is unwarranted. Regarding Valdés and Luther, Valdés' true textual dependence on Luther, when withdrawing Valdés' glosses, amounts to 13% of his *Dialogue*. Even though the specifics of Valdés' use of Erasmus and Luther will be discussed later; what is pertinent at this time is to confirm that Valdés did use Luther for his *Dialogue*.

In light of the developing presence of Luther in Spain, Valdés' choice is significant. As Gilly demonstrated, Valdés used Luther's *Commentary on the Ten Commandments* (1518) and *On the Lord's Prayer* (1520). Both the subject matter and the dates of those writings suggest the probability that the Court could have brought them back from Germany, as both Catholic and Lutheran researchers agree.[254] Regarding that risky literature, it is interesting that in 1525 the General Inquisitor in Madrid corresponded with the General Vicar of Alcalá warning him of heretical books, "we bring to your notice that a few days ago there have been brought to this University certain printed books on the exposition of the Psalter made by one named Johannes Pomerari (. . .) authorized by the evil heresiarch Luther."[255] It is necessary to note, as it has been previously referred, that Pomerari's *Commentary on Paul* was later found in Juan de Vergara's library.

In 1529, in the context of Spain's traditionalism, to use Erasmus' *Inquisitio* constituted a stand, but to use Luther was life-threatening. That risk requires a degree of identification on the part of Valdés with Luther. In addition to that, Valdés could have used Erasmus' *On the Pater Noster*; however, Valdés used Luther's. Regardless of Valdés' accessibility to or knowledge of *De Libertate Christiana*[256] or *The Babylonian Captivity*, the evidence is that Valdés chose non-schismatic sources, according to the attitude he maintained throughout his life. His selection of sources, complying with his possible use of Oecolampadius, obeyed to a *Converso*, restless attitude and to a daring, youthful initiative, finding in external sources important affinities and arguments that supported his own thoughts. No wonder that Valdés proceeded to publish it without further revisions.[257] Considering, however, that Valdés' glosses took under a quarter of his writing, and considering the complex religious legacy of Valdés, the evidence portrays a true and personal eclecticism, including a definite tenet of dissidence. This will be confirmed and manifest in the analysis of *Dialogue on Doctrine.*

[254] We referred previously to A. Redondo and J.I. Tellechea. Ft. 205 of this chapter.

[255] Inquisición, AHN, Libro, 319, fol. 177r-v. Cited in Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost*, 18-19.

[256] E. de Moreau, in *La crise religieuse du XVIe siecle*, op cit., p. 157 cited in : Redondo, Op. Cit., 164. Cf. Jose Ignacio Tellechea, "Perfil Teológico del Protestantismo Castellano del Siglo XVI," in *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, n.7 (1983): 87.

[257] We do not share, however, Gilly's view that Tovar knew Valdés was using Luther (Gilly, *Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 111). That would have provoked a much more serious reaction against or away from Valdés.

Summary on Valdés amidst Erasmian *Alumbrados*, Erasmian Alcalá, and Lutheran Inroads

This chapter closes the discussion on the different religious currents that affected Valdés in his early formative years in Escalona, in the Marquis' Palace, and then in Alcalá de Henares. This chapter has particularly discussed the external influences of Erasmus and Luther in Valdés' environment. The religious scenario depicted important tensions and partisanships in regards to Erasmus and a clear, belligerent antagonism against Luther, the German heresiarch. Spain's institutional Christianity had already shown its power over the claims of eminent *Conversos*. In relationship with Erasmus' followers, likewise, neither their compliant moderation nor the sanction of high church officials impeded that, particularly with the trial of Juan de Vergara, Spanish Erasmianism would be neutralized. If Valdés' *Dialogue* had only used Erasmus and Erasmus' tenets, it would still be considered a stand. Valdés' use of Erasmus' *Inquisitio*, with a clear non-belligerent reference to Luther, the emphasis on virtue over performance, or the accessibility of people in general to Scriptures constituted a stand. But Valdés' writing went much further in its dissidence. His use of Luther's commentaries on pastoral things, e.g., the commandments and the Lord's Prayer, betrays the influence of Alcaraz's thought. Very significantly, Valdés willfully ignores the contemporary acrimony against the German heresiarch.

In this historical environment, Valdés appears amidst the Erasmian circle of Alcalá and referred to by the Cazalla's, particularly María. This Erasmian association, however, is only in appearance, since it is only partially confirmed by the tenets of Valdés' *Dialogue*. This will be most clear as the actual contents of the *Dialogue* are discussed. In reference to the background information presented in this chapter, however, it is important to refer to the letters between Gracián de Alderete and Valdés. These letters contain a familiarity and wit about popular religious decay, implying at least an external participation as to a common stand against empty performances and institutions. However, there is a serious side of Valdés. That side was not that much appreciated, but it was evident on the part of Valdés. Furthermore, his use of Vergara's library and its risky literature and Tovar's reprimand reveal a tendency or a more dissident tenet that exceeds the circle of Erasmian influence. This difference from the Erasmian circle is only augmented exponentially when the *Dialogue* is analyzed.

Amidst these developments, influences, and individuals, the particular writings that Valdés chose to gloss constitute a most significant matter. Using both risky and threatening writings and authors, the glossed texts are pastoral, positive expositions of aspects of the Christian faith. Even though Valdés' teachings were dissident, and possibly offensive (according to María Cazalla), the *Dialogue's* tone is positive, not critical. Furthermore, his use of Erasmus and Luther constitutes about a quarter of the *Dialogue*. And even though there will be clear references to themes and emphasis traceable to the *Alumbrado* conflict and to Alcaraz, there is also evidence of a clear permeability in Valdés. Our personage, therefore, does not appear as a follower of

Alcaraz, Erasmus, or Luther. He keeps the basic tenor of Alcaraz's thought and spirituality, but he extends beyond Alcaraz and uses terms, influences, and writings with a tolerant attitude, as long as they contribute to express his own thought.

Even from historical considerations Valdés' *Dialogue* portrays a personal eclecticism. By a personal eclecticism I mean an open attitude to religious currents, using diverse sources to express his personal thought. The plurality of religious references or influences is not arbitrary. Valdés adopts Alcaraz's tenets on grace, but maintains his personal and intentional thought. Valdés' eclecticism, furthermore, is also understood against the background of his *Converso*-Christian faith: a Christian faith pursued with radical intensity, but resenting some institutional aspects that clash with his *Converso* background. Valdés' degree of assimilation, even from background considerations, is greater than Isabel or Alcaraz, but the non-assimilation and struggle still continued. The urgency of that struggle impelled him to address his very context, using themes and terms from his environment, using rather dissident sources, but endeavoring to bring a personal synthesis and message, a final comprehension of what true Christianity is all about. That message was *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine.*

Chapter 5

Dialogue on Christian Doctrine (1529)

Dialogue on Christian Doctrine was the first of Valdés' writings and the only one published during his lifetime. Unfortunately, the *Dialogue* has been discovered after the first monographs on Valdés were already written. And the rest Valdés' writings give no comparable example of the textual dependences found in the *Dialogue*. The *Dialogue*'s contents, therefore, constitute an important deficit of Valdessian studies prior to its discovery.[1] Even though the discoverer[2] of the *Dialogue* spoke of it as providing a "solid base" for Valdessian research, its complexity was not initially evident. Eventually, Valdés' *Dialogue* has become the central battlefield for the different interpretations of our personage. It is evident that such a complexity both allows and requires a degree of interpretation.

While Valdés' use of Erasmus and Luther is evident, as well as the influence of Alcaraz, the unanswered question is if there is any governing principle that might account for this particular combination. Since Bataillon, research has always recognized some confluence of different thoughts, but authors have battled for Valdés' single or predominant theological affiliation. Recent research has more openly accepted a composite nature in Valdés' thought;[3] however, no unifying principle has yet been defended or described as a common denominator for that diversity. Our thesis is that there were no "masks" in Valdés' following Alcaraz's teachings or Erasmus' or Luther's writings. Valdés' *Dialogue* reflects an intentional eclecticism energized by his *Converso* restlessness, his conciliatory personality,[4] and his urgency for Christian reform. This has already been implied from Valdés' background and environment. In this chapter, the analysis of the *Dialogue*'s contents and its comparison with Valdés' sources will portray the particular nature and characteristics of his eclecticism.

Even though we presented a literary review on Valdessian research in the introduction of this thesis, the argumentation regarding *Dialogue on Doctrine* requires a reference to the perspectives and writings dedicated to this particular work. M. Bataillon, who in 1925 discovered the only extant copy of Valdés' work, recognized dependences on Alcaraz,[5] the supposed *illuminism* of Tovar,[6] and parallels with Luther.[7]

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[1] E.g.. Wiffen, Boehmer, Carrasco, Caballero.

[2] Marcel Bataillon discovered it in the Monastery Library of Saint Vicente of Fora (Bataillon ed., DDB,1925, 9ff). Today it is exhibited in Lisbon's National Library.

[3] Valdés' eclecticism has been a "ghost," always hovering over Valdessian research. Presently, however, the composite nature of his thought has been more openly expressed. E.g. Alcalá ed., OC, xxxiv; Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 38ff .

[4] This will be clearly expressed in his Neapolitan writings.

[5] E.g. Valdés taking "que l'ame confiante en ses seules forces es incapable de justice" from Escalona (Bataillon ed., DDB, 1925, 45).

[6] Bataillon speaks of Valdés' *Dialogue* as "the highest expression of the *Illuminist* conspiracy of whom Tovar was its soul between 1525-1530 (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, 402).

Recognizing that the experience portrayed by the *Dialogue* was "not fully reducible to Erasmian piety,"[8] Bataillon undermined other influences in order to present Valdés' work as "a moderately Erasmian catechism."[9] This Erasmian interpretation of the *Dialogue* was followed later by Longhurst,[10] D. Ricart,[11] or even more recently by A. Alcalá.[12] Domingo de Sta. Teresa, considering Valdés as a Pre-Tridentine Catholic and discarding any catechetical or theological content in the *Dialogue*, referred to this writing as "a spiritual guide that teaches the best of the perfect Christian life."[13] When Valdés' dissident expressions appear, they are constantly qualified by Domingo as "psychological" language.[14] Domingo, furthermore, esteemed "a tangible Erasmian debt" in Valdés' *Dialogue*, even though he recognized "substantial" additions to the Rotterdamer. These additions, he wrote, expressed "a different conception of the spiritual life which will become evident in the writings of the Italian period."[15]

José C. Nieto, in his edition of Valdés' *Two Catechisms*, maintained his fundamental, exclusive Alcaracian interpretation of Valdés. As to Valdés' sources, Nieto referred to Scriptures, the Fathers, Erasmus' *Inquisitio de Fide*, and Alcaraz.[16] His forced Alcaracism interpreted essential differences between Alcaraz and Valdés as mere developments from Alcaraz.[17] Recognizing the worthy contribution of Nieto's Alcaracian perspective, the inadequacy of its exclusivism was confirmed only five years later by Carlos Gilly.[18] Gilly, however, concurred with Nieto concerning Valdés using Erasmus as a "mask" in order to conceal his true thought. Regarding Gilly, however, his exclusive Lutheranism becomes an equally-forced interpretation of Valdés. Gilly defends Valdés as "translator and adaptor of Luther's writings," an exclusivism which is equally untenable when the *Dialogue* is analyzed, even more so as his Neapolitan writings are considered.

In 1995, Christine Wagner provided a "re-reading" of *Dialogue on Doctrine*. From the outset, Wagner recognized the influence of Erasmus in the context of the University of Alcalá, the spirituality of the *Alumbrados* of Castile, and the writings and doctrines of Luther. In the exposition of her analysis, however, in regards to Erasmus,

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[7] Regarding coincidences with Luther, Bataillon points out to Valdés' subjective confidence of God's knowledge (Bataillon ed., DDB, 1925, 116); the unification of the three theological virtues (Ibid, 252-3); the fact that only "fides formata" deserves to be called faith (Ibid, 255).

[8] Bataillon ed., DDB, 114.

[9] Ibid, 63.

[10] Cf. Longhurst, *The case of Juan de Valdés*, 79-95.

[11] Ricard ed., *DDC y Salterio*. Ricart, however, also recognizes that the *Dialogue* "represents the convergence of various movements of spirituality" (Ibid., 11).

[12] Juan de Valdés, *Obras Completas*, Vol I. Intr. Angel Alcalá (Madrid: Fund. José A. de Castro, 1997), xxxii-xxxvi.

[13] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 64.

[14] Ibid, 67, 69.

[15] Ibid, 62.

[16] Nieto ed., *Valdés' Two Catechisms*, 14.

[17] E.g. Alcaraz's Theo-centrism versus Valdés' Christ-centrism, or Valdés' justification through Christ (Nieto, *Two Catechisms*, 15-18).

[18] Carlos Gilly, "El Luteranismo de Juan de Valdés," in *Historia Crítica de la Literatura Española, vol.* 2 (1979): 95-99; and Carlos Gilly, *Juan de Valdés, traductor y adaptador de escritos de Lutero en su «Diálogo de Doctrina christiana»* (Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1982).

she refers only occasionally to dependences on him. As for Luther, she assumes Gilly's parallels and discusses a number of terms and teachings, but no reference is made to a possible governing principle or criterion for Valdés' use of his sources. José I. Tellechea Idígoras, likewise, recognizes Gilly's discovery and refers to an "evident literal dependence in the Valdessian text."[19] Tellechea, however, leaves an open question regarding "the degree of his Lutheran affiliation," since for him, Valdés' textual use proved only an external level of dependence.

In reference to recent research on the *Dialogue*, the maintenance of orthodox versus heterodox parameters to evaluate Valdés is regrettable. Wagner presents Valdés favoring the institutional church, "in a fragile balance at the edge of orthodoxy."[20] Her appraisal does not account for Valdés' emphases, external compliances, and omissions and clearly overlooks the assailing threat of the Inquisition. Her perspective of Valdés' favor to the institutional church, stated at the beginning of her presentation, obviates the dissident nature of Valdés' writing and inexorably enters into conflict with the dissidences and Lutheran teachings to which she subsequently refers. More objectionably, on the Protestant side, is D. Estrada's reference to the *Dialogue* as "the first written and published Protestant book in our country."[21] Even though Estrada's discarding neo-platonic mysticism in Valdés is appropriate, his consideration that Valdés radically "abandoned the official Catholic teaching," is simply unwarranted.[22] Furthermore, Estrada's defense of Valdés' conviction of justification by faith as "in conformity with Biblical teaching," and as "an error of the Roman Catholic teaching" betrays his confessional bias, obscuring Valdés' individual message.

This literary review manifests the need to re-read *Dialogue on Doctrine*. There should be a definition of Valdés' use of Erasmus, Luther, and Oecolampadius and an assessment of the three-quarters of the *Dialogue* which was Valdés' own production. This chapter's initial thesis recognizes the great significance of *Dialogue on Doctrine* in regard to Valdés thought. Valdés' translations, glosses, and loaned concepts need to be all equally analyzed, whether he borrowed from Alcaraz, Erasmus, or Luther. Our analysis is open and attentive to all ingredients; further than Valdés' affiliation, our endeavor is to undo the braid of the *Dialogue's* complexity and clarify Valdés' central message.

This chapter will initially present some necessary, introductory considerations on Valdés' work. Secondly, the contents of the *Dialogue* will be discussed, noting whether Valdés was translating, glossing, or writing his own thoughts. The contents of the *Dialogue* will be considered both in light of Valdés' sources and other works of Erasmus and Luther that could have been accessible to Valdés (e.g., Erasmus' *Enchiridion*, *Paraclesis*, and *Discourse on the Child Jesus*, and Luther's *The*

[19] Juan de Valdés, *Diàleg de Doctrina Cristiana*,intr. notes J. Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras (Barcelona: Proa, 1994), 22.

[20] Wagner (ed.), *Le Dialogue*, 15.

[21] Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de Doctrina Cristiana*, Col. Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI, ed. notes David Estrada Herrero (Sevile: Ed. MAD S.L., 2007), 79.

[22] Ibid., 33.

Babylonian Captivity and *On Christian Liberty*). Both Erasmus' and Luther's literary production were much more extensive than that; we have reduced our analysis to the works that have been referred to in Valdessian research as possibly known by Valdés. Even though those works have been referred to, they have not been discussed as to the content, extent, and reliability of a possible Valdessian dependence on them.

The analysis of *Dialogue on Doctrine* endeavors to outline Valdés' essential perspectives in order to understand and define his teachings in relationship to his background, influences, and sources. Significant as this chapter's conclusions might be, they will have to be considered in comparison with Valdés' later writings. In those later writings, unhindered by the Inquisition's pressures, and surrounded by friends and sympathizers, Valdés expounded his teaching more freely, extensively, diversely, and maturely.[23]

Introductory Remarks on *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*

Documentary Evidence for Valdés' *Dialogue*

The existing documentary evidence for this anonymous dialogue is remarkable, both for the direct relationship and relevance of the individuals involved. The most significant testimony is found in the declarations of 1532 by Dr. Alonso Sánchez and Dr. Juan de Medina, both canons of the Church of Santiuste in Alcalá de Henares – declarations in the Trial against Juan de Vergara. Their remarks on the *Dialogue* and its author are corroborated in María de Cazalla's trial by a shorter testimony from García de Vargas and María's response to the Inquisition's subsequent inquiry. Both trials, Vergara's and María's, reflect the impact of Erasmus on *Alumbrado* suspects like María de Cazalla, professors of Alcalá de Henares, and even including the General Inquisitor Manrique. Contrarily, Diego Ortiz de Angulo, Prosecutor of both trials, openly manifests the accusations of heresy and existing hostility toward Erasmus.

The author of the *Dialogue* is clearly identified in both trials as Juan de Valdés, a student in Alcalá de Henares. The work is identified as *Libro de Doctrina Cristiana hecho por un Religioso*, only varying the first word of its official title: *Dialogue*. Its Valdessian authorship is particularly strengthened by the personal testimony of Juan de Vergara and by Vergara's defense of Valdés' *Dialogue*. Juan de Medina declared that "it appeared to him that Vergara had a friendship with that one Valdés, and he felt bad at any offense which that one Valdés would receive."[24] Dr. Alonso Sánchez also affirmed that Vergara had pled with him to use moderation with the *Dialogue*, since Valdés was his friend.[25] Juan de Medina explicitly stated that Juan de Valdés himself

[23] Christine Wagner suggests that the rest of Valdés' writings could "limit" the *Dialogue's* Analysis (*Le Dialogue*, 1995, p. 15).

[24] AHN, *Trial J. Vergara*, fol. 182v.

[25] Ibid., fol. 181v.

had "intensely pled"[26] with him to ignore dissident propositions in the *Dialogue*, swearing that he had never taken them in that wrong sense. Another personal involvement with the *Dialogue* appears in a declaration of María Cazalla. She referred to Tovar's censure of Valdés for having rapidly published his book without further revision and corrections.

The references from these two trials express the controversial character of the *Dialogue*. Dr. Alonso Sánchez stated that Hernán Vázquez had a manuscript in Toledo "many days (. . .) before it was printed."[27] Hernán Vázquez withdrew some things which were wrong; afterwards, he was upset with those who still found objections. Hernán "procured and labored to defend and expound and excuse all he could of that book."[28] After its publication, the book was discussed by a committee of doctors and theologians in the house of Dr. Mateo Pascual, the university's rector. Other distinguished personages were present, e.g., the Abbot Pedro de Lerma, Hernán Vázquez, Dr. Balvas, Francisco de la Fuente, Loayasa, Diego de la Puente, Vargas, and Bernardino Alonso.[29]

The controversial character of Valdés' work is further underlined by the General Inquisitor's message through Dr. Miranda, which required that Valdés was to make corrections and, subsequently, print the book "soundly."[30] Furthermore, Vergara, in his own house, pled with Juan de Medina that, "if there were anything erroneous or heretical in the book," it was not to be made known.[31] María de Cazalla corroborated the controversy. García de Vargas, her husband's tailor, and Diego Hernández's friend affirmed being in María's home and hearing her partially favoring the book.[32] When María was asked about it (the same year, 1532), she confirmed having "praised it many times (. . .) even though (. . .) some things could be better said and without scandal, as in reference to (. . .) tithing and (. . .) confession."[33] She reports Tovar's reproof to Valdés as well as Friar Pedro de Vitoria's[34] preaching against the book, which caused María to hide her copy in the lowest parts of a chest. Finally, Valdés' name and his *Dialogue* were registered in the *Index* of prohibited books of 1551 and 1559.

The relevance of this testimony in reference to Valdés is twofold. On one hand it constitutes a clear defense of Valdés' authorship. Secondly, it poses the question as to the *Dialogue's* theological position, being defended by such an Erasmian figure as Juan de Vergara and other eminent personages. This defense, however, needs to consider that the *Dialogue* was written at the height of the Erasmian controversy, and the *Dialogue*

[26] Ibid., fol. 182r.
[27] Ibid., fol. 181r.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., fol. 182r.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ortega-Costa, *Trial M. Cazalla*, 88-89.
[33] Ibid.,118.
[34] Pedro de Vitoria was a Dominican Friar, Prior of his convent in Burgos known for his defense of monasticism against Erasmus in "*Septem Collationem ad Erasmus*" (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, I, 255-258).

opens with the translation of Erasmus' *Inquisitio de Fide*. It is very comprehensible that Valdés would be excused by the Erasmian defenders despite objectionable statements. Externally, furthermore, Juan's brother was Alfonso, Imperial Secretary, and Erasmus himself had written Juan on several occasions. Valdés' associations were of much greater value in Alcalá than his religious reflections as a liberal arts student. If Valdés' writing was rejected, Erasmus' writings could be condemned along with it. The theological position of the *Dialogue*, moreover, will ultimately be given through the analysis of its contents.

The *Dialogue*'s Authorship

Valdés' authorship of *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* has only been questioned lately. Since its discovery, Bataillon pointed out parallel teachings and even common illustrations as evidence of the common authorship of all of Valdés' writings.[35] These parallels and illustrations are not only verbal; they are used in reference to cardinal teachings of Valdés, which, significantly, can be traced to Valdés' different sources and influences. These parallels refer to the Christian's vow in baptism,[36] the heart's necessity to love something,[37] and charity as perfect love.[38] They include a Lutheran translation on man's inability to fulfill God's commandments.[39] These major parallels include also Valdés' classification of sinners,[40] the need and prayer for living faith,[41] the possibility of only the spiritual man fulfilling God's commandments and only with special grace from God,[42] and, most significantly, Valdés' hermeneutic and theological distinction between the law and the gospel.[43] Not only Domingo Sta. Teresa and Nieto confirmed this unity of authorship, but D. Ricart added a significant aspect; he pointed to similarities "not only in lexicon, but in the same phrase architecture," as an evidence of a common authorship of the *Dialogue* and the rest of Valdés' writings.

Regardless the unusual amount, detail, and relevance of documentary attestation and significant parallels, in 2009 Francisco Calero Calero and Marco Antonio Coronel Ramos presented *Dialogue on Doctrine*, which "had to wait 480 years … to be

[35] Ricart, *Diálogo de Doctrina*, 9.

[36] Baptism as a vow was clearly Erasmian (DDB, fol. 7v = AC, OC ed., 398). This parallel was referred by Bataillon (1925, 224).

[37] This "love" theme was central in J.Cazalla's *Light of the Soul* and present in Spanish Erasmianism. Bataillon points to Raimond de Sabonde Viola Animae Ch. 24 livre III (1500), (DDB, fol. 38 = AC, ed. Usoz p. 27) (Bataillon ed., 1925, 247-249).

[38] Charity as perfect love of/from God (DDB, 26v) Bataillon appropriately sees it described in Considerations n.70 and 98 (Bataillon ed., 1925, 243).

[39] This purpose of the law is reproduced in the *Alphabet* (DDB, fol. 36v = AC, Usoz ed., p.56) (Bataillon ed., 1925, 245).

[40] This twofold classification of sinners would become threefold in the Alphabet (DDB, fol. 49v = AC, Usoz ed., 57) (Bataillon ed., 1925, 252).

[41] (1) Recognition of weakness at the need of faith (DDB, fol. 83r = AC, Usoz ed., 61-62) (Bataillon ed., 1925, 270) (2) On the conscience of not having faith (DDB, fol. 53r = AC, Usoz ed., 3) (Bataillon ed., 1925, 253-254) also noted by Nieto. (3) On dead and living faith (DDB, fol. 53r = AC, Usoz ed., 60) (Bataillon ed., 1925, 253).

[42] This parallel is noted both by Bataillon (1925, 243) and Domingo de Sta. Teresa (1935, 74). (DDB, fol. 36r = AC, Usoz ed., 21).

[43] DDB, fol. 137r = AC, Usoz ed., 20ff) (Bataillon ed., 1925, 233).

published with the name of its author (. . .) Juan Luis Vives."[44] I do not agree with Calero's arguments, neither in their relevance nor in their content. First of all, Calero proposes Vives' authorship, against all previous research on *Dialgoue on Doctrine*, with a deafening silence regarding all the historic documentary evidence previously referred to. Furthermore, considering that Vives was a Valencian author, studying in Paris in 1509, travelling then to Bruges (Flanders), England - rejecting an offer to study in Alcalá de Henares – and returning to Bruges, and writing all his works in Latin, Calero gives no account for how his writing in Spanish could end up in Miguel de Eguía's press in Alcalá. Calero does not provide any evidence for the motive that led Juan de Vergara, a close friend of Vives, to speak of Valdés as the author instead of Vives. And in light of the later research on *Dialogue on Doctrine,* it would be interesting to hear Calero's explanations of Juan Luis Vives' use of Erasmus' *Inquisitio de Fide* and of Luther, but he gives none.

To deny Valdés' authorship, Calero presents three basic arguments. The first argument is based on a theory suggested by Jose C. Nieto and ratified by Tellechea Idigoras concerning Valdés' age.[45] Being very young, Valdés is considered too immature to have written *Dialogue on Doctrine*. That suggestion, in reference to Valdés' birth date, has been discarded by the evidence discovered by Dorothy Donald and Elena Lázaro as well as by Manuel Amores. Donald and Lázaro, on the basis of documents found in the diocese of Cuenca, cite a letter from Valdés' father in which he makes reference to his son, Juan (June 8, 1506). From the letter, Donald and Lázaro conclude that Juan was with his father in Benavente, where his father attended the Court as Cuenca's Procurator. As his brother Alfonso represented his father for a bureaucratic issue in Cuenca, Juan also represented his father in Cuenca's Council.[46] This argument would place Valdés' birth around 1490. Manuel Amores, on the other hand, discovered the declarations of Sancho Muñoz, a citizen of Cuenca who heard Valdés' father say that Juan and Alfonso had been born at the same time.[47] Calero's argument, therefore, is based on a questionable and questioned theory. Considering Valdés' birth around 1490, it results that Dr. Juan de Medina, to whom Valdés pled not to take the contents of his *Dialogue* in a heretical sense, was thirty-five when he testified in Vergara's Trial (1532),[48] close to Valdés' age. On account of the evidence discovered by Dorothy Donald and Elena Lázaro as well as by Manuel Amores, Valdés' age at the writing of

[44] Calero ed., DDC, ix.

[45] Ibid, 299-300, 342. Tellechea referred to Valdés as 14 in Escalona b/c "muchacho" and 18 in Alcalá in 1527 because he was called "iuvenis" (*Diáleg,* 1994, 12-13, 16). However, emblematic works like Sebastian Fox Morcillo's *De iuventute* (Basilea, 1556), would not reflect iuvenis just applied to 18 years old. Ignatius Loyola arrived at the U. of Alcalá aged 35, and in the Inquisitorial trial opened against him, a witness described him as a "mancebo" or "youth" (Ricardo García Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, Nueva Biografía (Madrid, 1986), 281, cited in Monteserin (ed), *Alonso y Juan de Valdes*, 1995, xlviii). Valdés himself refers in the first pages of the *Dialogue* to a 30 years old friar and calls him "mancebo" (DDB, fol. 5v).

[46] Dorothy Donald and Elena Lázaro, *Alfonso de Valdés y su Epoca*.

[47] Sp. "De una ventregada." Declaration found in: Inquisición, Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, Secc. leg. 780, expediente 2.180, fol. 11. Cited in: Amores, Manuel, *Los Hermanos Alfonso y Juan*, 28.

[48] AHN, *Trial Vergara,* fol. 182r.

the *Dialogue* was quite parallel to Francisco Ortiz and Francisco de Osuna; none of these could be considered immature to write something like the *Dialogue*.

Calero's and Coronel's second argument is based on the supposed contradiction of the *Dialogue's* translation of Mt. 5-7 and Valdés' translation in his *Commentary on Matthew*.[49] Calero particularly refers to the unfolding of some terms, "translating two words out of only one in the original."[50] This is presented as a contradiction with Valdés' intention to translate "word by word," as stated in his *Commentary on Romans* and *on Matthew*. Margherita Morreale had already pointed to this difference, which did not constitute any suspicion for a different authorship.[51] The natural changes of maturity and environment may fully account for differences in emphasis, definitions, and textual translation. Morreale, furthermore, states that Valdés' first translation came from the Latin Erasmian text, whereas his translation in the *Commentary* (comparing it with Mt 5-7) was taken from the Greek text. As to the unfolding of a word in two synonyms, Margherita considers it typical of Spanish Erasmianism, which would fully comply with Valdés abandoning the Erasmian circle and its influence from Spain and moving to Italy, something which is also reflected in the contents of his writings in Italy.

On the other hand, however, the statement that Valdés' did not use the translation of "two words out of only one in the original" is incorrect. Valdés' later writings in Italy, not only present examples of non-verbal, expanded translations,[52] but there are several examples of Bible quotations and translations in which Valdés particularly unfolds one term in two. In Valdés' *Christian Alphabet*, he translated Col. 3:1 and unfolded "seek" in two terms: "If you have, brethren, been spiritually raised with Christ, lift up your spirits[53] to the high things (. . .) investigate the high things, not those that are on earth."[54] Also in *Christian Alphabet*, as Valdés translates 2 Cor. 10:13, he takes two terms and doubles them: "God is just and faithful, and will not allow … that we be tempted nor chastised more than what our strength will endure."[55] There are, furthermore, explicit examples of Valdés quoting in Latin and translating in Spanish, where that unfolding takes place intentionally. In the third Consideration of *One Hundred and Ten Considerations*, as Valdés refers to Ro. 8:14 he writes, "Qui spiritu Dei aguntur …" and explicitly translates, "He who is a son of God allows himself to be

[49] Marco Antonio Coronel Ramos, *Juan Luis Vives y Juan de Valdés ante Mt 5-7*.

[50] Calero ed., DDC, 301.

[51] Marherita Morreale, "Juan de Valdés come traduttore dei Vangeli ed il Nuovo Testamento di Erasmo," in Atti dell'Istituto Veneto de Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, (Venecia: Instituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1977), pp. 507-40.

[52] E.g. In Consideration n.95 there is an explicit expanded translation from the Latin of Jn 3 "Tu es magister in Israel et haec ignores …" "If you are unable of this spiritual regeneration, of which, granted it is spiritual, but is such that it takes place here on earth and in the men on earth, how much more you will be unable to believe the divine generation, of which I could speak to you, because that one is not done from earth, but from heaven, and it does not perform an earthly but a celestial work! (Alcalá ed., OC, 705).

[53] Sp.ánimos.

[54] Alcalá ed., OC, 429.

[55] Ibid., 453-4.

ruled and governed by God."[56] In a later Consideration, which would be numbered 113th, Valdés translates Ro. 8:26 and writes, "The Holy Spirit helps and supplies[57] our foolishness[58] and weakness."[59] In *Seven Doctrinal Epistles*, Valdés translates Lk. 10:21 and, again, expounds his translation and doubles a single Greek term: "I thank you eternal Father (. . .) that you have hid these divine secrets from human prudence and wisdom, and have revealed them to those who in the eyes of the world are vile and small."[60] Even in his *Commentary on Matthew*, Valdés explains "you are a scandal" (Mt.16:23) as, "You are cumbersome and irritant."[61] In his *Commentary on Romans*, Valdés specifies, "Where it says 'I serve,' it may also be said 'I adore, respect, and revere.'"[62] These explicit examples demonstrate that whereas in the Commentaries, where he separately expanded his teaching, Valdés seeks a "word by word" translation, in his other works, he maintains an expanded translation and the unfolding of important words.[63] No explanation is given by Valdés in the *Dialogue* after the translation of Mt. 5-7; therefore, it should not surprise that he would follow this Erasmian habit of unfolding words to make it more understandeable. In any case, it is neither a difference between *Dialogue on Doctrine* and the rest of Valdés' writings nor a case to discard Valdés' authorship of the *Dialogue.*

The third argument presented by Calero deals with the contents of Valdés' thought, as if the interpretation of Valdés' thought were not one of the most debated issues of the Spanish Renaissance. Calero briefly outlines the "strengths" of Valdés' thought and the principles for which "Valdés' thought seems to be characterized."[64] Not only does he explicitly express his subjective estimation of Valdés' thought, but he takes the similarities between *Dialogue on Doctrine* and the rest of Valdés' writings as fruit of Valdés' affinity for Erasmus. The evidence, however, is contrary to Calero's suggestion. The parallels between the *Dialogue* and Valdés' writings in Italy, evident and ratified since Bataillon in 1925, cannot in any way be explained by an affinity with Erasmus. A decisive example of that is the verbatim translation of Luther's introduction *On the Ten Commandments*.[65] Is Calero suggesting that we should think of the

[56] Ibid., 498.
[57] Sp. favorece.
[58] Sp. imbecilidad.
[59] *Consideraciones*, Alcalá ed., OC, 763.
[60] *Siete Epístolas Doctrinales*, Alcalá ed., OC, 842.
[61] Juan de Valdés, *El Evangelio según Mateo: Declarado por Juan de Valdés, ed. E. Boehmer* (Madrid: Librería Nacional y Extranjera, 1880), 310.
[62] Juan de Valdés, *La Epistola de San Pablo a los Romanos* (Barcelona: Gómez Flores, 1982), 7.
[63] Other examples of Valdés unfolding words: Ex.3.14 "I am who I am," as if it said "I am he who am by myself, and who give being and life to all things that are and live" (Valdés, *Seven Doct. Ep. n.2,* OC, 841); Lc.10.21"You have revealed them to those who in the eyes of the world are vile and small" (Ibid, 842); Phil 2.12 "pay attention and work our your salvation" (*Little Treatises*, OC, 899); I Cor 10.13 "God is faithful and just that will not allow . . . that we be tempted nor punished" (*Alphabet,* OC, 453).
[64] Calero's language is a subjective appraisal (Calero, DDC, 304, 305); also, "These thoughts *we believe* are on the foundation of the concept of the soul in Juan de Valdés' *Alphabet*" (Ibid, 345).
[65] DDB, fol 19r l.16-22 = WA, I, 398, 6-9; 19v, l.1-9 = WA, I, 398, l.10-14, 16-17. Taken from Gilly, *J. Valdés translator of Luther*, Cf. AC, Usoz ed., 56.

Erasmian Juan Luis Vives as more Lutheran than he is usually considered? I suppose he is not.

On the other hand, Calero's positive arguments in defense of Vives' authorship are rather weak. To defend his position, Calero finds the study of Vives' letters "truly important," even though he recognizes that they are in "very incomplete condition," and their edition "needs many[66] clarifications."[67] Vives' authorship would rather need to be verified in the comparison of the contents of his *De Veritate Fidei Christianae* or *Treatise on the Soul* with *Dialogue on Doctrine,* but these reflect no close affinity with the *Dialogue*.[68] In Vives' letters to Juan de Vergara, his "best friend in Spain," Calero defends that Vives appears to write with "enigmatic sentences" and with "a coincidence between his writing (. . .) and the subject matter of the works *Dialogue on the Things Happened in Rome,* and *Dialogue of Mercurio y Caron*."[69] These events obviously had repercussions and echoes among all Erasmians; no wonder that Vives referred to it in his letters to his friends. Contrarily, Donald and Lázaro clearly present the genesis and important historical attestation of Alfonso's authorship of his dialogue on Rome.[70] Nevertheless, Calero, discarding historical evidence such as Castiglione's reproach to Alfonso for having written those two dialogues,[71] attributes their authorship to Juan Luis Vives. Subsequently, Calero traces similarities between these two previously mentioned dialogues with *Dialogue on Doctrine,* even bringing *Lazarillo de Tormes* into the comparison – a famous Spanish anonymous work previously attributed also to Alfonso de Valdés. Considering the close relationship of these twin brothers, it is fully reasonable that there would be some affinity. However, to discard positive documentary evidence, to usurp the authorship of Alfonso's dialogues because of a questionable reference in one of Vives' letters, and then use it to deprive Valdés of his authorship of the *Dialogue*, is a weak argument to discard historical attestation and past research on both Alfonso and Juan de Valdés.[72]

This research does not contend with Calero's view of Vives: "One of the highest summits of humanity, in which his contributions to pedagogy, psychology, philosophy, history, pacifism, help for the poor, and spirituality in general shine."[73] But Vives' eminence does not force his authorship on all the anonymous, supposedly Erasmian writings of his time. Vives' authorship of the *Dialogue* is neither the "solution" which "perfectly fits" the *Dialogue*'s authorship, nor "Occam's razor, according to which, the easiest explanation is the more plausible one," as Calero claims.[74] Calero's thesis is a

[66] Sp. *muchísimas* (superlative).
[67] Calero, DDC, 370.
[68] Juan Luis Vives, *Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia* (London.: Gregg, 1964). There is no extant evidence of Vives' works except in Latin.
[69] Calero, DDC, 372, 373.
[70] Donald and Lázaro, *Alfonso de Valdés*, 200-220.
[71] Letter of Castiglione from Madrid, October 1528 repr. in: Wiffen, *Life of Juan de Valdes*, 82.
[72] A similar endeavor happened concerning Valdés' authorship of *Diálogo de la Lengua*, and we believe equally unwarranted. It is clearly referred to by Bataillon (DDB, 1925, 155ff).
[73] Calero, DDC, ix.
[74] Ibid., xi.

weak alternative in light of respected scholars from all backgrounds, e.g., Bataillon, Jose I. Tellechea Idígoras, José C. Nieto, Gordon A. Kinder, etc.

Contents of *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*

Dialogue on Christian Doctrine, newly composed by a Religious is the supposed transcription of a conversation between three characters: Antronio, Eusebio, and Fray Pedro de Alva, Archbishop of Granada. Two clear lines of thought are presented through the interaction of these personages. One is the author's perspective of *true* Christianity, particularly as it refers to the understanding and practical experience of Christianity's pastoral pillars: the creed, the ten commandments, seven mortal sins, gifts of the Spirit, etc. The second line of thought, and not a minor one, is a portrayal of the religious context of that day, i.e. religion as it was lived and taught by Christian officers and institutional Christianity. This second line of thought has not been addressed in Valdessian research, but it reflects the contrast to which Valdés defends his thought. It is personified by Antronio, a priest, friar, teacher, and Guardian of a monastery.[75]

In regard to the exposition of the creed, ten commandments, etc., this dialogue follows an intentional sequence. First of all, it is significant that in contrast to Talavera's *Brief Doctrine,* whose introduction is dedicated to the "sign of the cross,"[76] Valdés introduced his dialogue referring to charity as "the sign" which distinguishes true Christians.[77] After the introduction, the creed is referenced as "the first thing children should be taught."[78] Through the creed we know "whom to believe and what to believe" and, subsequently, it follows that we should "know the will of him who one already knows."[79] This foundational structure, therefore, reveals the foundational dimension of concepts and consequential aspect of practices in Valdés.

Much more than the order, however, what differ in Valdés' work are his commentaries and the change from external signs, recitations and performances to internal signs, knowledge, love of God, and virtues.[80] The *Dialogue*'s approach to the commandments also maintains a hierarchical order; the first commandment is first in importance, comprehending all of the others, or all of the others deriving from the

[75] He approaches Eusebio desiring "to introduce any good thing in my monastery" (DDC, OC, 9).
[76] Talavera, *Brief Doctrine,* fol. 1r.
[77] DDB, fol 4v-5r.
[78] DDC, OC, 18; DDB fol.2v.
[79] DDC, OC, 10 Cf. DDB, fol. 41v.
[80] Dennis Ngien refers to the medieval order as "the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments," and refers to Luther as changing it to the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer (*Luther as a Spiritual Adviser*, 105). Talavera follows that former order (*Brief Doctrine*, 1496), but *Christian Doctrine* (1527) of Gutiérrez González Doncel outlines his contents as Christian prayers, the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, sins and vices, confession, the Lord's prayer. Cf. José Ramón Herrero, "Catecismos de Autores Españoles de la Primera Mitad del Siglo XVI (1500-1559)," *Repertorio Histórico de Ciencias Eclesiales de España, Vol II*, (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia de Teología Española, 1971), 225-260. Mª Amparo López Arancdia, "De Castilla a Michoacán: La obra de Gutiérrez González en la Educación del Siglo XVI," REVISTA DE ANTROPOLOGÍA EXPERIMENTAL, n. 10 (2010): 129-147.

first.[81] Nieto, not reckoning that Valdés was glossing Luther's preface to the *Ten Commandments*,[82] speaks of Valdés' explanation of the first commandment as firmly setting

> the foundation of his theological thought: radical sin, radical grace, justification by faith, knowledge of the law, the dialectic of law and the gospel, the twofold knowledge of man and God, the misery of man, the graciousness of God, Christ as the source of trust and belief and hope.[83]

It will be necessary, therefore, to consider later whether those "foundations" are translated from Luther, or if they are Valdés' glosses. The church's commandments are purposely placed at the end, corresponding to their lesser significance.[84] Other elements follow, like the Lord's Prayer, a Bible summary, and other "particular things,"[85] clearly distinguishing the author's perspectives from institutional Christianity's.

Considering Juan de Valdés' path from Don Diego L. Pacheco's court to a liberal arts student in Alcalá de Henares, *Dialogue on Doctrine* constitutes a substantial development when compared to Alcaraz's or Isabel's religious initiatives. Among the *Alumbrado* circle of fervent religious exhorters, such as Alcaraz or Isabel, writing was a means to share one's religious thoughts or devotional guides. Pedro de Rueda wrote some devotional letters, for which he was reproved by Isabel due to his moral inconsistencies.[86] Pedro also wrote the words of the wife of Texeda, and "began to make a book out of them in order to show them to all people."[87] Juan del Castillo wrote five letters to his sister Petronila, and Diego Hernández said that she kept them "in a paper folder, in order to [spiritually] profit from them."[88] María Cazalla and Juan de Cazalla seem to have written more than ten letters which were copied by Pedro Olivares, clerk of Pastrana, with the intention to distribute them.[89]

Juan de Valdés, therefore, took a giant step when he wrote a *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*. His intention was to present a basic but comprehensive perspective of true Christianity, covering diverse areas of knowledge, spirituality, and pastoral practice, reaching even to views on church reform. The *Dialogue* clearly corresponds to a young man in his thirties, who gathered every source he had at hand and projected himself into the arena of religious debate. In addition to the proceedings possibly caused by Valdés' relationship with Alcaraz,[90] the *Dialogue* constituted a second motive for the Inquisition to proceed against him.

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[81] DDC, OC, 37, DDB, fol. 23r. Valdés was translating Luther (Gilly, *Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 106).
[82] Luther, *Decem Praecepta*, WA, I, p.398-521 (Gilly, *Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 106).
[83] Nieto, *Two Catechisms*, 19.
[84] DDC, OC, 86.
[85] Thus worded in the Valdés' table of contents.
[86] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 270v.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid, fol, 19. Letters transcribed in AHN, *Petronila de Lucena*, fols 4r-7v.
[89] Ortega-Costa, *Trial M.Cazalla*, 250.
[90] The first was documented by Bataillon's discovery of a transcription of Vergara's trial. That transcript had a heading that read "taken from Valdés'." This first inquisitorial attempt had been referred by Llorente but without documentary references that could prove it (J. A. Llorente, *Historia Crítica de la Inquisición* , 227-228). All of this is referred to by Nieto (*Juan de Valdés*, 139, ft.225).

As to form and style, research has already addressed Valdés' literary shortcomings: repetitious forms,[91] monotonous connections,[92] confusing expressions,[93] and excessive use of interrogatives.[94] As to Valdés' reason to choose a dialogue, the dialogue "claims only to represent a particular argument, and to answer only the particular objections made by a particular individual,"[95] not so the treatise. The dialogue also "allows objections and answers;" it "goes before possible criticisms" and "supplies supplementary explanations."[96] However, it is also reasonable that the form of a dialogue owes more rather to the influence of Erasmus and Erasmus' literature. In fact, as Guerrero has appreciated, "it is the first *Doctrine* produced in our country according to the new humanistic modes."[97] As to style, and in accordance with the spiritual tenet of Valdés, Bataillon appropriately called attention to Valdés' declaration: "I never spoke better in my life than when I have talked without setting myself to think what I had to talk; I say the same about writing."[98]

Rather than form and style, the value of Valdés' *Dialogue* is found in its contents. Domingo de Sta. Teresa points to the Archbishop's longer explanations as "juicy and accurate."[99] Wagner underlines the didactic quality of the book, reflected in the explanations of terms and the reasons for his pronouncements.[100] It is from this didactic perspective that the repetitions must be taken. Even though it will be clearer in the rest of Valdés' writings, concerning the pastoral and didactic method of the *Dialogue*, Wagner refers to Valdés' own words: "You may well infer from here the way you have to explain the creed, and after someone learns it, you yourself should ask of him, like Eusebio has asked me."[101] The treasures of the *Dialogue*, however, are found in the author's concept of true Christianity, the prevalence of ignorant sincerity over instructed religious offices (e.g., Eusebio vs. Antronio), the description of institutional Christianity embodied in Antronio coming to true faith, or in the catechetical use of sacred history; in this perspective, the significance of the *Dialogue*'s contents clearly outweigh its literary shortcomings.

It is important to define the meaning of this dialogue's title: Christian *doctrine*. Even though this word will acquire a more theological connotation in some references of Valdés' later writings, its reference in this title denotes practical guidelines of the

[91] Bataillon ed., DDB. 181-182; Nieto, *Two Catechisms,* 14.
[92] Domingo Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 64.
[93] E.g. «and I say, turning to what I said before, that in addition to saying to you that which I first said, you should also say to them …" (DDC, OC, 181-182; DDB, 65r).
[94] Nieto, *Two Catechisms,* 14.
[95] Thomas Hart, "Dialogo más que tratado: The Art of Juan de Valdés," in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, v.78, t.3 (2001): 302.
[96] Wagner, *Le Dialogue,* 59.
[97] Herrero, *Catecismos de Autores Españoles,* 232.
[98] Juan de Valdés, CM, ed. Boehmer, 185. Referred by Bataillon (1925, 196-7).
[99] Domingo Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 64.
[100] Wagner, *Le Dialogue,* 61.
[101] Ibid, 59.

Christian faith.[102] This practical connotation is not clear when Nieto speaks of Valdés calling for a "full revision" of Christian doctrine,[103] in reference to its understanding, or that Valdés "firmly establishes Christian doctrine in history rather than upon a rational, mystical, philosophical, or ontological worldview."[104] For Valdés, theology is not abstract or primarily conceptual, but experiential – particularly in this *Dialogue*.

Valdés' practical doctrine is expressed with implied and direct intensity against a conflictive background. Along with the pertinence of the dialogue's contents as "the first and necessary things" to teach others,[105] there are frequent expressions that betray the author's earnestness: "Who could have in written form all the things you are saying!"[106] The message of the *Dialogue,* then, is not merely a safe reflection on Christianity, but a different understanding, an alternative set of values and experience that endeavors to be heard amidst the conflicting voices of its background and environment.

Dialogue on Doctrine reflects a considerable degree of intensity. E. Cione already perceived an earnestness attached to the expression "being newly composed," which is found in the title. Cione understood "just recently" in reference to the lack of revision that Tovar censured.[107] Furthermore, for Valdés, a liberal arts student in Cisneros' Theological University, much earnestness was needed to write an alternative and critical perspective on Christianity. This earnestness is also highlighted by the *Dialogue's* dissident elements. Not only is there a pointed emphasis on trusting God and not the church,[108] not only a clear accentuation on the honor of God or Jesus Christ as mediator to the neglect of the church, Mary, or the saints, but there is also a strong language that reveals its intensity – e.g., the reproach of the "gross foolishness of many who with daring and crazily say that there are not saints in the world anymore."[109] When commenting on not bearing false witness the author protests against false teachers who "raise a thousand false testimonies" in order to "bend and corrupt" doctrine for their own purposes. Those false teachers preach "I do not know which false miracles and tales (. . .) following their accursed and devilish interests,"[110] in order to

[102] E.g. *Knight's Doctrine* (Sp. *Doctrina de Caballeros*) by Alonso de Cartagena, or *Brief Doctrine* by Hernando de Talavera.

[103] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 129, 133.

[104] Nieto, *Two Catechisms*, 17. Cf.Other examples of "doctrine" used primarily conceptual: "Valdés is concerned with the rudiments and principles of Christian doctrine, for this cause his calling is to teach, to instruct, to edify" (Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 1970, p.118); "Valdés succinctly defines the being of God in His essence and attributes . . . . as the climax of his study and interpretation of the Christian doctrine." (Ibid, 123).

[105] DDC, OC, 12.

[106] DDC, OC, 24. E.g. Other expressions of pertinence: "[I sware] for the orders I received, I never heard what you are now telling me" (DDC, OC, 17); or "among all the commentaries on the creed which I have heard, this one that you have said satisfies me the most" (Ibid, 30).

[107] Edmondo Cione, *Jn. de Valdés*, 49, ft.21.

[108] I believe the Church (DDC, OC, 27).

[109] E.g. DDC, OC, 28.

[110] DDC, OC, 51-52

move the people to certain devotional acts. These references betray the intensity and tension between the author and his environment.[111]

In the tension and intensity of the *Dialogue,* there is also a consciousness of being dissident. In response to the lack of discernment among the people and clergy the Archbishop – Valdés' mouthpiece – feels his "bowels break."[112] There is a clear allusion against false, ostentatious and supernatural spirituality: "When you hear of someone to whom obedience to God's law is hard to bear and the doctrine[113] of Jesus Christ is terrible to endure, even though you see him performing miracles … he does not have the love of God."[114] Friar Antronio is also reported to exclaim:

> How long is it since you began to know and practice this doctrine you have taught us here (. . . .) Who taught you? I cannot but believe that God has miraculously taught you, since there are many theologians and great scholars who would not know how to speak (. . .) so purely or so adequately to its purpose.[115]

In addition to this dissident element, the author's complaints reflect a degree of religious hostility. There are frequent references to murmuring and bringing harm to others instead of loving one another as Jesus commanded.[116] Murmuring is particularly used in reference to institutional Christians, whom , "if you see in church with their books and beads you would think they are Hieronymites (. . .) and even there, as they finish their beads [used to count prayers] (. . .) they murmur against their neighbors; they speak lies and evil words and knaveries."[117] On the capital sin of arrogance the author refers particularly to that spiritual pride with which some people "despise, abhor, and belittle others."[118] Some references to hostility betray *Converso* conflicts: anyone whom they see "not taking their cold and vain devotions, even though he might live according to the law of God, they do not take him as a Christian."[119] Against that complained hostility, fraternal love is reiterated, also echoing a *Converso* emphasis from the previous century. True church fellowship, for instance, is defined as a

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[111] Valdés denounces others "who have consecrated themselves to serve the world . . . to satisfy their carnal appetites, retaining of *Christian* only the name," while their conduct is "mean and vicious." Regarding the growth of Christian *children,* Valdés warns teachers to impart the true understanding of the Ten Commandments to their soul, "before they are corrupted with false and harmful opinions" (DDC, OC, 62). Also commenting on *not bearing false witness,* the writer refers to teachers who "teach falsely," who in order to "bend and corrupt" doctrine to their own intentions "raise a thousand false testimonies," or in order to move the people to certain devotions, they preach "I do not know which false miracles and tales … following their accursed and devilish interests" (DDC, OC, 51, 52).

[112] DDC, OC, 13.

[113] "Doctrine" in reference to "practical religion."

[114] DDC, OC, 58.

[115] Ibid,129.

[116] Ibid, 68. Cf. also "those who have as gentleness and even office, to walk continually mocking and scorning," (Ibid, 46); conversely on loving one's neighbor, "God commands me to never think, say, or do anything that might cause harm to my neighbor . . . to always . . . do good to him" (Ibid, 60).

[117] Ibid,105.

[118]Ibid, 64. Cf. Some, pretending to be very holy and wise, say that when they are angry at someone and do not want to forgive . . . they do not say this portion . . . Did you ever in your life see a greater foolishness) (Ibid, 112-113); "they do not fear calling God their father, being children of Satan, and yet, ask God that heavenly bread which is not given but to those who are of clean heart" (Ibid, 113).

[119] Ibid, 61.

"friendship and company of members of the body, in such a way that they help each other."[120] Without love for God and the neighbor, the author remarks, none can claim to be a Christian.[121]

Together with this conflict and hostility, the author parallels true Christianity with the possibility of persecution. The author speaks of a readiness "to lose our lives for his cause."[122] When commenting on the Lord's Prayer, "give us our daily bread," the author, translating Luther, makes an unusual and significant connection with persecution:

> This bread is the grace of the Holy Spirit, without which our souls cannot for one moment be pleasing before God, [the grace] with which the soul is marvelously sustained. And when through this bread our souls have imprinted in themselves the image of Jesus Christ (. . .) they will fully and with much gladness break totally their own wills, and will feel as sweet and delicious any persecution that God might send to them.[123]

This possibility of persecution was also present among Spanish Erasmians; the translator of Enchiridion refers to "him who wants to be truly good" with significant implications: "If they do not call him heretic (. . .) they will invent other names (. . .) not very honorable, and if they do not persecute him openly, it will not be a small wonder (. . .) [that] they will certainly gnaw his clothes and even his beard, slandering all he does and says, and casting a thousand judgments on his life."[124] This dissidence, and even hostility, is the background of the Spirit's gift of teaching, which, according to Valdés, enables to teach "with much fervor and no fear."[125]

Along with these elements of conflict and tension there is a certain external compliance to institutional Christianity – as would be expected from a dissident *Converso* who is glossing Erasmus and Luther and is under the eye of the Inquisition. This forced external compliance is fully ignored by Wagner, as she assumes that the mere reference to religious institutions or individuals is indicative of Valdés' favor toward the institutional church.[126] The *Dialogue's* brief consent, silence, or explicit declaration of something being just complementary (e.g., devotions, Mary, or religious institutions) cannot be obviated in light of the Inquisition's presence and pressure. Margherita Morreale refers to this compliance as the "philosophical implications of Erasmianism:" the prayers to God instead of Mary, the resentment to devout customs around Mary's veneration, the preference of certain words, such as "piety" in favor of "devotion," or the Lord's Prayer to be felt or meditated instead of recited. These preferences or silences constitute in themselves pronouncements of dissent from the

[120] Ibid, 28.
[121] Ibid, 78-79.
[122] Ibid, 20.
[123] Ibid, 111. Valdés was translating Luthers Works, WA, II, p. 129 (Gilly, *Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 106).
[124] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 303.
[125] DDC, OC, 81.
[126] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 17.

institutional church.[127] In light of this patent principle, Valdés' general reference to the institutional church is that of external compliance and not of commitment. This is very evident as the Archbishop, echoing Alcaraz's attitude, said, "As long as you do not find me [speaking something] contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, or to his apostles, or the Catholic Church, it does not affect me."[128]

Amidst his religious environment it is highly significant how Valdés sees himself and his thought. On one hand, there is a somewhat pragmatic justification of his acceptance of religious posts; the office of prelate is one of the "most convenient means (. . .) with its authority and revenues one can profit much."[129] Being in office provides the opportunity "to regain souls, withdrawing them from the devil's service," bringing them to God's.[130] Conversely, contrasting that apparent pragmatism, the *Dialogue* projects its teachings to the world. Valdés states "that which is convenient for us as Christians to believe and teach."[131] He outlines certain demands on the character, education, and main task of the clergy.[132] There is a particular section in the *Dialogue* explicitly discussing the reform of the church, "things wherein there is so much perdition, and which constitute the shame of the world."[133] Valdés clearly expresses the convenience of "another form of Christianity."[134] Concerning the celebration of feast days, Valdés writes that "these things require a general remedy."[135] Interestingly, there is even the hope of a near future, when spiritual and internal things will be set as the foundation of Christianity; as Valdés is translating Erasmus' *Inquisitio de Fide*, he inserts, "This will be done by God when he be served.[136] As Bataillon pointed out since the first introduction to this *Dialogue*, these references undoubtedly refer to the common hope among the Erasmian circle for a General Council.[137] Bataillon's suggestion was confirmed by the discovery of Valdés' letters to Ercole Gonzaga, where Valdés explicitly referred to this longing.[138]

To the general considerations of this *Dialogue*, there is a last aspect we desire to address: the historical characters to which the *Dialogue* refers. These personages and their references portray more specifically Valdés' relationship with his environment, in relationship to Escalona or to Alcalá de Henares. One character referred to by Valdés is

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[127] Mohrreale, *Juan … de la Letra al Espíritu,* 418-420, 427.

[128] DDC, OC, 133. Similar concept in Alcaraz: "On the doctrine of Holy Scriptures has my soul being raised, nothing against Christianity" (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol 6); he claimed to hold Also Cf. Proceso Alc. fol 5 "Nothing against our faith" (Ibid, 5), "… not against the common doctrine of theologians" (Ibid, 202v); Reginaldo also defended Alcaraz saying that, "any interpretation of Scripture that is not contrary to the Holy Catholic Faith is understood as from the Holy Spirit" (Ibid, 290).

[129] DDC, OC, 139.

[130] Ibid, 138.

[131] Ibid, 25.

[132] Ibid, 98, 136.

[133] Ibid, 136.

[134] Ibid.

[135] DDB, fol. 26v.

[136] DDC, OC, 25. These words are not translated from Erasmus; they are Valdés' words. Cf. Erasmus. *Inquisitio,* 64,65.

[137] Bataillon ed., DDB, 242-3.

[138] Valdés, *Cartas al Cardenal Gonzaga,* 3.

Don Diego López Pacheco, to whom the *Dialogue* is dedicated. This dedication could be a possible appeal for the nobleman's reputation, not so much for his protection of *Conversos*, as it could have been in the past. By the time of Valdés' publication, the Marquis was 73 years old, and he would die in November, 1529. On the other hand, two years before the *Dialogue's* publication, Francisco de Osuna's *Third Alphabet* was dedicated also to the Marquis. The five years that separated Valdés' publication from his time in Escalona underline the significance of this connection. The coincidences and differences between the more orthodox spirituality of Osuna and Valdés' thought suggest that Valdés' *Dialogue* actually constituted his self-assertion in the religious forum of which he was a witness back in 1523-1524.

Another historical character mentioned in the *Dialogue* is Erasmus. As we noted in the previous chapter, Erasmus constituted a stand – albeit a protected one – in light of the conflict caused by his writings in Spain, and particularly the *Enchiridion*. Valdés' use of Erasmus' *Inquisitio* certainly reflected the moderation of Spanish Erasmianism. As Erasmus criticized those who "please themselves in the color and shape of the garment," Valdés omitted Erasmus' further description: that they "boast so much of the blood or foreskin of Christ and the milk of the Virgin Mother."[139] Interestingly, however, he inserted in another portion of Erasmus' *Inquisitio*, "Would to God that all of us, who call ourselves Christians, would learn not to emphasize so much those bodily and external things but lay all the foundation of our Christianity on the spiritual and internal."[140] This insertion, unequivocally Erasmian, revealed Valdés' true affinity with Erasmus' stand.

Erasmus and Spanish Erasmianism certainly constituted an influence on Valdés. In his *Dialogue*, Erasmus appears as a predecessor of its comments on the creed. Erasmus is referred to as an "excellent doctor and true theologian," whose works are fully recommended.[141] Even though the later analysis of the *Dialogue* and the consideration of Erasmus' teaching will reflect clear differences with Valdés, the writings of Erasmus clearly paralleled some aspects of Valdés' thought: his internal and non-ceremonial religion, his emphasis on Scriptures becoming accessible to the people, and the accessibility of believers to deep piety regardless of religious offices or vows, for instance. Amidst the intimidation of *Conversos* and the *Alumbrado* conflict, the figure of Erasmus certainly brought a significant strength to these religious arguments that were contested by religious traditionalism. Nieto's affirmations stating that, "In reality Valdés' thought is not Erasmian at all,"[142] or that, "There is no affinity between Erasmus and Valdés"[143] are, therefore, exaggerated statements.

Another historical character appearing in the *Dialogue* is the theologian Pedro Sánchez Ciruelo (1470-1548). He was a Thomist theologian brought by Cisneros to

[139] Erasmus, *Inquisitio*, 65.
[140] DDC, OC, 25; Erasmus, *Inquisitio*,65.
[141] DDC, OC, 30-31.
[142] Nieto, *Two Catechisms*, 16.
[143] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 136.

Alcalá, who stood against Erasmianism in the Conference of Valladolid (1527). Ciruelo is particularly referenced in the *Dialogue* as having written on confession, discussing the multiplicity of sins, which was the institutional way to understand that sacrament.[144] Bataillon refers to Ciruelo as opposed to the non-ceremonialism of the *Dialogue*.[145] Even the most Catholic perspective on Valdés, Domingo de Sta. Teresa, understands Ciruelo's reference as a disagreement.[146] However, Christine Wagner refers to Valdés mentioning Ciruelo as a token of his support for him. [147] This is untenable. Not only did Ciruelo's Thomist theology differ from Valdés' internal religion, but even a superficial reading of Ciruelo's *Treatise on Confession* confirms their antagonistic thought. Ciruelo's support of frequent confession, his understanding of penance,[148] merit, works, and ceremonies,[149] his support of bulls,[150] the self-signing of the cross while reciting the creed as a remedy to temptation, or the ritualistic emphasis of sacraments[151] (to mention only a few elements) categorically contrasts with that which Valdés defended as true religion.. Valdés' phrasing in Spanish reveals by itself a clear reluctance:[152] the Archbishop resents "spending our time" discussing sins. To specify who and how anyone sins against the first commandment, Antronio could "bump into a thousand confessionals," and particularly *one confessionary*, "that of a master called Ciruelo."[153] Instead of dealing with sin by identifying its ramifications, Valdés defends that, "whoever does not live with the simplicity and purity that we have said transgresses."[154] The figure of Ciruelo, therefore, manifests Valdés' difference with this traditional concept, particularly in the very environment of Alcalá's University.

In *Dialogue on Language,*[155] written in Italy, Valdés referred to another character from Alcalá de Henares with whom he disagreed: Antonio de Nebrija. Valdés referred to Nebrija twenty-one times. In that dialogue, which takes place between Valdés and three friends, Nebrija is repeatedly brought to Valdés' attention as an irritating figure. The difference between Valdés and Nebrija concerns only linguistic arguments concerning the Spanish language; however, considering the figure and significance of Antonio de Nebrija in relationship with Cardinal Cisneros and the Polyglot, Valdés' difference undoubtedly carries with it some religious connotations. Nebrija's negative reference confirms Valdés' self-expressed distance from institutional figures while in that theological university.

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[144] Valdés was probably referring to Ciruelo's "*Art of Confessing Well and Hearing Well Confessions*," of which twelve editions at least are known, one in Alcalá.

[145] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, 420.

[146] Domingo de Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 64..

[147] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 37.

[148] Pedro de Ciruelo, *El arte de bien confesar,* (Valladolid: Nicolas Tyerri, 1525), fol3r.

[149] Ibid, fol. 4r.

[150] Ibid, fol. 3r.

[151] Ibid, fol. 7r.

[152] Sp. "No queráis por amor de mí que gastemos aquí nuestro tiempo en eso [particularmente quién son los que en este mandamiento pecan], pues toparéis por aí mil confesionarios que os lo digan, especialmente uno de un maestro Ciruelo." DDC, OC, 36-37.

[153] DDC, OC, 36-37.

[154] Ibid, 37.

[155] Juan de Valdés, *Dialogo de la Lengua*, OC, ed. Alcalá.

In particular reference to *Dialogue on Doctrine,* there are other historical characters mentioned: Hernando de Talavera and Fray Pedro de Alba - the latter is the Archbishop in the *Dialogue*, Valdés' mouthpiece. They are presented as examples of piety, but they have no particular significance beyond that. A comparison of Hernando's *Brief Doctrine* with Valdés' *Dialogue,* for instance, clearly reflects a divergent perspective on religion. In addition to these two characters, there are also some recommended readings – besides Erasmus' works.[156] I do not take those works as "an infinitely valuable document on the sources of Evangelical piety," as if they fully represented Valdés' thought.[157] But neither do I think of them disconnected from Valdés, as simply "a list of books available in Spanish" for "those who did not know Latin."[158] These recommended writings were certainly considered to be useful religious books, in full harmony with the eclectic personality of Valdés. He did not require a full agreement with his sources in order to estimate them as profitable.

Core Teachings of *Dialogue on Doctrine* in Light of Valdés' Religious Influences and Dependences

The general objective of *Dialogue on Doctrine* is to present Valdés' own alternative perspective on the individual's approach to God and his relationship with him. Valdés presents a clear orientation to the experience of Christian perfection,[159] also referred to as a love-union with God. Even though the shortcomings of institutional Christianity constitute the *Dialogue's* sounding board, the experience of religion is discussed in a positive light, clearly different from Erasmus' typical criticisms. The categories of creed, ten commandments, sins, virtues, gifts… , seem at times to be used rather than explained, being understood or applied in light of the author's emphasis and focus on internal religion. Its discussions occasionally include lists that seem to pursue a comprehensive and systematic presentation.[160] Unlike the typical catechism's focus on specific prayers and norms, the *Dialogue* outlines essential arguments whose tenets are to be applied to the whole of Christian religion.

In the comparison between Valdés and his sources, the affinity of emphases and concepts is outstanding; however, it is highly significant how Valdés himself expresses pointed disagreements with his sources. Even though it would be enlightening to present first these coincidences and then how they diverge, our intent is to present Valdés' thought. The themes presented, therefore, will follow the order of Valdés' theological foundations, his central pastoral focus, and subsequently practical religion, with some other particular issues at the end.

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[156] DDC, OC, 133.
[157] Bataillon ed, DDB, 277.
[158] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 126.
[159] This thesis does not use perfection as a technical word, only a synonym, used consistently for the sake of clarity.
[160] E.g. Three ways to sin against God (DDC, OC, 37); external, internal, and middle man … sensual, rational, and spiritul (Ibid, 40); four ways to sin in this commandment . . . being not necessary to specify (Ibid, 49).

God and Man

There is an essential focus throughout *Dialogue on Doctrine* which coincides with the rest of Valdés' works: How can sinful man draw near to God and live committedly in love with him? As to his theology, Valdés description of God conformed to Christian orthodoxy, to that end he used Erasmus' *Inquisitio*. The three persons of the Trinity are clearly presented as equal in attributes and deity.[161] The *Dialogue*'s central focus is not so much theological but rather experiential: "What is the profit" of God's greatness, attributes, creation, sustenance of the world, and restitution of man's sinful misery?[162] Accordingly, Wagner asserts that when Valdés refers to the Trinity, he portrays the three persons "in a relational perspective," rather than a dogmatic one: "That which is of interest to Valdés, is man's relationship to God."[163] In all of these theological and relational aspects there is nothing original in Valdés; he is translating Erasmus.

In light of a later discussion on Valdés' *One Hundred and Ten Considerations* and a possible question on the deity of Christ, we must recognize that Valdés translates one of Luther's paragraphs and omits, *At Ihesus est verus, unus, solus deus*.[164] However, as he translates Erasmus concerning faith in Christ, Valdés adds, "One only Lord, our God."[165] Furthermore, throughout the *Dialogue*, Valdés' argumentation, doctrine,[166] spirituality, and love for God remain within the dogmas of the Apostle's Creed. Valdés' pastoral premise is founded on knowing God: First "one has to know whom to believe (. . .) [and then] what one has to believe."[167] In regards to the Trinity, therefore, and particularly the deity of Christ, if Valdés kept any doubt or internal struggle from his *Converso* identity, that was not expressed while in Spain. And even later in Naples, if Valdés' *One Hundred and Ten Considerations* contain a doubt or struggle concerning the deity of the Son, it was neither central in his thought nor relevant for his intentional message. He expressed his pastoral message in compliance and harmony with orthodox Christianity.

Contrary to a speculative, theological discussion, the first explanation of "what is the profit" of considering God's greatness establishes one of the pillars of Valdés' thought: the particular disposition of humility from which man has to approach God. In Valdés' thought God stands completely apart from any other creature.[168] Very significantly, Valdés describes God's omnipotence in terms of him "who can do all that

[161] DDC, OC, 20-21; 26. E.g. "God being born as a human son" (Ibid, 21). These references are translated from Erasmus' *Inquisitio*. Wagner points out that the Trinity is not something that he would develop (*Le Dialogue*, 1995, 45). In Italy, however, things would not be that clear.

[162] DDC, OC, 19.

[163] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 48.

[164] DDB, fol 21r, Comp. WA, I, p. 400.

[165] DDC, OC, 20.

[166] "Doctrine" in reference to practice, as it was the use in sixteenth century.

[167] DDC, OC, 32. This is not translated from Erasmus' *Inquisitio*; this pastoral perspective is Valdés'. Domingo Sta. Teresa obviates this theological declaration and significance, stating that "The first preocupation of Valdés is to make the Christian conscious of the moral demands of his religión . . . in Baptism" (*Juan de Valdés*, 1935, 66).

[168] DDC, OC,19.

he wills."[169] This description is an insert of Valdés to Erasmus' *Inquisitio* that cannot be overlooked, particularly considering the role that predestination has in Valdés' freer and more expanded writings while in Italy. Regarding God's greatness, neither angels nor creatures can compare with him.[170] His sole majesty ratifies the trustworthiness of Scripture, but it also disqualifies human strength of any worth.[171] In reference to distrusting human strengths, Valdés stresses, "Which are indeed weak and malicious"[172] – again, adding to Erasmus' *Inquisitio.*

Regardless of man's sinfulness, God's uniqueness is portrayed in a positive light and with a loving disposition on God's part. There is "no sin, grave as it may be that he would not rejoice in forgiving," nor "anything in the world that he does not rejoice in giving."[173] As God, he is *the* object of human devotion. All people and things owe submission and worship to God. Angels, fathers, lords, riches, honors, pleasures, or man's life cannot receive the esteem which is to be given emphatically to God alone.[174] If Fathers or saints have any value it is only for the sake of, or based on, God's love.[175] This emphasis on God, in light of the absence or neglect towards other devotions, should be seen as Valdés' reluctance to the latria given to saints or even Mary.

Opposed to God's greatness, power, and benevolence, the human being appears void of justice and helpless. Humanity understands neither divine realities nor human circumstances.[176] Human reason can neither persuade man nor bring him to an understanding of God.[177] The individual – added by Valdés to Erasmus' translation – is "blind" and "blundering," "not knowing that which we ought to do, externally or internally."[178] The human heart, writes Valdés in a section of his own, "cannot stop loving (. . .) himself and things for [his own] interest,"[179] "he is blinded by his own self love," and on account of that "disordered heart," he will never be able to do any good thing before God.[180] Even though these are Valdés' own words, they significantly agree with Alcaraz in regards to the individual's need, helplessness, and the individual's self-interests. His words also echo Luther's thought as portrayed in *Exurge Domine*[181]. The person's will, echoing Alcaraz and Luther, is presented as always contrary to God's will, which is the only good one, as God is the only good one.[182]

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[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid., 20.
[171] Ibid., 19.
[172] Strengths Sp. "fuerzas" written in plural to match Valdés' quote.
[173] DDC, OC, 19-20.
[174] Ibid., 20.
[175] Ibid.
[176] E.g. How Christ can be immortal God and mortal man (DDC, OC, 20-21), nor can man understand the resurrection (ibid, 29).
[177] DDC, OC, 26.
[178] Ibid., 36.
[179] A characteristic issue from Alcaraz, evident in a letter from him (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 34r) as well as in the accusation (ibid., fols. 67v. 70v, 77, etc.).
[180] DDC, OC, 57. DDB, fol.38v., words apart from Erasmus or Luther.
[181] *Exurge Domine*, Art. 31. Cf. also Art. 32.
[182] DDB, fol. 78v.

This portrait of the individual before God categorically distinguishes Valdés' thought from Erasmus' anthropology.[183] Erasmus' *Enchiridion* expressed that original sin is washed away with baptism. And even though it recognizes that "something always remains," particularly "blindness, flesh, and weakness,"[184] Erasmus defended a Platonic perspective of humanity. The individual's spirit is after "the image of (. . .) [God's] divine nature;" in the human spirit God "printed with his finger (. . .) an eternal law through which we almost always incline ourselves to do that which is good and honest."[185] In the individual, "the spirit makes us divine beings, the flesh [makes us] beasts," and the soul is in the middle, "indifferent."[186] Valdés's *Dialogue*, on the other hand, adding to Erasmus' *Inquisitio*, underlines that humanity fell down to "misery" through Adam.[187] The individual's will is evil – stated in a verbatim translation from Luther's *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*.[188] The remark that the human will is evil "even when it appears very good"[189] also recalls one of *Exurge Domine's* descriptions of Luther's teachings: "In every good work the just man sins."[190] In this respect, what Bataillon admitted to be different from Erasmus,[191] came to be undoubtedly Lutheran. This difference from Erasmus will further diverge as Valdés' soteriology and practical religion are considered.

The individual's inclination to self-love and helplessness, fundamental in Valdés' thought, are underlined in the *Dialogue* in reference to "the law," the ten commandments, and the gifts of the Spirit. The author's reference to the law is explicitly separated from the practical ramifications of its transgression. Nieto clarifies that "his concepts of sin and human nature do not allow him to deal with sins in a casuistic and probabilistic way (. . . .) Sin itself is rooted in our human nature."[192] For Valdés, conversely, the law is a preparatory discussion which aims at Christian perfection; Valdés stresses the individual's natural lack of perfection but at the same time insists on the possibility of experiencing it.[193] Valdés translates Luther when he says that, according to Paul, the negative expression of the law is intended to reveal the

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[183] We do not share Nieto's words that Valdés *critiques* and *corrects* Erasmus (Nieto, 1970, 130); we do not think Valdés is debating with Erasmus. Valdés is merely using Erasmus as long as he wants, expressing his own thought. Valdés' evident affinities and commendation to Erasmus disavows any direct confrontation with him.

[184] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 193-94.

[185] Ibid., 187.

[186] Ibid., 187, 8.

[187] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*,130. However, not only does this first mention of "misery" reflect Valdés' anthropology, but it constitutes a clear link with a central theme of Valdés so expressed also in his writings in Italy, confirming the *Dialogue*'s authorship (e.g., Valdés, *Consideraciones* n. 1,2).

[188] Gilly, *J. Valdés Translator* , 108, Cf. DDB, fol. 38v = WA, II, 128.

[189] DDC, OC, 110; DDB, fol. 78v. Commenting On the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done."

[190] *Exurge Domine*, Art. 31. Cf. alsoArt.32.

[191] Bataillon ed., DDB, 151-2.

[192] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 118.

[193] Bataillon states, "Valdés does not ever stop in the letter . . . . he rises above all formulated law in search of an intímate perfection," and "There is nothing, up to this point, that Valdés would not find already formulated and insisted upon in Erasmus' Enchiridion" (Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 1966, 408-409). But, yes, there is a difference: perfection as a possibility.

sins we have committed against God.[194] Again, Bataillon's remark concerning this "Pauline conception" of the law happens to be a Lutheran text. Valdés, however, will particularly dwell on the law's positive and lofty demands.

The *Dialogue*'s reader, according to Valdés, is to see his *awesome* need before God, not through the depth or number of his gross transgressions, but through his lack of genuine virtue. The law says: "You should be [of] such [moral condition] that you would not have other gods (. . .) and see yourself, very far from this virtue, perverse."[195] While foundational in Valdessian thought, this previous quote is translated from Luther. Valdés, however, in addition to presenting the individual as "alienated," specifies that he is alienated "from virtue." Also, as it is very characteristic of Valdés' anthropology, he translated Luther as he wrote: "O sinful man, know yourself, that neither through your own strength nor your exercises will you ever be able to reach a perfection that you would not pursue other gods, because (. . .) in your heart (. . .) you love creatures more than me."[196]

This chasm between God's greatness and the individual's nothingness finds its solution through faith, hope, charity, obedience … (also translating Luther), to which Valdés inserted the Spirit's provision[197] and unceasing prayer.[198] God's commands, in their true understanding, can only be obeyed by "him who is poor in spirit"[199] – Valdés translating Luther.[200] Bataillon, ignoring that Valdés was translating Luther, stated that this acute sense of sin, the common denominator of the ten commandments, is repeated through Valdés' reading of Paul's Epistle to the Romans and constitutes the same axis dividing the law and the gospel.[201] Nieto underlines this sinful self-recognition as the principle of true justification; however, he does not recognize this to be a translation of Luther.[202] This sinful condition, however, which Luther extends from past to future, is only translated by Valdés for the present, in accordance to his message and possible proposed goal of Christian perfection.

Whereas the description of God, therefore, is mostly translated from Erasmus' words, Valdés' high view of God's commands and the individual's sinful inability is portrayed with Luther's emphasis and expressions. In the *Dialogue*, furthermore, human sinfulness is added to Erasmus' translated words, modifying Erasmus' anthropology. However, Luther is also glossed by Valdés. Translating Luther, references to the human, continual condition as a sinner are not translated by Valdés, e.g., "There is no

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[194] DDC, OC, 32. Cf. DDB, fol. 19v. Concerning coming to know the evil deeds we have done through the law, Bataillon states, « *cette conception paulinienne du sens de la loi est, des 1529 le point de depar de la veritabvle vie religieuse selon Valdés. L'Alfabeto y reviendrá avec plus de force* » (Usoz ed, 22). Bataillon ignored Valdés was translating Luther (Bataillon, DDB, 233).

[195] DDC, OC, 33.

[196] DDC, OC, 34; DDB, fol. xxv = WA , I, p.399. Referred to by Gilly (*Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 106).

[197] To fulfill the first commandment, inserted Valdés, "it is necessary Spirit." DDC, OC, 54; DDB, 54, fol. 36r.

[198] To fulfill this commandment "it is necessary to watch before God night and day" (DDC, OC, 50).

[199] DDC, OC, 49-50.

[200] DDB, fol. 32v = WA, I, 499-500. Referred to by Gilly (*Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 107).

[201] Bataillon, Erasmo y España, ed. 1966, 409-10.

[202] DDC, OC, 33; DDB. fol. 19v = WA, I, 398. Referred to by Gilly (*Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 107).

man in the world that in some degree (. . .) does not take in vain (. . .) or kill."[203] Valdés references to virtue, perfection, prayer, and the Spirit's work, pointed rather to his period with Alcaraz and the times of the *Alumbrados*. This combination is a showpiece of Valdés' personal eclecticism and its particular colors.

Knowledge of God: Scripture and Spirit

According to Valdés, the knowledge of God flows through a compound channel: Scripture and the work of the Spirit. As it refers to Scripture, a casual reading of the *Dialogue* cannot but reveal its contrast with Cisneros' catechism;[204] Scripture is constantly used to confirm the *Dialogue*'s argumentation. Translating Erasmus, the *Dialogue* radically defends Scripture's trustworthiness: Man should believe in the miracles and teachings of Christ more than the fact "that I am a man," says the Archbishop.[205] Glossing Erasmus, beyond saying that without the Scriptures "none reaches life or eternal salvation," Valdés adds that its "grace and favor" is that which makes Scripture necessary.[206]

Considering Valdés' participation amidst the *Alumbrado* conflict and taking into account the role of Scripture that they held in common, the influences of Erasmus, Spanish Erasmianism, and Luther did not constitute innovations; however, these influences certainly strengthened Valdés' convictions. In reference to Scriptures, Erasmus' translated works had expressed, "Let us embrace them all with all of our heart, let our thirst be for enjoying them; day and night … let us employ all our lives in them; let us be transformed through them."[207] Erasmus had further written,

> There is no need for you to approach it (. . .) armed with awkward disciplines (. . .) it is a most plain delicacy (. . .) to enjoy it, it is enough to approach it with a pure and holy disposition, and adorned mainly with plain and full faith (. . . .) She [Scripture] herself gives spirit to whom she teaches (. . . .) The philosophers' disciplines (. . .) the happiness they promise is false and deceitful (. . .) but this philosophy of Jesus Christ is equally given to all; for the little ones (. . .) doing everything possible with us till we reach the state of perfection within the mystic body of Jesus Christ."[208]

In view of Valdés' influences, it is very significant also to consider additions of the *Enchiridion's* translator. These additions reveal an affinity between Valdés and that Spanish Erasmianism which promoted Erasmus' writings. Amidst Erasmus' words, the words that follow in italics are actual additions by the *Enchiridion's* translator,

> My people were taken captive, because it did not have science *or the true knowledge of the law of God*, and the noblemen died of hunger, *because*

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[203] WA I, p.399. Also, Luther's "this idolatry reigns in all men, from which they can heal through faith in Jesus Christ…" becomes in Valdés "Knowing God the great reproach that we bring to him …" (WA I, 130 = DDB, 20)

[204] Juan de Porras, ed., *Constituciones del Arzobispado de Toledo.*

[205] DDC, OC, 22.

[206] Ibid., 26.

[207] Erasmus, *Paraclesis,* 468.

[208] Ibid., 454.

> *they lacked the delicacy of the word of God*, and all the people died of thirst, *for the absence of evangelical doctrine, that they needed to purely and clearly be given to them.*[209]

There is, therefore, a clear confluence concerning the appreciation of Scripture among those who diversely desired Christian reform. The expressions of Valdés reveal coincidences with both Luther and Erasmus. A clear difference with Erasmus, however, is Erasmus' allegorical principle of biblical interpretation as the ideal and "spiritual."[210]

A very significant aspect of Valdés's personal emphasis concerns Scripture's authority. As Wagner asserts, "Biblical references to the New Testament serve as unquestionable proof of the truthfulness of the doctrines exposed by the author."[211] Regardless of good intentions, for instance, the *Dialogue* defended that customs or practices were to be "discerned" using Scripture.[212] This particular aspect certainly recalls Alcaraz's statement in reference to the doctrine of the saints: "With holy Scripture I have to verify and do."[213] Valdés, furthermore, defends that only the Old and New Testaments can be called Sacred Scripture.[214]

> God's law is contained in Sacred Scripture, because this is the only one [law] which declares to us the will of God, and only this one, in which not a letter is lacking, is written by the Holy Spirit, and only from this one, over all the many scriptures existing in the world, are we compelled to believe all things (. . .) omitting none.[215]

That which is in Scripture "comes not from men but from the very Holy Spirit, and the good news are neither from the "Indias,"[216] nor from Siria, but they come from yonder, from the high heaven."[217] Even though Erasmus' *Paraclesis* and *Enchiridion*, besides *Inquisitio*, reflect his honor and recognition for the sacred text, Valdés' reference to Scripture goes further, paralleling "the Protestant Theology of sixteenth century," as Wagner recognizes.[218] Christine Wagner, who initially presents Valdés as favoring the institutional church, afterwards, in reference to the use of Scripture, locates Valdés "at the avant-garde of the Protestant Reformation movement in Spain.[219] It is, furthermore, highly significant in this regard, that Valdés' strongest assertions take place as he writes from his own thoughts, not as he is translating or glossing.

Considering Scripture, the author leaves no doubt as to its propositional and didactic aspects. Clergy ought first to "know it for themselves," something which only

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[209] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 290.
[210] Ibid, 244-45. Significantly, Haggard, defending an Erasmian Valdés, speaks of Erasmus "allegorical approach" but ignores the clear difference it supposes from Valdés (*Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés*, 1971, 77-78).
[211] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 35.
[212] DDC, OC, 39.
[213] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 125.
[214] DDC, OC, 101.
[215] Ibid, 120.
[216] Indias refers to the recently discovered America.
[217] DDC, OC, 120-121.
[218] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 31-32.
[219] Ibid, 36.

comes "through work and study."[220] Whereas Antronio is presented as unable to read or launch into the study of Latin, the Archbishop declares that no ordination should be given to someone who does not understand what he reads. Furthermore, it is the clergy's "chief task" to teach Scripture and doctrine, being the specific service for which the faithful give their tithes to the church.[221] These commentaries, fully Valdessian, maintain a clear affinity with Erasmus' exhortation to and reputed benefits of the "fervent study of the sacred letters."[222] Certainly, similar emphasis on the Scriptures is in Luther's works; however, Valdés was more exposed to Erasmian influence than to Lutheran in this particular area. And regarding the legacy of Porete's *Mirror* through Alcaraz, Valdés at least maintains Alcaraz's departure from the non-propositional, mystic notions of Porete.

The *Dialogue's* emphasis concerning Scripture is to a certain extent parallel with Erasmus; its understanding and teaching should extend beyond its intellectual exercise. Throughout the *Dialogue*, Scripture is handled appealing to the immediate work of the Spirit. From the outset, the Archbishop himself modestly acknowledges not having so much "sufficiency or experience." The Archbishop continues almost following the *Enchiridion's* words, but adding a particular phrase which appears to add an authority which was more akin to Alcaraz and some of the so-called *Alumbrados*: "experience." The Archbishop, furthermore, expresses his confidence "in God's great goodness and magnificence (. . .) [who] will give understanding and knowledge to his heart, and likewise will open my mouth as he did with the prophets of old."[223] The *Dialogue*'s Archbishop continues relying on Jesus Christ. He, according to his promise, will be in their midst "and will illumine our hearts with his spirit, so that the things which we speak here will be to the glory of his most holy name."[224] Likewise toward the end of the dialogue, Antronio expresses, "I cannot but believe that God has miraculously taught you, since there are many theologians and great scholars who would not know how to speak like you [have done] (. . .) so purely or so adequately to its purpose."[225]

In regard to Scripture and that which is spiritual, there is a significant difference between Erasmus and Valdés. While Erasmus certainly refers to the Holy Spirit, when he refers to Scripture, "spiritual" is very much linked with "allegorical." This is not so in Valdés. Erasmus defends the allegorical understanding of Scripture as spiritual, through different illustrations, e.g., Moses praying with lifted or tired and lowered arms, Saul versus David as wisdom from the mouth versus from the heart, etc.[226] Likewise, the translator of *Enchiridion* inserted some commentaries in favor of this equivalence

[220] DDC, OC, 135.
[221] DDC, OC, 89. Bataillon links these critiques with those of M.Cazalla against those who preached poorly (Bataillon ed., DDB, 104).
[222] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 130.
[223] DDC, OC, 11.
[224] Ibid.
[225] DDC, OC, 129.
[226] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 113, 128, 130, 135, 144, 156.

between allegory and "spiritual."[227] Erasmus' understanding of allegory is a classical one:

> In the lesson of all Scripture this norm has to be kept. That it is made up of two parts, that is, the simple external, literal sense and the mystery enclosed within; these are like body and soul. [I say that] Without stressing the literal (. . .) you will have the main focus on the mystery which lays within (. . .) the writings of the poets (. . .) Plato (. . .) are very much filled with mystery. The Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are in this regard similar to those figures called Sileni of Alcibiades (. . .) which under a vile cover, and intentionally disguised, concealed something else, almost divine.[228]

Linked with this allegorical spirituality, Erasmus criticizes some friars and nuns, whose devotions are "cold and thin (. . .) aging in the crust of evangelical doctrine and in the external letter of Scripture, without making any effort or reaching its spiritual intelligence."[229]

Interestingly and building upon this allegorical principle, Erasmus' words unintentionally contradict some tenets that were evident amidst the *Alumbrado* conflict and also expressed in Valdés' later writings. Erasmus says,

> Searching those mysteries (. . .) it is not appropriate that you will only follow the suppositions of your heart, being content with them, nor that you will guide yourself by your own thought, saying that the spirit gives you to feel it that way. For this task [searching those mysteries], it is necessary to profit from what great men have reached and declared with Spirit of God and with their work (. . .) like Dionysius (. . .) Saint Augustine (. . . .) Origen (. . .) the most eminent of all.[230]

This reluctance to personal convictions was also expressed by Luther in the very writing that Valdés translated (*On the Ten Commandments*). Luther wrote, "Every one may err in his devotions (. . .) therefore, do not think that the gloss on his precept is yours (. . .) anything given and allowed to yourself, take it as suspicious."[231] Valdés, conversely, in his later writings will clearly emphasize this subjective conviction upon God's personal revelation.

For Valdés, the term that is associated with the spiritual understanding of Scripture is "experience." Even though the emphasis on experience will have to wait till Valdés' writings in Italy, the *Dialogue* refers to it at the outset of the book and with the full connotation that it would be expressed in Valdés' later works. Nieto refers to this experience as an expression "remarkably free from church and dogma," constituting "the doctrinal substance of the *Dialogue,* introduced in its proper *locus* through the form

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[227] (Translator's words in italics). Por ventura sacarías algo más de fruto en leer algún poeta con su alegoría, *teniendo atención a lo que por aquellas palabras quiso figurar y notando lo que quiere aconsejar*, que si te pusieses secamente a leer algunas historias de la Santa Escritura *así solas y desnudas*, parándote en la corteza de la letra, *sin contemplar el misterio espiritual que está escondido en ella* (Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, ed. D.Alonso, 239-240).

[228] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 238-39.

[229] Ibid, 139-140.

[230] Ibid., 242-243.

[231] Luther, WA, I, 444.

of catechetical topics."[232] Nieto actually describes Valdés' thought around the axes of knowledge and experience.[233] Notwithstanding, examining Osuna's *Third Alphabet* and Ortiz's trial, and considering that both Osuna and Ortiz had been taught in Alcalá de Henares, "experience" appears to be a term borrowed by Valdés. As was mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis, "experience" was one of the traits of Nominalism, taught in Alcalá's University. Ortiz expressed it, tracing it to Gerson, almost verbatim to Valdés' known motto. Experience also became Osuna's term to speak of the mystic knowledge proposed in his *Third Alphabet*, a book which was written in the area and aftermath of the *Alumbrado* conflict. Valdés evidently borrowed this term, attaching a scriptural, propositional foundation and content, and providing a new definition which combined the element of reason with a spiritual transcendence. This, again, speaks of Valdés' eclecticism, contrary to Nieto's perspective of Valdés as exclusively Alcaracian. It reveals how Valdés was permeable to alternative religious currents and thoughts, as long as they strengthened or were useful to express his own teaching.

In both Erasmus and Valdés, "tasting" and "feeling" were adjectives used in reference to the spiritual comprehension of Scripture. Particularly, the translator of *Enchiridion* emphasized this aspect: "Where the Spirit *of the Lord* is *to make spiritually feel and embrace his law*, there is *true* freedom *in order to obey it for his love's sake, with liberty*."[234] Valdés expressed this emphasis as well; for instance, he wrote that souls may "know in themselves some way these rich jewels [the Gifts of the Spirit (. . .) given by the hand of their spouse Jesus Christ," and they may feel great "sweetness and (. . .) marvelous joy."[235] There is a significant difference, however, between Erasmus and Valdés. Erasmus focuses on the Scripture lesson, on *Philosophia Christi* bringing in itself "a divine blaze, a new joy, a marvelous change, an incredible consolation, a totally different fondness, a desire for reform never thought before."[236] Valdés, conversely, pointed to the hand of Jesus Christ. Those exalted adjectives were also used by Erasmus to express the recompense that living virtuously brings to the Christian.[237] Valdés, however, will use the same elevated vocabulary as he translated Luther, but, instead of a virtuous life, that which brought blessing was putting all trust in the person of Jesus Christ.[238]

For Valdés, more than study or exercise, knowledge of Scripture requires a God-given dimension. It is true that in view of Osuna or Alcaraz, for instance, Valdés *Dialogue* "shows few signs of mysticism;"[239] however, there is clearly a supernatural dimension above the mere intellectual understanding and teaching of Scripture. In addition to experience and feeling, the Spirit's intervention is manifested as "truth" is

[232] Nieto, *Two Catechisms*, 18.
[233] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 195-196.
[234] In italics, that which the translator added to Erasmus' text. Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 275.
[235] DDC, OC, 85. This vocabulary clearly echoes the adjectives of *Enchiridion* (Erasmus, ed. D. Alonso, 137).
[236] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 137.
[237] Ibid., 155.
[238] DDC, OC, 34.
[239] Hamilton 1992, 41

taught "with much fervor and no fear," without self interest and only to magnify the doctrine – doctrine in the connotation of praxis – of Jesus Christ.[240] The Spirit also provides understanding for his teaching to be heard with attention and love, in order to know how to apply it according to one's need and profit.[241] While properly feeling and tasting God's knowledge is a reprehensible deficiency in preachers,[242] Valdés writes, "Believe me, it is a gift from God."[243]

As it refers to the "democratization" of God's knowledge, both Erasmus and Valdés challenge contemporary religious schemes. In Valdés, however, there is a distinct, predominant sovereign element; Spiritual wisdom, "flavorsome to know, taste, and feel God," is "often given by God to an old lady and to an idiot, whereas it is denied to a high scholar, in such a way that if you talk about it he would think of it as gibberish."[244] Certainly Erasmus refers to the agency of God, Jesus Christ, or the Spirit, but at times his focus on a virtuous life or on Scriptures may portray a depersonalized source of blessing. In Valdés that is never the case.

Two more issues are illustrative of the relationship among Valdés, Erasmus' writings, and Spanish Erasmianism: the definition of a "true theologian" and the relationship between philosophy and faith. In the *Dialogue*, the expression "true theologian" is found amidst different encomia dedicated to Erasmus. "True theologian" is not defined in the *Dialogue*; it is pointedly defined in the *Paraclesis*. It refers to him, whose first task is to search the Scriptures instead of Aquinas and Scotus,[245] whose message deals with "how to despise riches, and this (. . .) with full affection, with honesty, with a good way of life … teaching that the Christian ought not to have confidence in the things of this world (. . .) [but] all his hope only in God," and such like.[246] Furthermore, a true theologian is "inflamed with Jesus Christ's Spirit, continually teaching, exhorting, inviting, encouraging (. . .) men so that while they live in this world (. . .) they will begin to live an angelic life."[247] That description, regardless of the anthropological and soteriological differences between Erasmus and Valdés, fits Valdés' ideal perfectly.

Lastly, consistent with this spiritual emphasis of God's knowledge, the *Dialogue* expresses caution regarding Christian Humanism, as Humanism upheld classical philosophy. In the *Dialogue*, whereas Antronio presents himself as an "enemy of philosophies and profane letters," an attitude that could resemble both Franciscan spirituality and Alcaraz, the *Dialogue's* Archbishop moderates his attitude. Valdés concedes the possibility that the study of letters could cause arrogance, if they are not

[240] DDC, OC, 81.
[241] Ibid., 82.
[242] Ibid., 51. Bataillon links this to Erasmus' *Pietas Puerilis* (Bataillon ed., DDB, 1925, 261-2); however, it is a condition of the times evident in María de Cazalla's trial. This should not be a distinctive characteristic to establish a dependence from Erasmus' *Pietas Puerilis*.
[243] DDC, OC, 30.
[244] Gibberish, Sp. Algarabía. Ibid., 84.
[245] Erasmus, *Paraclesis*, 467.
[246] Ibid., 457.
[247] Ibid., 457-458.

viewed in light of God. If, however, they are considered from a Christian perspective, "they contain in themselves great good."[248] The Classics, according to the *Dialogue*, ought therefore to be linked to a scriptural verse or teaching.[249] The human mind ought to submit in obedience to faith.[250] This moderate position about philosophy is not a reflection of the *Enchiridion*, whose examples of Philosophy[251] and natural thought[252] clearly differed from Valdés' teaching, particularly that which was expressed while in Italy. Valdés' moderation corresponds, rather, to the more moderate Spanish Erasmianism of which the *Enchiridion's* translation was a good example. The Archdeacon of Alcor, translator of Erasmus, inserted in the *Enchiridion*, "Saint Augustine regretted having esteemed Plato more than he should have (. . .) [Plato] contains many other false and very dangerous statements, and because of that, he should not be read except by very well grounded people."[253] This moderate view of Philosophy will be an element to analyze in Valdés' Neapolitan writings.

Adding to the scriptural ingredient of Valdés' concept of the knowledge of God, it is pertinent to outline some observations regarding the role of the sacred text in Valdés' thought and teaching. First of all, Valdés contributed to Christian thought with two elements in regard to the sacred text. One is the translation and publication of Biblical texts in the vernacular. Recognizing *Epistles and Gospels,*[254] and *Psalms* and *Gospels* from the pastoral work of Talavera in Granada,[255] the *Dialogue* provides one of the first instances of published Bible translations in Spanish. The importance that Valdés gave to the sacred text in the vernacular is also evident through his references to translations and his Hebrew linguistic explanations in his Bible Commentaries. Differing from Bataillon, who speaks of this Bible translation as "one of the most precious contributions of the Erasmian movement,"[256] Valdés' commitment to the sacred text could well be traced to the scriptural emphasis of Alcaraz and *Conversos* around the *Alumbrado* conflict, who gathered in homes and read Paul's epistles in the vernacular.[257] It could even be traceable to Alonso de Cartagena, who translated Psalm 43:1-6 in the vernacular before commenting on it.[258]

Other traces link Valdés' biblicism back to the *Converso* and *Alumbrado* environment. On one hand, even though Valdés translated from Erasmus' Latin New

[248] DDC, OC, 75.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid., 26.
[251] E.g. "As Virgil relates … of Eneas traveling tthrough inferno … (Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 207); … Platón (Ibid, 292-3); Foción, Fabricio, Camilo Bruto, Pitágoras, Sócrates, Catón … (Ibid, 302). Hesiod's parable that as long as you advance in virtue it will be easier (Ibid, 172).
[252] E.g. It is reasonable to follow the way of virtue (Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 209); Just for the ugliness of vice, for the bad consequences of sin, men should flee from them (Ibid, 356).
[253] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 246.
[254] Ambrosio Montesinos, *Epístolas y Evangelios,* Enberes (Antwerp): Juan Estelsio, 1519.
[255] Bataillon ed., DDB, 190-191.
[256] Ibid., 188.
[257] E.g. AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, 124v; Ortega-Costa, *María Cazalla*, 44.
[258] Cartagena, *Iudicame Deus*, 1.

Testament,[259] and even though as an Erasmian influence Valdés unfolded one original word into several words in the vernacular, there is a significant difference between Erasmus and Valdés. As Morreale has said, "While Erasmus paraphrases or quotes (. . .) Valdés "inserts biblical and evangelical reminiscences."[260] In reference to Erasmus, Wagner also notes how there is hardly any bible reference as Valdés translated *Inquisitio*; contrarily, as he wrote on the ten commandments, Scripture is most frequently referred to.[261] Furthermore, it is interesting that, as Valdés considers translations, he is quite particular, expressing his likes or dislikes with translations.[262] This attitude is expression of his characteristic restlessness. Even though Valdés could have received some influence from Erasmus, his biblicism did not depend only on the Rotterdamer's influence.

Regarding the sacred text, a second contribution of Valdés to Christian thought is the use of biblical narrative for catechetical instruction. As Nieto has stated, "it is a highly significant contribution, mark of his spirituality."[263] Far from being an exception, the recurrence of a sacred history summary in *Catechism for Children* while in Naples confirms Valdés' intentional use of Scripture. Nieto states,

> The importance of Valdés' contribution to catechetical instruction must be seen against the background of this neglected biblical history of salvation, for he was the first person to revive this theme since Augustine. The Middle Ages were not interested in biblical history but rather in the ontological, sacramental, and ecclesiastical relationship between the human soul and God.[264]

In addition to this historical innovation, it is significant that, as Wagner points out, a third of Valdés' summary is dedicated to the Old Testament, "often comparing the law of the Jews and the gospel."[265] Rather than Augustine, as Nieto well discards, this biblical summary can be traced to *Conversos*, found also in A. Cartagena and A. Oropesa. These two writers referred to the Jewish people in a positive light,[266] portraying a comprehensive sacred history, which in Valdés is illustrative of virtue, sin, and God's dealings with his people.

In conclusion, Valdés' concept of God's knowledge and Scripture reveal both affinities and differences between him and Erasmus. Divine knowledge is a *philosophia* for Erasmus; for Valdés it is a God-given revelation. For Erasmus, Scripture should be read spiritually, which means allegorically. For Valdés Scripture is catechetical, far more present in his concepts and arguments, reflecting God's precepts which should be obeyed. Instead of allegory, Valdés' spiritual understanding is that of "experience," understood in a balance between Bible arguments and a personal revelation from

[259] Bataillon ed., DDB, 191-2; Morreale, *La antítesis Paulina … en … J.V.*
[260] Morreale, *J. Valdés de la Letra al Espíritu*, 427.
[261] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 111.
[262] DDC, OC, 133.
[263] Nieto, *Two Catechisms*, 17.
[264] Ibid., 26-27.
[265] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 34.
[266] As discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

Christ's Spirit. Regardless of these differences, their patent affinities explain Valdés' participation in the circle of Erasmians from the Court and from Alcalá de Henares. Erasmus was not his "spiritual father," nor his "religious twin," but neither his "mask," as Nieto or Gilly defend. On the other hand, regarding Luther's influence, even though Valdés did not translate his *sola Scriptura* conviction from Luther, his expressions depict an affinity with Luther's use of Scripture. In any case Valdés' concept and use of Scripture must also account for his *Converso* ancestry and environment amidst the *Alumbrado* conflict.

Jesus Christ and Salvation

Thus far, the consideration of the *Dialogue's* core teachings has yielded both important coincidences and divergences among Erasmus, Valdés, and Luther. While the emphasis on Scripture and its spiritual intensity would be shared by all three individuals, in other aspects, Valdés' position reveals a particular tendency towards one of them. That is the case when it comes to anthropology; Valdés clearly adopted Luther's vocabulary and formulations, departing from Erasmus. In like manner, while the person of Christ and the grace from Christ's victory might be a significant affinity among Erasmus, Luther, and Valdés, Valdés' soteriological scheme departs categorically from Erasmus, adopting Luther's arguments.

Considering the *Dialogue*, comparable to the marked exclusiveness of God as worthy of honor and the ultimate goal of salvation,[267] Jesus Christ alone is singularly the author of salvation and provider of virtue. As Wagner states, "Valdés' doctrine is strongly centered on Jesus Christ."[268] This centrality is not only expressed in Christ being the mediator through which the Father gives all created things;[269] it is much more evident in matters pertaining to salvation. In Valdés' Bible summary, God gave hope to man through Christ since Genesis 3:15.[270] In the Old Testament, people received salvation through faith in him who was to come and redeem them; and correspondingly, New Testament people trusted in him who did come.[271] Jesus Christ is central in the gospel and also in God's revelation, so that the Gift of wisdom is granted for Christians "to magnify and expand the doctrine of Jesus Christ."[272] In the context of the Lord's Prayer, Jesus is both the model and teacher of the believer, leading him to pray the words of the Lord's Prayer.[273]

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[267] God as man's ultimate goal is presented by Valdés both quoting Luther and speaking of his own: "Only this trust will take away and set you apart from all covetousness and confidence that you might have on external things, and will bring you to me, who am your Creator" (DDC, OC, 34); "… the glory, which is to enjoy for ever his (God's) delightful presence in eternal life" (ibid, 127).

[268] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 50.

[269] DDC, OC, 21. Valdés is translating Erasmus' *Inquisitio* (Erasmus, *Inquisitio*, 59f).

[270] DDC, OC, 122.

[271] Ibid., 124.

[272] Ibid., 81.

[273] DDB, fol. 75.v . Valdés is translating Luther here (WA, II, p. 81). Referred to by Gilly (*Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 108).

The centrality and mediatorship of Christ is an element clearly foreign to Alcaraz's declarations. Considering the background and literature of Valdés, there is one writing translated into Spanish whose influence could account for Valdés' radical emphasis on Christ: Erasmus' "*Treatise on the Child Jesus: and praise of childhood*" (Seville, 1516).[274] The treatise is basically dedicated to the praise and centrality of Christ as grace provider, model, and the one who in every believer has to be born and grow to maturity. Even though Erasmus' Platonic anthropology and synergistic soteriology are clearly presented in this *Treatise* and are contrary to Valdés,[275] the central place given to Jesus Christ, the trust that is to be had in him, and the grace that flows from him points to this *Treatise* as an influence that could possibility account for such an emphasis in Valdés.

Christ's centrality is expressed in Erasmus' treatise through a number of expressions. Of particular interest are, for instance, that Christ is a channel "of influence and outpouring the heavenly grace in all your hearts,"[276] or also, in reference to Christ, "There is no other way to come to you but yourself."[277] The treatise exhorts, "that we love no other thing, nor marvel at anything, but Christ and through Christ."[278] Erasmus declared that, "In only one, in Jesus Christ, all the paths and true goods are found."[279] Regarding trust, similar to Valdés' emphasis, Erasmus writes in his *Treatise*, "Our mortal and human frailty is more powerful, as much as it distrusts in its own strength;"[280] or similarly, "When it is a matter of grace [given from God] and not nature, then the miracle of the Holy Spirit is revealed with more efficacy; [that is] when there is less succor and confidence in the flesh."[281] Erasmus pictures Jesus Christ saying, "Why do you persevere distrusting my promises; there is nothing more loyal or faithful than me."[282]

These expressions of trust in Christ, grace given through him, were also repeated in the *Enchiridion.* Erasmus, for instance, wrote, "God (. . .) sent his own son (. . .) to redeem and rescue (. . .) to shelter and adopt as sons (. . .) so that through him grace would be shed and love for God would be communicated in such a measure, that you might dare to call him with an open mouth Father."[283] Erasmus referred to the spirit that God has sent "to awaken you through love [for you] to please him," and "through the virtue of the same spirit and with the wings of the love that he gives us, we might come

[274] Desiderio Erasmo. *Tratado del Niño Jesús*.

[275] By Platonic anthropology I refer to Erasmus' dualism of the body being carnal but the soul being inherently good (e.g., *Tratado,* 75). By synergistic soteriology I particularly refer to Erasmus' view of salvation as a fruit of man's choice and virtuous living (e.g., *Tratado,* 86, 89).

[276] Erasmus, *Treatise,* 64. Cf. also ibid, 65, 70. Note: Hearts = Sp. "Ánimos"

[277] Erasmus, *Treatise,* 70.

[278] Ibid., 79.

[279] Ibid., 85.

[280] Ibid., 64-65.

[281] Ibid., p.76. Cf. Valdés wrote, "Through the favor of Jesus Christ *we can fulfill* [God's Commandments] . . . . [and] by absolutely distrusting our strength we learn to trust divine favor and grace fully" (DDC, OC, 127).

[282] Erasmus, *Treatiese,* 88.

[283] Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 273.

to call him Father time and time again."[284] This reliance upon God's grace was also present in the glosses added by the translator of *Enchiridion*; upon the question of, "Who will be able to separate us from the charity and love of Jesus Christ," the translator adds "seeing before us so strong enemies, we will know the little value of our strength (. . .) and thus we will more truthfully have all our confidence in the things we receive from him."[285] All of these expressions, therefore, accompanied the Erasmian circle in which Valdés participated. As a token of that Spanish Erasmianism, the translator of the *Paraclesis* inserts a personal epilogue:

> Would it please his immense goodness open the eyes of our souls in such a way (. . .) that in all things we might see him, and seeing him, we might believe him, and believing him, we might love him so dearly that we would want or desire nothing but him alone, since he alone is the life of the soul.[286]

This spiritual tenor could undoubtedly gratify and inspire someone like Valdés, who had come from the fervent circles of Alcaraz and the *Alumbrado* conflict. These expressions are clearly parallel to those in Valdés' writings, and not only as Valdés translated Erasmus but also in glosses that Valdés himself inserted.[287] Considering that this centrality on Christ and his grace was absent in Alcaraz's thought, it must be recognized that Valdés was truly influenced by the writings and environment of Erasmus and his followers in Spain.

These strong affinities with Erasmus, however, are disrupted when the soteriological scheme is considered. Valdés chose an unequivocal Lutheran perspective in that regard. While Valdés merely translated from Erasmus that it is through Christ's sacrifice that we are reconciled with God,[288] as he translated Luther – a dependence that Nieto does not accept, and Wagner does not mention[289] – Valdés wrote, "Had he not died for us, neither we nor any other creature would be able to give us true happiness."[290] Nieto comments on this reference, "Valdés cannot explain the first commandment without referring to Christ as the very heart of it."[291] It must be recognized that the 47th article of the Edict against the *Alumbrados* of Toledo portrays a singular emphasis on Christ's death, "Even if Adam had not sinned, he would not enter in heaven if the Son of God had not died."[292] However, there is no trace in Isabel de la

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[284] Ibid., 274.
[285] Ibid., 147.
[286] Erasmus, *Paraclesis,* 469.
[287] E.g. Valdés glossing *Inquisitio* writes (in italics what he added)"Having him destroyed the kingdom of Satan, *from hence we might more powerfully fight against the very Devil"* (DDC, OC, 24); the *Enchiridion'*s translator added to Erasmus' text, "That is to say, putting him (Christ) who is our head, strength and grace in us, who are his members, so that we might overcome Satan again . . . *"* (Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 124). Cf. also Ibid.,151.
[288] DDC, OC, 22.
[289] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 47.
[290] DDC, OC, 34. Note : This "happiness" is a Valdessian term, synonim of being a true Christian, of being in God's Kingdom, confirming his authorship of the Dialogue (E.g. Cons. 2, OC, p. 496. 3, p. 499; Cons 13, p. 519; Cons 24, p. 541; Cons 81 p. 668, etc.; Q&A, n.4, OC, p.848, *Trataditos*, OC, p. 883).
[291] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 132.
[292] Edict of the *Alumbrados,* Art. 37 (Márquez, *Los Alumbrados,* 1972, 236).

Cruz or in Pedro R. Alcaraz that could link that article or emphasis with them, rather the opposite.

In his presentation of redemption through Christ, Valdés referred to two important doctrines: justification and satisfaction. Concerning justification, it is true that the term was used in Alcalá de Henares.[293] Alongside with merit, grace, natural man, love for God, and God's assistance for man, justification was also a particular interest of Nominalists. Erasmus and the translator of *Enchiridion* also refer to it.[294] Erasmus, for instance says: "The law was as a tutor that corrected and taught us to come to the knowledge and obedience of Jesus Christ, so that having entire faith with him, we might be justified (. . . .) through that faith that we have with Jesus Christ, we are made children of God."[295] As the *Dialogue* refers to justification, however, the synergism that Erasmus maintained is totally absent in Valdés. For Erasmus, "those of us who follow" the strength given by the Spirit and the spiritual law (i.e.virtue) will be "justified."[296]

Regarding Valdés' use, justification is a synonym of salvation. The term is either inserted by Valdés in Erasmus' *Inquisitio* or translated from Luther.[297] Valdés' first inserted in Erasmus' *Inquisitio* that, "Through this highest sacrifice, we might be reconciled with him when we lay on his name all our trust and the hope of our justification."[298]Translating Erasmus, for instance, Valdés glossed the Latin *servaret*[299] into "being participants of his [Christ's] glory, which he wanted for us to obtain on virtue of his justice."[300] Bataillon recognized Valdés' emphasis on "justifying faith" as a mysterious resort of Christian ethics that "will return always [in his Neapolitan writings], with significant insistence," as the "root of [Valdés'] religious life."[301] In this regard, Nieto is at his weakest in endeavoring to bypass Luther and trace Valdés' justification from Alcaraz.[302]

Regarding the doctrine of satisfaction, Valdés gives a clear reference in his Bible Summary, which he writes of his own:

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[293] Francisco de Osuna, who had studied in Alcalá used it in *Third Alphabet*: "Do not say that we work for nothing, [say] only that our works do not suffice to justify us. You have to know that virtuous works do not justify man; they prepare him for God's justification, which man has to receive to be saved" (Osuna, *Third Alphabet,* 90).

[294] E.g. Erasmus writes of Christ "being made our redemption, *for those of us who are called to his evangelical law,* and our justification¸ *since through him we are justified*, so . . . he is our true wisdom" (words in italics are added by the translator; Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 151).

[295] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 272.

[296] Ibid., 264.

[297] DDC, OC, 22 (Inserted by Valdés); DDC, OC, 33,37 (translating Luther).

[298] DDC, OC, 22.

[299] "Quo venit humilis ut nos institueret ac *servaret ;*" in English, "Who came in a low condition to instruct and *save us"* (Erasmus, *Inquisitio,* 66-67).

[300] DDC, OC, 25. Comp. Erasmus, *Inquisitio,* 66.

[301] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 407.

[302] Considering Valdés' residence in the University of Alcalá and his evident access and traces of Luther, it is surprising that Nieto links Valdés' reference to Justification through Christ as a result of Alcaraz, being something totally unmentioned in Alcaraz (Nieto, *Two Catechisms,* 1981, 18). Nieto recognizes that Valdés "focuses on the person of Jesus Christ as Savior to a degree not found in Alcaraz;" this element "transforms Alcarazian religious thought into something peculiarly Valdésian" (Ibid, 15-16). His analysis becomes artificial and biased to protect his exclusive Alcaracism.

> God sent his son (. . .) as a man, so that to God he might satisfy the offense that the first Adam had done, and that for all he might likewise gain the grace that for Adam's cause we all had lost, and opening the doors of heaven, where till then [till the cross] no man had entered; from hence, all who through faith and love approach him will enjoy that blessedness.[303]

These references reflect Valdés' intentional defense of justification only through faith, through the satisfaction of Christ's death and without human merits. That theological scheme was not only translated from Luther but assimilated by Valdés. Wagner's declaration that in the *Dialogue* "the theology of the cross is not fully developed, the crucifixion is hardly mentioned,"[304] should be taken with caution. Of course, he matured and expanded his teaching more freely in his later writings, but Valdés' soteriology presents a clear enunciation from this *Dialogue*.

Even though Valdés could be inspired and even permeable to the figure of Christ and his grace, his soteriology clearly contrasted with Erasmus and Erasmians. According to Erasmus, after baptism man is cleansed from original sin and placed with freedom of choice in front of "two ways."[305] Man may serve Christ or the world's ugly and abominable vices.[306] According to Erasmus' Platonic view, the soul can naturally understand and desire the value of virtue or the worthiness of Christ,[307] but the body vies for the soul to serve evil pleasures:

> This soul (. . .) cannot but lean toward one of the two [ways] (. . . .) with the freedom that it has (. . .) if it leans to the side of the Spirit, it will become also spiritual [as that way is spiritual], but if it does not want but casts itself down to the pleasures of the flesh, its nobility [the soul's] will be lost, made bastard, and made flesh like the body itself.[308]

Salvation, in Erasmus' writings, is a recompense for austerity:[309] "We have to be crucified with Christ in reference to this world, if we want to enjoy life with him in the other."[310] Salvation, therefore, is a "reward" "conquered" through virtue.[311] It is the "prize" of "immortality" to which all Christians have access.[312] Salvation and immortality is a recompense for those "who respond to the purity and cleanliness of the head," who is Christ.[313] Salvation is the triumph of having fought and grown in virtue.[314] Life is a battle,[315] "not after the little smoke of honor, but after the salvation

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[303] DDC, OC, 127.
[304] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 47.
[305] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 201.
[306] Erasmus, *Treatise*, 68.
[307] Ibid., 69.
[308] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*,186.
[309] Ibid., 210-211.
[310] Ibid., 202.
[311] Ibid., 82, 83, 84-85, 117,118 Cf. also *Demand of Jesus Christ*, a small writing attached at the end of the publication of *Treatise on the Child Jesus*.
[312] Erasmus, *Paraclesis*, 456.
[313] Erasmus, *Treatise*, 86.
[314] Ibid., 87.
[315] "Ending our warfare we will jointly triumph with him in heaven fo ever (Erasmus, *Treatise*, 87).

of our souls; and in the same way that a great prize is appointed for him who courageously fights, thus a most grave penalty is set for him who does not do what he ought to."[316] Therefore, "It behooves all, excepting none, to walk on this way if they want to be saved."[317] And conversely, on the other side of virtue, there is the impending fear of death: "If at the time of departure you are not well with God, that one [soul] will never be resurrected except in hell to die for ever."[318] This whole soteriological scheme of freedom, recompense, dualism between sin or vice, Christ or Satan, is alien to Valdés' thought.

The significance and implications of this contrast between Valdés and Erasmus will extend to their pastoral and spiritual advice. Whereas in Valdés, as Bataillon noted, justification by faith is the "root of religious life,"[319] in Erasmus' thought, pastoral theology merges with soteriology. *Enchiridion's* twentieth rule expounds the recompenses for either virtues or vices in this life and in the next. The life Erasmus exhorted his readers to choose is regularly linked with man's eternal destiny:[320] "Consider the greatness of such a great prize as this, and on the contrary stop to consider the brief time of this war."[321] The foremost objective of Erasmus' exhortation, therefore, is virtue: "There is nothing fairer or worthier to be loved than virtue."[322] Bataillon defends that to take Erasmus as a moralist, "whose Christianity does not extend to more than a fervent attachment to evangelical morals," is a complete error. However, the historical occasion and contents of *Enchiridion* and the contents of Erasmus' other pastoral writings, aim at "virtue" and a "virtuous life."[323] Erasmus' occasional references to fervency or to the Spirit do not justify the previous categorical statement by Bataillon. His intended general label of "religions of the Spirit," grouping *Alumbrados* and Erasmians, does not withstand a closer examination. The same happens with Erasmus' resemblance with Valdés; their affinity is disrupted when it goes beyond a general religious intensity or common fondness for Scripture, Jesus Christ, the Spirit, etc. When it gets to the views of man, salvation, how to live for God, their convergence ceases.

According to Valdés' soteriology, man obtains or receives salvation upon a condition of the heart referred to as humility.[324] This concept of humility seems to clearly echo Alcaraz's "way of humility," which in Alcaraz's case was attached to his *Abandonment*.[325] Regarding humility, it must be recognized that "humility" is generally

[316] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 118-119.
[317] Ibid., 206.
[318] Ibid., 123. Cf. "In order that your body and soul might escape eternal death, will you not do even that which gentiles have done for virtue's sake?" (Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 173).
[319] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, I, 407.
[320] Erasmus, *Treatise*, 72.
[321] Ibid., 82-83.
[322] Ibid., 80-81.
[323] Intr. *Enchiridion*, 27.
[324] DDC, OC, 121.
[325] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols.185v-186r.

a prized virtue. Erasmus also wrote that "only the humble ones love him [Christ]."[326] However, Valdés wrote that through "humility and meekness" the Christian gains "the grace to please God in this world, and thus through grace … [he] may reach the glory, which is to enjoy for ever his delightful presence in the eternal life."[327] Valdés' humility included three essential ingredients: self-knowledge, positive faith, and special grace.

Conviction of one's sinful inclinations and inability to live up to God's justice is frequently referred to in the *Dialogue*. The import of this emphasis has been recognized since Bataillon; however, the context where this self-knowledge is essential is very significant. Bataillon parallels Valdés' emphasis of "knowing-oneself" with Erasmus's;[328] however, their theological context is different. Erasmus' self-knowledge is necessary for the individual. The human being, faced with a choice between good and evil, needs to know himself in order to work by reason and not by passion, or to consider what is honest. The context is man's pursuit of virtue.[329] As a confirmation of this self-knowledge, Erasmus refers to Socrates and Plato as examples.[330] Self-knowledge is a provision for a battle, "Not of a man against another, but against himself, in such a way that even from his own inner man new bands of enemies emerge (. . . .) if we are not very alert and discerning, we are in great peril to embrace and defend the enemy, thinking he is a friend."[331] The goal for Erasmus' self-knowledge is a moral one; self-knowledge serves "to obtain a soul that is ready for Jesus Christ to dwell"[332] and, through that virtuous life, be saved.[333]

Between Valdés' and Erasmus' exhortation to know oneself there are similarities and differences, as could be expected. As to similarities, for the Christian, self-knowledge is necessary to procure cleansing from sin. According to Valdés, the most dangerous sins are those which, not seeing, "we do not procure to get rid of."[334] On the other hand, Valdés' view of self-knowledge is contrary to Erasmus' anthropology and soteriology. Valdés discards any positive element in man's natural condition. It is particularly as Valdés translates Luther that he presents the purpose of the law as revealing man's evil inclination inherited from Adam, "so that we would humble ourselves before God and consider ourselves as sinners."[335] That consciousness, according to the *Dialogue* and also translating Luther, constitutes "the beginning of true justification."[336] In both Valdés and Erasmus, to know oneself is a necessity; but whereas for Erasmus self-knowledge is a need for the Christian's ongoing pursuit of virtue, for Valdés it speaks of a self-conscious conviction concerning one's natural

[326] Erasmus, *Treatise*, 68.
[327] DDC, OC, 127.
[328] Bataillon intr., *Enchiridión*, p. 27.
[329] Erasmus, *Enchirition*, 171.
[330] Ibid., 155, 171.
[331] Ibid., 157.
[332] Ibid., 111.
[333] Ibid., 206.
[334] DDC, OC, 64. Cf. Ibid., 50, 66.
[335] Ibid., 55.
[336] DDC, OC, 33.

deficiency as a requisite to approach a justification by grace. While the heart's disposition might be similar, the theology on which it stands is clearly different.

Together with the consciousness of one's sinfulness and inability, Valdés required a positive and effective faith in the provision of Jesus Christ. Commenting on the first and central commandment, translating Luther, the *Dialogue* exclaims:

> You will not worship another god when you hear me and, entrusting yourself to my words, you would believe them. And only this trust will take you away and set you apart from all covetousness and confidence that you have in external things and will bring you to me, who am your Creator.[337]

Furthermore and differing from Erasmus' primarily moral trust, Valdés' trust is soteriological, by "faith alone," thus recognized by Bataillon.[338] According to Bataillon, in the *Dialogue*, "The soul is invited to confess his own nothingness and to put all his trust in a supernatural intervention, which of this nothingness will make a fullness."[339] Unknowingly, Bataillon was almost quoting Porete's *Mirror*.[340] Domingo de Sta. Teresa and Wagner also recognize this "process" from man's conscious incapacity through the law and his distrust on himself, to the knowledge of the power of Jesus Christ's grace, and to the confidence in him through the gospel.[341] Bataillon, in reference to this "faith alone" stated that, "Valdés breathed the concept of faith in the University of Alcalá as Luther breathed it in Erfurt."[342] However, Bataillon was unaware that, as Gilly has discovered, Valdés was actually translating Luther's writings in these declarations.

In reference to faith, there is an interesting ingredient in the *Dialogue*, which is purely from Valdés. The *Dialogue* emphasizes the distinction between trust and faith**.** Interestingly, Valdés concedes the possibility of a thief having some faith, that is, a "certainty of the things we never saw;" however, that is a dead or imperfect faith, because it is unaccompanied by love. [343] That faith is of little value. Trust, on the other hand, takes place "upon hearing some words from God, believing they are his, that they are true, [and] putting all our trust in God that he will fulfill them; then we have living faith, which is the root of all works of charity."[344] Erasmus had emphasized genuine faith as "entire,"[345] "sincere,"[346] and "living."[347] Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to Valdés' "living faith" as "that which allows to consciously live dogma, and to know God with warmth and not in abstract concepts."[348] Faith, Domingo says, "is called

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[337] Ibid., 34.
[338] DDB, 135-36.
[339] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España,* ed. 1966, 410-11.
[340] "You will do nothing, and this nothing will give you everything." Cf. Porete, *Mirror*, ch. 34, p. 97.
[341] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 67-68; Wagner, *Le Dialogue,* 52.
[342] Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y el Erasmianismo* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1978), 46.
[343] DDC, OC, 76.
[344] Ibid., 76.
[345] Erasmus, *Enchiridión*, 272; Ibid, *Paraclesis*, 453.
[346] Erasmus, *Paraclesis*, 453.
[347] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 146.
[348] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 57, 77.

'living' and 'true' by reason of its psychological fullness instead of its theological dimension."[349]

The spiritual overtones of Valdés' descriptions, however, extend beyond the expressions of Erasmus. Added to Erasmus' *Inquisitio,* Valdés underlines the spiritual emphasis of his own background: Valdés' faith comes "through the Spirit," and no amount of human reason can persuade to it or get it across.[350] Living faith is "like a living fire in the hearts of the faithful, with which they seek to approach God all the more every day."[351] It is more than Erasmus' virtue. It is to be noted that such a faith will necessarily produce works, having "full confidence in God, as its ultimate end, and in what he promises (. . .) subjugating reason to the obedience of faith."[352] Faith is focused on enablement, on the promises of God to grant sufficient grace to live in obedience to God – even though man's reason may disbelieve that possibility.

This distinction between faith and trust, and even another distinction between faith and hope, are maintained in Valdés' later writings, confirming again a common authorship. Bataillon points to Valdés' *One Hundred and Ten Considerations,* particularly no.70, as its further explanation. Domingo de Sta. Teresa referred to Valdés' confidence, ignoring his essential soteriological difference from Erasmus and traditional soteriology. Domingo considered it, "within the economy of santification," as "the fire which warms and illumines spiritual advancement,"[353] apart from any regard for justification.[354] Of course, we do not argue that Valdés' living faith was exclusively soteriological. But as Bataillon had already noted, Valdés' position is "demonstratively identical" with that of Luther.[355] Even though some arguments could be drawn from the *Dialogue* in regards to faith exercised for moral virtue, the use and connotation of faith versus trust in his later and freer writings in Italy will further clarify the relationship of this "living faith" in regards to salvation or justification. Valdés' concept of living faith actually adds another dimension to Luther's concept, which is traceable to the times of the *Alumbrados*; Valdés defends living faith, and even a life of perfection, as an identification of true Christianity. This will be further discussed in Valdés' concept of salvation and its link with perfection.

The equation of the individual's inability, Christ's satisfaction of God's justice, and man's required faith, is positively resolved through prayer. Faced with Antronio's skepticism at the possibility of appropriately loving God, and inserting into his translation of Luther, Valdés states:

> No matter how hard this commandment is [to forgive our debtors], God's grace is stronger, with which you will easily be able to fulfill it. And

[349] Ibid., 77.
[350] DDC, OC, 26.
[351] Ibid., 77.
[352] Ibid., 77.
[353] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 68, 69.
[354] Ibid., 77; Cf. Also "Let us also notice that in the *Dialogue*, Valdés applies it [faith-trust] not to the sinner in regards to his justification, but to the imperfect one, or the sinner, who wants to fulfill the law, that is, in Valdessian language, to him who wants to sanctify himself" (Ibid.).
[355] Bataillon ed., DDB, 255.

> considering this [difficulty], ask God with humility, and I promise you that he will not deny it to you, and you will thus see how light and savory is what now appears to be heavy and rough.[356]

In order to truly love God, Valdés says of himself, man has "to approach Jesus Christ with manly determination, and [the individual] has to ask him his grace and divine favor with greatest efficacy (. . .) and if we have good hope that he will give it to us, we will surely have no lack of it."[357] "Nothing is more fruitful than prayer," says Valdés.[358] Of course, prayer is not exclusive to Valdés; it is also referred to by Erasmus and Luther. Valdés' significant difference from Erasmus, however, is that whereas for Erasmus, prayer is exhorted in the pastoral context of the pursuit of virtue, in Valdés, prayer is to take the individual into true love, true Christianity, which we will discuss some more in the next section on salvation and its link with perfection.

The themes of Jesus Christ, justification, and faith reveal Valdés' eclecticism and its particular colors. Most probably, his strong emphasis on the centrality and mediatorship of Christ came from Erasmus' writings and the Erasmian circle in the University of Alcalá. Regarding the necessity of knowing oneself and trusting Christ, even though there are similarities between Erasmus and Luther, Valdés' expressions came particularly as he translated Luther. It is necessary to notice that Erasmus' writings use a double language. On one hand they emphasize man's weakness, the Holy Spirit's agency, the inadequacy of secular philosophy, or even justification through faith. On the other hand, Erasmus writes on the great dignity of man, on the fruit of study, the parallel and use of secular philosophy with God's ways, and justification or salvation as a reward for virtue. That dualism allowed and evidently invited Valdés to identify himself with Erasmus and Spanish Erasmians. His identification, however, was only in part, since he remained faithful to some tenets from his background and clearly defended a Lutheran soteriology.

Regarding anthropology and soteriology, Valdés presented a definite Lutheran affinity, most probably as a natural development from the influence that Valdés had received from Alcaraz's *Abandonment*. While Valdés translated Erasmus' orthodox formulas (*Inquisitio)*, his foundational dependence on God assimilated Luther's soteriology. As considered previously, the *Dialogue* presents an intense conviction on man's sinful nature, his inability to do good, and a clear exposition of Christ's satisfaction for man's sin. Valdés' later writings will maintain and expand both the centrality of Christ and the sufficient, vicarious atonement for the individual.

Salvation and its Link with Perfection

As seen previously, the centrality and mediatorship of Christ undoubtedly constitutes a token of Valdés' permeability and capacity of change from his days with Alcaraz. His soteriological dimension, particularly regarding its eternal aspect, also

[356] DDC, OC, 36.
[357] Ibid., 58-59; cf. also ibid., 116.
[358] Ibid., 42.

differed from Alcaraz – Alcaraz, following Porete, left his eternal destiny in God's hands. Conversely, Valdés' basic perspective of Alcaraz's *Abandonment* and his teaching concerning the "love of God" did remain, assimilating a Lutheran soteriology. Along with this development, Valdés maintained an intense commitment and experience as an identification of true Christianity.

Translating Erasmus, Valdés presented salvation in its eternal perspective. After a final and general resurrection, those who followed "the banner of the devil" will be sentenced to torment.[359] Conversely, "the good saints"[360] – a distinctive label inserted by Valdés – will be carried to God.[361] These saints will be totally free from anguish; they will be "made spiritual," that is, totally "ruled" by the Spirit. The soul, then, will be "free from all temptation," and "will endlessly enjoy the *summum bonum* which is God."[362] The body, to the perplexity of traditional Antronio and differing from a Platonic perspective, will also be resurrected. According to Valdés, "since here in the world, both body and soul were afflicted for Jesus Christ's sake."[363] God also desires that man's body and soul will rejoice in Jesus Christ's glory. This positive perspective concerning a bodily resurrection contrasts with Erasmus' Neo-Platonism for whom the body appears to be a burden to be freed from.[364] In regards to purgatory, Valdés makes no concession for or reference to it.[365]

In the *Dialogue*, another significant aspect related to salvation is that true Christianity is accessed through, and consists of, a spiritual experience. It is true that in translating Erasmus, Valdés referred to baptism as providing forgiveness of sins.[366] It is true, as Wagner points out, that Valdés referred to infant baptism as he spoke of the promises of the parents.[367] However, the occurrence and connotation of these institutional references to baptism cannot be compared with the author's stress on a spiritual experience as the decisive element of Christian identity. Furthermore, baptism – as he translated Erasmus – is referred to in its covenant aspect, rather than in its ceremonial aspect, being significantly equated to cloister vows.[368] In his translation of Erasmus, however, Valdés inserts that adopted sons of God are those "who have drawn

[359] Ibid., 25. Cf. Valdés wrote, "They will have a bodily existence and will receive eternal torment; their souls will be forever afflicted with sinful stimuli" (Ibid, DD.29-30).

[360] "The good *saints*" was Valdés' translation of Latin *pios*" (Erasmus, *Inquisitio,*. 66).

[361] DDC, OC, 25.

[362] DDC, OC, 29.

[363] Ibid., 29.

[364] Erasmus wrote, "For there is undoubtedly no other peaceful reconciliación with God except that we keep this warning concerning our body, *which lasts till God will free us from it,* that we will make battle against vice with major hatred and all our strength" (*Enchiridion*, 115). Erasmus also defends that man is made up of two or three parts, "soul, which is something almost divine, and body, which is like a dumb beast" (Ibid, 157-158), or, "If you did not have a body, you would be a divine thing" (Ibid, 158).

[365] Valdés stated, "I am comforted in that there is a happy and eternal life for the good and a sad and endless death for the evil ones" (DDC, OC, 106).

[366] DDC, OC, 28; cf. ibid, 24.

[367] Wagner, *Le Dialogue,* 50. Wagner does not state that Valdés was translating Erasmus.

[368] DDC, OC, 16.

near and are united with him through a love union."[369] There is a clear intentionality on the part of Valdés to underline a spiritual new birth. Glossing Erasmus, Valdés writes, "that we, being regenerated in him *through a spiritual birth*, might be *born as* sons of God."[370] There is a significant description of the experience of a new birth as Valdés translated Luther. That is particularly associated to the exercise of true faith in Christ's suffering on their behalf.[371]

> When the Christian hears that Jesus Christ suffered for him, and he believes it, there is a new trust and a true love born in him, [which is] wonderfully flavorsome, and together with the underestimation of all external things, there grows a single estimate of Jesus Christ, knowing that only he [Christ] suffices, and from him he awaits all things.[372]

The reality of that necessary, real, and possible new birth is reiterated by Valdés through the *Dialogue*.[373] Erasmus' use of "new birth" or "regeneration" refers to a gradual and ethical transformation.[374] Contrarily, Valdés' new birth refers to an internal change supernaturally brought by a true understanding of the Christian faith and trust in Christ. In the *Discourse on the Child Jesus*, a writing which could have considerably influenced Valdés, Erasmus expresses that the prize of becoming like Christ is to be "a living member of the most excellent body of the church and a same thing with Jesus Christ; a same flesh, a same spirit, to have with Jesus Christ a common Father in heaven (. . .) in brief, not being man any more but God."[375] This, which in Erasmus was a far reaching goal, in Valdés is expressed as an accessible experience. Antronio clearly reiterates that categorical change in regards to himself: "You will make another man out of me if you continue to speak so,"[376] or, "In order for me to do as you say, it is necessary for me to be melted down and be made anew."[377] The Archbishop responds, "Jesus Christ will do that through his infinite goodness."[378] This transformation is akin to Alcaraz's adaptation of Porete's *Mirror*, even in the single categorical change as differing from Porete's three deaths and seven steps.

In answer to Valdés' picture of fallen man, therefore, there is a spiritual regeneration. It cannot be overlooked that this regeneration in Valdés is illustrated in the character of Antronio, who spoke of introducing perhaps some new initiatives "in my monastery."[379] That regeneration makes possible for humanity, who "cannot do any

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[369] Ibid., 21. This is not a mere clarification for readers, nor a lack of style like Bataillon says (DDB, 226), it is a trait clearly traceable to Alcaraz and the *Alumbrado* Conflict.

[370] DDC, OC, 21. In italics, that which is added by Valdés.

[371] Ibid., 34. What Luther wrote, "A new trust and a true love is born in him, wonderfully flavorsome …" (WA, I, 399).

[372] DDC, OC, 34.

[373] Ibid., 21; DDB, fol. 11r. Bataillon obviates that emphasis, indicating that it is merely added for the reader who might be not familiar with Pauline language (Bataillon ed., DDB, 226).

[374] E.g. Erasmus wrote, "Finally Christianity is nothing else but being born again through faith . . . to become a child anew . . . Just, let us work to be a child . . . teachable" (*Treatise,* 74).

[375] Erasmus, *Treatise,* 85.

[376] DDC, OC, 60.

[377] Ibid., 71. That will be repeated (ibid,101).

[378] Ibid., 60.

[379] Ibid., 9.

good thing perfectly," "to be able to do and fulfill all that we know is good through Jesus Christ's favor"[380] – this last reference Valdés translated from Luther. Also translating Luther, Valdés explained that by this "special grace of God,"[381] the individual might have "complete faith, firm hope, and perfect love with Jesus Christ our God and Redeemer, totally disengaged from any affection to external things."[382] Furthermore, inserting in Luther's translation, Valdés stated that this enablement or transformation becomes a continual experience that yields God's knowledge to man's soul.[383] Through the Holy Spirit, man's heart-disposition is vivified.[384] Glossing Erasmus, Valdés clarified that the Spirit "inspires and invisibly goes through our souls like the air goes through the earth or the water."[385] Along this reiterated intervention of God's special grace and the Spirit, Valdés introduced "the spiritual man," the only one who can fulfill the law.[386] This "spiritual man" is another stable concept in Valdés' writings, which, as Domingo stated, appears again in Valdés' *Christian Alphabet* while in Italy.[387]

Both "special grace" and "being born again" were concepts used by Erasmus and Luther. Erasmus' statement that only God can resurrect the soul "through a singular and marvelous (. . .) power of his, which he uses with whom he pleases," are perfectly akin to Valdés.[388] God's grace as an enablement given to men was also stressed by Spanish Erasmianism; the translator of Enchiridion writes (his inserts in italics),

> God never fails his own; he rather *works in them with his grace and gives new strength* in the soul, anointing it with a *very smooth and precious* ointment, *which is a secret and marvelous gladness with which he sustains it and gives such an enablement which makes light for it* [the soul] *that which seems to be difficult*, and that which is bitter becomes savory, and that which to others would be gall, God changes it to be like honey.[389]

Contrary to Valdés, however, Erasmus' reference to grace was subsequent and a reward to man's effort or right choice: "To those who exercise in it [in virtue], the Holy Spirit

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[380] Ibid., 55.
[381] Ibid., 35, 54.
[382] Ibid., 35.
[383] Ibid., 55.
[384] Sp. *ánimo*.
[385] DDC, OC, 26.
[386] Ibid., 50, 54.
[387] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 74.
[388] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 123. Cf. Erasmus also stated, "God . . . sent his own son . . . to redeem and rescue . . . to make them capable to be made sons and adopted as sons of God . . . . so that with him God would infuse so much grace . . . that you would have a daring confidence to call him Father with a full mouth" (Ibid, 273); or also, Christ is a channel "to influende and pour heavenly grace in the dispositions/hearts (Sp. ánimos) of all of you . . ." (*Treatise*, 64; cf. 65, 70).
[389] Translator's additions in italics. Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 211. Cf. also, in reference to Satan, the translator glosses, "we cannot draw him away from the wall without *a very special grace* . . . unless *God, in a special way, will help us*" (*Enchiridion*, 114); or also, "Christ will conquer him in us, *that is to say, he, who is our head, will put grace in us, who are his members, with which we might win him again* . . . and you will have many great things through the power, virtue, and favor . . . of Christ himself" (*Enchiridion*, 124).

helps with his favor."[390] Erasmus encourages trust in the promised grace, which will come [to man] if man with great courage and effort imitates the life of Christ.[391] The context of God's special grace for Erasmus and Spanish Erasmianism is the ongoing pastoral struggle against Satan and the flesh. In Valdés' context, however, the enablement of grace came through a fundamental change, a new birth, rather than only through a continuing process. For Valdés, a committed love for God was a possible experience and even a distinction of a true child of God rather than just a future goal.

In reference to Luther, Valdés translates expressions like "a true love, [which is] wonderfully flavorsome" or "a single estimate of Jesus Christ." Luther refers to "loving God over all things," and having "a firm hope and perfect love."[392] However, whereas in Valdés that is an accessible goal and even a distinction of true Christianity, for Luther it is a moral standard, the measure for which a Christian should aim. For Valdés, differing from what Bataillon claimed, the individual does not remain "*simul peccator et iustus*," as Luther's formula expressed.[393]

To the "being-made-anew" concept, or to the true Christian's experience, Valdés seems to inexorably include a necessary quality of heart-obedience.[394] Valdés, inserting in Erasmus' translation, expresses the purpose of Christ's first coming as "showing us how we ought to live, if we desire to be partakers of his glory, which he desired for us to reach by virtue of his justice."[395] There is, according to Valdés, a particular way to keep God's commandments "so that through them eternal life might be reached," that is, that the person be "free from mortal sin and have charity, which is perfect love of God."[396] Likewise – now translating Erasmus – it is necessary, beyond man's faith in God, "that with sincere and pure intention we lay on him all our love, hope, and trust and that we abominate and curse Satan with all idolatry and all manner of magic arts."[397] Taking Erasmus' words, Valdés expands and translates (Valdés' insert in italics), "Without a doubt (. . .) you should believe that to reach *full and perfect holiness*, it is enough to imitate and follow the life and doctrine of the same Jesus Christ."[398] This high level of commitment to God is not meritorious; there is no soteriological synergism in Valdés. That full and perfect holiness is fruit of that regeneration. God's enabling grace must be evident.

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[390] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 193. Erasmus also said, "Always, when man overcomes temptation, it is given and added to him a special gift from divine grace, with which he becomes much stronger than before" (ibid., 182-183).

[391] Erasmus, *Treatise*, 76.

[392] DDB, fol. 31r; WA, I, 482.

[393] Bataillon ed., DDB, 127.

[394] E.g. Valdés writes, "God, desiring our salvation, commands us that we love him over all things . . . thus moved with the love with which we have towards him, we rejoice keeping his law…" (DDC, OC, 57-58); also, Valdés states that man ought to necessarily discard any resentment against those who do evil against him "because noghing unclean will enter in the Kingdom of heaven" (ibid, 47).

[395] DDC, OC, 25; DDB, fol. 13v. Bataillon admitted that Valdés is referring to justice by faith (1925, 230).

[396] DDC, OC, 41; DDB, fol. 36v.

[397] DDC, OC, 20.

[398] DDC, OC, 22. This is Valdés' expanded translation of Erasmus' "Do you believe his [Jesus'] doctrine and life are sufficient to perfect piety? Yes, perfectly sufficient (*Inquisitio*, 62-63).

Valdés' undeservedly-given faith but high spiritual standard is manifested through his definition of being "truly and purely Christian" and his definition of the church.[399] The church is defined and distinguished by the genuineness of its members. Whereas Erasmus defines the church as "the profession of one God, one gospel (. . .) the participation of the same Spirit and the same sacraments,"[400] for Valdés the church is "the coming together of the faithful," or "of the saints."[401] The church is a "holy congregation"[402] of "those who believe in one God the Father and put all their trust in his Son and are ruled and governed by the Holy Spirit."[403] As Valdés defines the church (i.e. "the participation and communication of good works"[404]), instead of Erasmus' words, "among all godly men," Valdés glosses, "among all saints, who are the true Christians."[405] Those "good saints" constitute the church whom Jesus Christ will take with himself to enjoy the heavenly kingdom.[406] This identity of saints is not merely a general label for Christians; it mostly includes experiential traits. These saints, so identified by Valdés, keep a definite experiential relationship with the three persons of the Trinity: Faith in one God the Father, "putting all confidence" in his Son, and being "ruled and governed" by the Holy Spirit.[407]

Valdés, therefore, clearly refers to a Holy Church as a distinct entity from popular Christianity.[408] The church as "the coming together of the saints" needs to be thus "understood, believed, and taught," otherwise men show "the gross foolishness of many who daringly and crazily say that there are no saints in the world anymore."[409] This strong statement seems to contradict the translator of *Enchiridion* when he wrote: "It is not as in old times, when there were so many saints."[410] According to Valdés' limited view of the church, he comments on "give us our daily bread" and refers to a spiritual bread of which "only those whom God has forgiven their sins and has accepted as his partake."[411] This declaration, emphasized by the reluctance of Antronio and the insistence of the Archbishop,[412] reveals Valdés' intentionality to distinguish true Christianity by a genuine moral and spiritual experience. This emphasis on "saints", which as Bataillon recognizes is a continuing theme in Valdés' *Commentary on Matthew*, is much more than a "discrete testimony of sympathy towards the

[399] DDC, OC, 137.
[400] Erasmus, *Inquisitio*, 68-69.
[401] DDC, OC, 27. Wagner recognizes that "saints are true Christians" (*Le Dialogue*, 1995, 29), not merely a goal: « Pour Valdés, tout chrétien sincere qui professe la foi chretienne et vit en accord avec elle est saint» (ibid, 29), and, « tous ceux qui l'embrassent et l'accomplissent comme il faut sont des saints » (ibid., 142).
[402] DDC, OC, 38.
[403] Ibid., 27.
[404] Erasmus, *Inquisitio*, 70-71.
[405] DDC, OC, 27-28.
[406] Ibid., 25.
[407] Ibid., 27.
[408] Note: E.g. *Christians* are those who experience a new birth (DDC, OC, 34).
[409] DDC, OC, 28.
[410] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 203.
[411] DDC, OC, 112.
[412] Ibid., 84-85.

Alumbrados," which Bataillon dislikes.[413] Saints and Christian perfection constitute essential traits and emphases in Valdés, absent in both Erasmus and Luther, and traceable to Alcaraz and the *Alumbrado* conflict.

In the relationship between salvation and the church, the church understood as "the coming together of saints," there is a slight difference between Erasmus' translated statements and Valdés' own words. In Erasmus' words translated by Valdés, salvation has an important link to church belonging. Christian benefits are only possible when the individual is within that holy congregation; out of it, "not even their good works profit (. . .) for eternal life."[414] Out of that church, "there is no remission or forgiveness of sins."[415] And if a mortal sin is perpetrated, the individual withdraws from the church, returning only if the individual is "much self-afflicted and self-tormented with penance, or if he exercises all works of mercy."[416] When Valdés writes of his own thought, first of all, the "holy church" is distinguished from general Christianity. On the other hand the Christian's salvation appears as a certainty which does not depend on the church. In reference to "Father in heaven," for example, Valdés writes of his own, i.e. without translating Erasmus or Luther,

> [The Christian] should remember the exile in which he finds himself, and he should verily yearn to go to his celestial homeland to enjoy the delightful vision of the eternal and sovereign God, where happiness and rest are perfect and complete, since he rejoices without fear of getting lost, of which joy even here in the world God gives the soul some tastings so that he, enamored with their sweetness, would despise all things of this world, seeing its pleasures as deceitful and vain.[417]

Regarding this certainty of salvation, Bataillon recognizes that, "Valdés is very close to Luther's *Servo Arbitrio*."[418] Considering the raging battle of *Libero* vs. *Servo Arbitrio* during the years that anteceded Valdés' *Dialogue*, it is not surprising that Valdés merely intimated his thought in that regards. It will be necessary to wait till his later writings in order to read his clearer expressions concerning this theological aspect.

Along with Valdés' saintly view of the Christian and the church, as it comes to the actual consideration of people's praxis, the *Dialogue* concedes to a lower life, thereby underlining man's justification through faith in Christ's work. All Christians, Valdés defended, "are undoubtedly obliged to perfection (. . .) if not to have it, certainly to seek it."[419] The ruling principle is to have perfection; just to seek it is a concession. Nevertheless, the author's condescension is clearly evidenced as Antronio actually

[413] Bataillon ed. DDB, 231-233.
[414] DDC, OC, 28.
[415] Ibid.
[416] Ibid.
[417] DDC, OC, 108. Wagner refers to these expressions as revealing the mystic tenet of Valdés (1995, 50).
[418] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, 414.
[419] DDC, OC, 71.

reproduces one of the accusations made against María de Cazalla:[420] Is hell the destiny of all who are not perfect? Valdés answers as he translates Luther:

> I do not say such a thing, but (. . .) [perfection] is the goal to which we must set our eye in order to reach it (. . .) those who do not reach it, only those who with pain in their soul know and confess that they are not as they should, and also those who every day work to be perfect and reach that perfection (. . .) only to those (. . .) are their sins forgiven (. . .) through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whom they believe.[421]

This is reiterated later on, but the second time it is Valdés himself who inserts similar commentaries in reference to the eighth commandment.[422] This concession only heightens the author's dependence on Christ's redemption, as well as the justifying efficacy of faith.

Valdés' concept of salvation, therefore, constitutes a great example of Valdés' eclecticism. His apparent evolution from Alcaraz concerning eternity, his Lutheran scheme of faith, his emphasis on regeneration, being made anew, lifted from uselessness by grace, his stress on the saintly life of the Christian, and even his concession to those who "do not have it," speak of a combination of influences and sources. Valdés may have adopted the centrality of Christ from Erasmus; however, he retained Alcaraz's dependence on God and assimilated Luther's soteriology. Valdés, however, did not fully conform to Luther. For Valdés, a perfect life was a possible experience to be expected through faith and the spiritual experience of a new birth. Valdés, therefore, was permeable to religious influences apart from Alcaraz, but still used the religious currents he had access to as long as they conformed to his personal message and intention.

Pastoral Perspectives and Further Understanding of Perfection

An important purpose in the analysis of Valdés' *Dialogue* is to ascertain his personal message. Valdés certainly was not promoting merely an internal perspective of the Christian religion, following Erasmian guidelines. Behind his choice of using Luther's writings, e.g., Luther's *On the Lord's Prayer* instead of Erasmus', there is a clear non-affiliation with the Rotterdamer, even though there were true affinities. Likewise, even though Valdés seems to have received an influence from Luther's writings, Valdés was not participating in a soteriological debate. Valdés' true theology was focused on daily experience. The content and expressions of the *Dialogue* presented that which Valdés considered as true Christianity; that is, a possible and accessible life of perfection or love-union with God based upon the Apostle's Creed, a full dependence on God, and the recognition of man's sinfulness and helplessness.

Perfection, a full and loving obedience and union with God, constituted the center of Valdés' message. Regardless of different connotations and contexts, Valdés'

[420] Ortega-Costa, *Maria Cazalla*, 52.
[421] DDC, OC, 36; DDB, 22r = WA I, p. 400. Referred to by Gilly (*Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 106).
[422] DDC, OC, 51; DDB, fol. 33v.

writings suppose a definite calling to a positive Christian experience where the individual enjoys a life that is governed by God and enjoys deep happiness. Even though the word "perfection" is used, Valdés does not defend it as a technical term. Perfection appears as a synonym with other expressions, like "truly loving God" or "enjoying obedience." A perfect life is also manifested through different virtues, like forgiving others or not loving oneself, but it always refers to a disposition and commitment of the person's heart that is fruit of God's intervention. In addition to the idea of perfection as the ultimate goal of Christian development, Valdés' perfection is generated in the soul through trust in God's promises and God's grace, away from any personal resource, and it is also associated with salvation. This perfection, goal of Valdés' message, is "different from Erasmian piety," as Bataillon recognized.[423] This essential Valdessian distinctive, therefore, is actually obscured when the *Dialogue* is primarily considered as a "moderately Erasmian Catechism."[424] In general terms, this concept of perfection is the one derided by Melquiades Andrés as the *Alumbrados*' "shortcut" or "easy way" to perfection.[425] Andrés' appreciation implicitly recognizes that they did claim it as an actual possibility but free from the austerity, ceremonies, and mysticism which accompanied the later Spanish Mysticism, eulogized by Andrés. This pursuit of a perfect love for God clearly traces its paths to Alcaraz and the *Alumbrado* conflict. As we proceed to describe Valdés' call to this committed life to God, we will use "perfection" in reference to that spiritual condition but not as a technical theological term.

It is necessary to recognize that, regarding a deeper, internal religious experience, different alternative initiatives coincided. The rupture with institutional schemes, conceding perfection apart from friars and clergy, transcends the *Alumbrados*, Erasmus, or Luther. In this thesis, we have presented Alonso de Cartagena in his *Manual of Prayer* defending that possibility.[426] Exactly the same can be said about the issue of confession. Responding to the perplexity of Antronio's words that "it is impossible" or it is "a great mistake," the *Dialogue* defended both the possibility and the blessedness through God's grace of not needing confession.[427] Bataillon referred to Erasmus' *Pietas purilis* as a coincidence with this teaching.[428] Since Alonso de Cartagena, however, the eucharist was encouraged to be prepared personally, apart from confession to the priest. Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz also presented this issue in his first defense in 1524.[429] These and similar parallels do not necessarily reveal a direct dependence; they must be considered as a common reaction against the decay of Christian institutions and popular religion.

[423] Bataillon ed., DDB, 106.
[424] Bataillon, Longhurst, etc.
[425] Cf. Chapter 2 of this thesis, p.136.
[426] Chapter 1, p. 43ff.
[427] DDC, OC, 90-91; DDB, fol. 63v.
[428] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, ed. 1966, 265.
[429] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol. 22-23.

Considering Valdés' teaching on perfection, it is important to recognize that its reference to affections was not exclusive to Valdés, even though it was very much emphasized by him. When Valdés, for instance, referred to a life of obedience and love for God, he inserted in Erasmus' *Inquisitio* that it is "for all who want to enjoy Jesus Christ's passion."[430] Just prior to translating Luther, Valdés inserted a commentary of his own as to the spiritual celebration of feasts. In those feasts, Valdés said, "God commands us (. . .) to rejoice [in them] (. . .) so that, as we rejoice, we will not offend God in servile and sinful works."[431] Afterwards, he translated Luther, saying that,

> These commandments harness man for God … so that he might rejoice … with his heart, with his mouth, and with his work (. . .) with the external, the internal, and the in-between man which correspond to his sensual, rational and spiritual parts, so that he (man) might this way have true rejoicing.[432]

Also translating Luther, Valdés referred to those who fulfill the first and central commandment in terms of faith, hope, and love, adding also a detachment from external things.[433] It is interesting that Tellechea, a Catholic scholar, referred to Luther's "spiritual temperature" as "closer to Loyola than to Erasmus."[434] With Valdés coming from "fervent" Guadalajara and Escalona, it is fully reasonable that he would gladly find an affinity, among others, with this spiritual tenet of the German reformer's. On the other hand, Erasmus' writings or the translator of *Enchiridion*, sample of Spanish Erasmianism, also presents this intense spiritual pursuit.

Perfection as an ultimate ideal of Valdés' thought has been recognized by different scholars, such as M. Bataillon, Domingo de Sta. Teresa,[435] or Wagner.[436] Valdés certainly referred to perfection as the aim of Christian growth;[437] that is, regarding "one's manner and art of living."[438] In addition to that, however, Valdés' *Dialogue* clearly includes the assumption of a perfect life as a possible and real experience available to all Christians. A confirmation of that possibility is Valdés'

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[430] DDC, OC, 20.

[431] Ibid., 40; DDB, fol. 25r = WA, I, 436. Referred to by Gilly (*Valdés Translator of Luther,* 1997, 106).

[432] DDC, OC, 40.

[433] Valdés described them as "Those who have full faith, firm hope, and perfect love with Jesus Christ our God and Redeemer, disengaged from all affection to external things" (DDC, OC, 35).

[434] José I. Tellechea Idígoras, "Lutero desde España," in *Revista de Occidente,* n. 29 (Nov 1983): 17. Cf. Also Philip Endean SJ, "Ignatius in Lutheran Light," in "*Thinking Faith*" posted on July 29, 2011. Accessible in http://www.thinkingfaith.org/articles/20110729_2.htm, accessed 27/07/2016.

[435] It is true, as Domingo de Sta. Teresa says, that "Christianity's identity and the life of perfection is one of the basis of Valdessian spirituality; it is understood from hence [the *Dialogue*] to all his subsequent writings" (1935, 66). The missing point in De Sta. Teresa, however, is that Valdés' perfection is not only a goal; it is a real experience. Sta. Teresa states, "Perfection . . . basically consists of keeping the Commandments . . . [of] the spiritual sensibility of their fulfillment" (ibid., 66).

[436] Wagner states "La deuxiéme orientation de la spiritualité de Valdés est la volonté de rechercher la perfection chrétienne» (*Le Dialogue* 1995, 55).

[437] E.g. DDC, OC, 35, 44.

[438] A phrase inserted translating Luther. DDC, OC, 41.

concept of the "spiritual man," who keeps God's commandments.[439] This figure appears as an insert of Valdés as he translated Luther:

> [It is] him who tastes and feels spiritual things and delights and rests on them, paying no attention to corporal or external things, even despising them as things inferior to him. In conclusion, him who focuses on God all his love, and the grace of the Holy Spirit vivifies and keeps him, without respect of being a young man, a married man, a priest or a friar.[440]

Even though, therefore, Valdés portrayed a depraved anthropology, for him, the Christian message and exhortation was a "medicine" whose power is "more than enough to heal." [441]

Valdés' perfection is certainly contrary to Luther's perspective as it is reflected both in his *Commentary on the Ten Commandments* and *on the Lord's Prayer*. Luther, for instance, defended that "none is clean" inside.[442] He defended that the Christian "cannot be perfect instantly but [he can] gradually ascend;"[443] in this life it is not possible to have "perfect healing from all vices of body and soul."[444] Valdés' gloss of Luther regarding the fifth commandment is interesting. Whereas Luther answers to the objection that, "if this is so, none will be saved or too few,"[445] Valdés translated "I would believe that this is only for the perfect;" and Valdés answered,

> It is true as you say, that in order to reach this as I say, it is necessary that we be perfect (. . .) he that sees himself lacking in this regard, let him see through it that he is not perfect (. . .) so let him work with continual prayer to God, so that from imperfection [God] will make it perfect.[446]

Valdés defended that, "the things which through our own strength and effort we could not do, through Jesus Christ's favor we can fulfill, and thereby we know through experience (. . .) that through the favor of Jesus Christ we can do and fulfill all that we know to be good."[447] In view of Erasmus, Valdés' picture is also different from the never-ending choice and struggle between Christ and Satan, between virtue and vice.[448] The constant watch and mortification in Valdés will be particularly with one's sinful nature, in order to be kept in the love of God. Valdés' concept of perfection, therefore, clearly differs from both Erasmus and Luther; Valdés echoes his former background.

Valdés' aim and perspective of Christian perfection is the cause of his alienation from the moral discussion on the ramifications of sin, present in both Erasmus and Luther. Valdés sums all the issue in living "with (. . .) simplicity and purity" in obedience and love for God.[449] One example where this is very evident is as Valdés

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[439] DDC, OC, 50.
[440] Ibid, 50-51.
[441] Ibid, 65.
[442] WA, I, 439.
[443] Ibid, 467.
[444] Ibid, 515.
[445] Ibid, 466.
[446] DDB, 31v.
[447] DDB fol 37r.
[448] Erasmus wrote: "All life of mortal men here is not but a perpetual war" (*Enchiridion*, 111).
[449] DDC, OC, 37.

translates Luther on the sixth commandment. Whereas Luther enters fully into the analysis of moral and immoral conduct, Valdés avoids its discussion; the Archbishop, due to his "honesty" resents talking about it, and, furthermore, those things "are not necessary to specify."[450] Instead of immorality, Valdés discusses the Christian's fidelity of loving only God. Likewise, whereas Luther analyzes the moral implications and occasions of not stealing, Valdés discusses the sin of "robbing God of that which is his (. . .) love and fear."[451] Here we might appreciate one of the characteristic traits of Valdés' thought. He seeks to narrow down religion to very essential black or white principles. If man appropriately loves God, everything else will fall in place; it is a typical reductionism of the Christian's life, also distinctive in his later writings.[452]

Valdés' stress on the possibility of perfection clearly recalls Alcaraz's declarations and his vulnerability to be accused of impeccability by institutional Christianity. The *Dialogue*, for instance, states about the one who keeps the ten commandments: "It is impossible that he would stumble in any of these [capital] sins in this way"[453] – and therefore be in that blessed condition of not needing to confess. In reference to the Spirit's gift of fear the author defends:

> God gives it (. . .) so that the soul might live in constant caution and moderation not to offend him (. . .) This holy fear originates from most sweet religion, and it is very excellent, because through it, the other gifts are kept, and the more the soul has of this [gift], the more and more the soul keeps and guards oneself in the love and grace of God.[454]

The ideal of perfection is so stressed that Valdés enters into a radical tone concerning its expressions and demands. Translating Luther on poverty of spirit, Valdés writes that poor in spirit is "he who wants or desires nothing beyond what he has, and, even from that which he has, he has withdrawn all affection, in such a way that, even though all he has were taken away, he would not be sad."[455] This absolute of "all things" seem to have pleased Valdés; he previously wrote by himself that one is free from the sin of not killing when being robbed of all things, "even of life, you do not hold hatred against him who has robbed you."[456]

This emphasis is reiterated as Valdés wrote on loving God,[457] the Spirit's rule over us,[458] or fulfilling God's will.[459] Valdés' radical tone is perhaps best illustrated when the dialogue exalts the "rich jewels" of "feeling and knowing" the love of God in

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[450] DDB, 32r.
[451] DDB, 33r.
[452] E.g. "These two Commandments (loving God and one's neighbor), are so close and united that it is imposible that anyone could keep one without the other" (DDB, 41 r).
[453] DDC, OC, 63.
[454] Ibid, 85.
[455] DDC, OC, 50 = WA, I, 503. Referred to by Gilly (*Juan de Valdés,* 1997, 107).
[456] DDC, OC, 47.
[457] Valdés wrote, "not that man would not love himself . . . [but also] that he would *abhor himself* and his things, his pleasures and delights, and that *in all things* he would mortify his human desires, and he that does not have this . . . does not keep this commandment" (DDC, OC, 59).
[458] Valdés wrote: "that his spirit might reign and be *absolute* Lord of us all" (DDC, OC, 109).
[459] Valdés wrote: "that in all things the will of God might be *absolutely* fulfilled" (DDC, OC, 110).

spite of one's circumstances as those referred above. In light of that prevalence over trials, Valdés seems to underestimate the "travails, anguish, torments, shame, and martyrdom" suffered by holy martyrs.[460] This tenet certainly differs from Erasmus' "great glory of suffering (. . .) for Jesus Christ."[461] One aspect of this radicalism was also pointed out by Bataillon as he referred to Valdés' insert in Erasmus' *Inquisitio* that Christ "gladly suffered" for our salvation.[462]

As the individual's sinful nature and required humility converge with a possible life of love for God, Valdés' pastoral guide becomes more complex and creates tensions and paradoxes. One of these tensions is the Christian's view of himself. With some radical tenets, Valdés himself speaks against an easy self-persuasion of truly loving Christ: "If you are ready to lose property, honor, and reputation and to die a thousand deaths before yielding to a mortal sin, there is good hope that you have reached part in this love, but do not believe it (of yourselves) till you have proven it with ultimate experience."[463]

This radical demand does not contradict his other references to an accessible love-union with God; it rather refers to the humility that one has to exercise upon himself. In the life of obedience and love for God, self-abasement and dependence on God must be maintained. It is the tension between perfection and humility. This following paragraph contains initially an introduction inserted by Valdés and is followed by a translation of Luther. The Archbishop states in the *Dialogue*:

> I would not dare say that I am not covetous, nor would I advise anyone to believe it of himself, regardless how free he might believe himself to be (Valdés) (. . .) I will always rather confess the evil inclination that I have towards it, and this will be for me a motive to groan (. . .) and confess my misery (. . .) and on the other hand, [a motive] to be comforted with that which Jesus Christ says, that blessed are those who weep because they will be comforted (Luther).[464]

This is not much different from Erasmus or the translator of *Enchiridion*; they wrote that "let none be so daring as to assume such a great thing of himself as to know himself fully, *since there is great difficulty in that*."[465]

Another point of tension in Valdés' thought is between the Christian loving God and the Christian's remaining, sinful nature. Valdés himself defends that together with the certainty of God's provision and the experience of man's heart obedience to God, there is a "daily" need of experimenting, recognizing, and dealing with spiritual shortcomings; otherwise, "you lack everything."[466] In his translation of Luther's *On the*

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[460] DDC, OC, 86.

[461] Erasmus, *Treatise*, 85.

[462] Bataillon ed., DDB, 226, fol. 11v; Erasmus' "imo libenter, atque etiam sitienter" was translated by Valdés as "he suffered all these things with good disposition, [that is] without any guilt on his part and as one who very much desired to suffer them for our salvation" (DDB, fol. 11v).

[463] DDC, OC, 58.

[464] Ibid., 66, and WA I, 518; the paralleled referred to by Gilly (*Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 107).

[465] The translator's addition in italics. Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 155.

[466] DDC, OC, 58.

Lord Prayer, Valdés stresses the always present evil inclination man has from Adam;[467] the sinful nature still needs to be dealt with: "Though we be very saintly (. . .) it is necessary that we daily ask God for forgiveness, and together with confessing it, [it is necessary that] we might know that we have something to be forgiven by him," wrote Valdés of his own.[468]

In reference with this sinful nature in the life of the Christian, Valdés establishes a term and concept that will be consistent through the rest of his writings: Mortification. Mortification of sinful desires appears as Valdés translated Luther.[469] Valdés, however, explained it further with his own words, saying that self denial and the victory over selfish desires should be a habitual determination.[470] Furthermore, as a remedy for arrogance, Valdés inserted an exhortation from the Archbishop to Antronio for him to recognize his own inclination: "To yearn continually before God, asking for his grace – with which you might dominate sin – and make your inclination die."[471]

Even though mortification appears as Valdés translates Luther, the term and the concept was also present in Erasmus. Erasmus refers to mortifying and vivifying through the Spirit of Christ.[472] Erasmus encourages the Christian to make an effort "confirming with him, who is our head, mortifying the affections, which as Saint Paul says, are our members on earth."[473] Erasmus, however, is speaking within the Platonic context of spirit versus body desires, and even Luther associated mortification with the body.[474] Valdés, on the other hand, focused mortification almost exclusively on wrong affections from the heart,[475] particularly the love of self. In reference to vivifying, conversely, there is not a significant difference; Valdés links vivification to the Holy Spirit and Erasmus to the spirit of Christ. In Valdés' translation of Luther, vivification only appears as an insert of Valdés to the seventh commandment, in his definition of the spiritual man.[476]

Valdés' idea of a perfect life, therefore, does not exclude dealing with man's sinful nature; it rather requires it. There is, in this regard, an alertness that was also common in Luther's and Erasmus' writings, as well as in the translator of *Enchiridion*.[477] As Valdés translated Luther on the capital sin of sloth, he wrote:

> [It also takes place] "when having begun to walk the path of virtue (. . .) we are negligent and stop and stay lukewarm and confident, having lost the love and fear of God. To these individuals, Scripture says that they

[467] Ibid., 115. Cf. According to *Exurge Domine* this would be considered Lutheran.
[468] Ibid., 112.
[469] Ibid., 50. In reference to Covetousness, "that insatiable beast."
[470] DDC, OC, 67; DDB, fol. 46r.
[471] DDC, OC, 65. DDB, fol. 44r-v.
[472] Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 205.
[473] Ibid., 369.
[474] WA, I, 437.
[475] DDB, fol. 46r.
[476] DDB, fol. 33v.
[477] E.g. The translator's words in italics. "Weakness and a little effort produces virtue, which once we chose it, having begun to exercise upon it . . . we forget it, or conquered by a temptation, we abandon it . . . *effort is always necessary to stay in the good* [*virtue*]" (Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 194).

> are accursed, because they do their works with negligence. Hence hypocrites and false Christians are born (. . . .) The devil often deceives many people who are reputed with goodness, making them miserably fall in this sin (. . . .) He makes them think that peace and calmness are very valuable (. . .) then (. . .) in order not to lose that which they know [or understand] to be good, he makes them stop doing that good which they could do to their neighbors, and he thus makes them bury the talent that God gave them."[478]

Caution with self was important for Valdés. In reference to the tension among trusting on God's resources, the experience of the love of God, and the possibility of sin, Valdés writes of himself:

> Let every Christian (. . .) know (. . .) how dangerous and subtle are the devil's snares, and how great is man's evil inclination, and how the more firm he thinks he is, the more he is in danger (. . .) let him think that in small or great measure he offends God in all these [capital] sins (. . .) With all this knowledge, distrusting completely his natural strength (. . .) he should ask God his favor and help with much insistence, in order to overcome all these vices (. . .) and together with this, it is necessary that he will first have confidence that God will give him that which he asks him.[479]

These references manifest that Valdés' warning about self and one's sinful nature are not only concepts of his anthropology. In like manner as man's provision by faith through grace, these concepts were translated into the Christian's experience. The individual's needy condition and caution about self are fundamentals of Valdés' dependence on God. Bataillon recognized the difference of this Valdessian anthropology from Erasmus' positive view of the Christian knight.[480]

Another tension of Valdés' thought involves the quandary of faith and doubt. Faith in God and in his promises is essential to receive grace and live a perfect life. There is, however, a reference from the Archbishop that reflects the difficulty to believe, and he exhorts to pray "Lord, I believe; help my unbelief!"[481] Nieto has stated that "Valdés' psychological insight introduces for the first time the problem of doubt and faith," that is, that "the awareness of faith is also the realization of our unbelief."[482] This quandary between faith and unbelief will be present in *Christian Alphabet* and the rest of Valdés' writings in Naples. Nieto also refers to Bataillon as noting the importance of this teaching in Valdés' thought.[483] As discovered by Gilly, this is actually a translation of a considerable paragraph from Luther's *On the Lord's Prayer*.[484] It is true that in Valdés' later writings, the problem of faith is more deeply discussed, even preferring the struggle to believe than an easy belief. This tenet reflects

[478] DDC, OC, 69. (Luther WA, I, 521). Parallel referred to by Gilly (1997, 108).
[479] Ibid., 70.
[480] Bataillon, DDB, 131.
[481] Gospel of Mark 2.24.
[482] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 122.
[483] Bataillon ed., DDB, 270, ft.58. Cited in Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 122.
[484] WA II, 130.

the positive outlook to the struggle of the heart, something that could also be found in Erasmus' *Enchiridion*. For Erasmus, where there is no spiritual struggle "it is human; there is no virtue:" "Virtue … is found in overcoming lust rather than not having it [lust] at all."[485] On the other hand, however, this Valdessian tenet could also be linked to Alcaraz and his reluctance to pray for God to take away temptations, finding positive elements in the soul's struggle with it.[486] In any case, the fact that Valdés is translating Luther discards a "first time" psychological insight from Valdés, like Nieto claims.

Just as prayer was the means to procure God's grace for salvation, prayer is also necessary in all aspects regarding perfection. Upon one's awareness of the absence of perfection and the need to keep God's commands perfectly, the individual has "to work with continual prayer to God."[487] When commenting on keeping oneself from spiritual adultery, from loving any other thing but God, Valdés takes as "necessary to watch in prayer to God night and day."[488] Both of these previous references are Valdés' insertions in his translation of Luther, revealing Valdés' own intentionality and personal thought. On one hand, the adjectives that qualify prayer underline the importance that prayer has in Valdés' spiritual guidelines: "With full trust, much fervor, humility, great insistence, very intently, and continually."[489] But, even more important than such qualities of prayer, as Wagner states, "The object of request is exclusively oriented towards personal Christian perfection, rarely towards intercession."[490] This focus in prayer underlines what this research defends, that a life of perfection constitutes a distinct aim and essence of Valdés' message. This emphasis on prayer and prayer for perfection also reveal that he used the sources he esteemed valuable in order to help, confirm, and enhance his own personal message: the basis, approach, and expression of the experience of a love-union with God as a mark of what he understood as true Christianity.

Pastoral Understanding of Church and Religious Praxis

Thus far, the analysis of Valdés *Dialogue* has revealed that its contents and sources are much more than mere guidelines of internal religion. Not only the textual use of Luther, but also an important theological affinity with his soteriology, reveals a dissident freedom from the institutional church. The pressures of a threatening Inquisition on Juan de Valdés must be taken into account. To say that "all the *Dialogue* breathes acceptance of the hierarchy … putting the dialogue in the mouth of an Archbishop," as Domingo de Sta. Teresa[491] or Wagner[492] claim, is to ignore these

[485] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 191. Temptations, wrote Erasmus, "to the perfect, sometimes, not only they are not dangerous; they are even necessary for them, for the increase in conduct and safekeeping of their virtue" (Ibid., 181).
[486] Cf. Chapter 2, p.159.
[487] DDC, OC, 48.
[488] Ibid., 50.
[489] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 57.
[490] Ibid.
[491] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 85.
[492] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*,17.

pressures on Valdés. If Morreale spoke of Erasmianism's silences to ritualism as implying resentment, much more stress is to be attributed to Valdés' silences. He was carrying influences from the *Alumbrado* conflict and maintaining affinities with the great heresiarch of the time. Domingo de Sta. Teresa recognizes that "the visible and hierarchic element is left in *penumbra,*" and that "Valdessian Spirituality (. . .) is not raised within the ecclesiastical perspective." [493] Valdés' non-institutionalism goes beyond Erasmus' *Inquisitio*.

Valdés' definition of church focuses on the faithful, almost relegating to silence the institution, the attributions of and prayers to Mary and the saints, clergy, hierarchy, sacraments, and one's performances. The commandments of the church were only to be kept externally; only God's commandments were to be obeyed internally. As Nieto appropriately states, "There is no doubt that this was meant to be a powerful correction to the absolute authoritarian claim of the institutional church."[494] Contrary to Valdés, Erasmus described "all" sacraments as "holy" and "high," as "jewels" in the Catholic Church of Jesus Christ.[495] In reference to the Scriptures, the translator of *Enchiridion* glosses, "Scripture (. . .) encloses very high mysteries *and admirable sacraments*."[496] Furthermore, this translator further exhorts, "Wash your souls, *that is, using the sacraments in a worthy and holy manner, and living according to them*."[497] Luther, on the other hand, reduced the sacraments to three. [498] Valdés' *Dialogue*, however, presented only the eucharist as a sacrament. Baptism, confession, and penance appear, but they are not addressed as sacraments to perform.[499] Regarding the church, apart from translating Erasmus or commenting on the term "Catholic Church," Valdés' *Dialogue* only contains one reference to the "Catholic Church." It is not necessary, as Nieto suggests, to attribute that reference to a printing error or alteration by Valdés to avoid inquisitorial suspicion.[500] Valdés' dissidence from institutional Christianity is clear and evident, showing rather his *Converso* background and participation among the *Alumbrado* conflict.

In a closer consideration of church and its religious practices, Valdés paid particular attention to the mass. The mass appeared as an essential argument in Alcaraz's and María's trial, moving between accusations and defenses concerning the rituals involved. This issue is totally absent both in Erasmus and Luther. Valdés' expression in this regard is clearly an alternative to Catholic institutionalism. While the mass was certainly considered a fundamental expression of piety, Valdés focused on what is learnt from Scripture as the mass was performed. He criticized those who took their prayer books and rosaries and prayed with them as the mass was being "told;" they

[493] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 85, 86.
[494] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,*120.
[495] Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 116; *Paraclesis,* 452, 456.
[496] The translator's words in italics. Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 130.
[497] The translator's words in italics. Ibid, 281.
[498] Martin Luther, "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church"(1520), *Luther's works,* vol.36, ed. J.J.Pelikan, H.C. Oswald and H.T. Lehmann, ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1999).
[499] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 121.
[500] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 133.

take themselves to be "holier the more Pater Noster's they string together." [501] Contrarily, Valdés defended that the Gospel and the Epistle are the most important elements of the mass.[502] People ought to close their prayer books when the Epistle and the Gospel are read. One must go to church knowing which portions are to be sung, and those portions have to be received attentively, "in order that what people receive [in church] might provide for their conversation throughout that day."[503] While they hear God's words from the preacher, they should be "praying that God will imprint them on their souls;" if the preacher is mediocre, people may be thereby moved "to pray for God to send good and holy workers to this his vineyard."[504] These criticisms seem to be common at that time, also referred to in Alcaraz's and María Cazalla's trials.

Within the general mass, as referred previously, the eucharist was particularly important for Valdés. Its solemn commendation stands out amidst the *Dialogue'*s neglect of the church's commandments. Wagner rightfully underlines how Valdés favored the Christian's frequent participation in it, focusing on its effect: [505] "It marvelously helps the soul who purely receives it to totally overcome desires for sin."[506] The focus of the eucharist, however, centered on its meaning: "Hear the mass with much devotion and attention, noting very well what it is done, represented, and said (. . .) that nothing will go unnoticed." [507] This emphasis on the eucharist underlines and confirms the centrality of Christ in Juan de Valdés' religion. This teaching, absent in Alcaraz, far from being a put on, was truly assimilated by Valdés most probably through the direct or indirect influence of the Erasmian circle in Alcalá and the *Discourse on the Child Jesus*.

In reference to other institutional sacraments, baptism, confession, and penance, Valdés' picture is also clearly alternative. Baptism is first portrayed with Erasmus' words, speaking of it as a vow of obedience.[508] Its parallel with *Enchiridion*, again, confirms an affinity between Valdés and Erasmus and a genuine eclecticism in Valdés' thought. Baptism, in Erasmus' words, is referred to as a vow, providing forgiveness of sins.[509] Beyond Erasmus, however, when Valdés refers to salvation or becoming a true Christian, it is described as a spiritual birth and reality – which was previously noted, this dimension emerged as Valdés translated Luther. Regarding confession, even though it is considerably discussed in the *Dialogue*, its description refers to the confessor as a spiritual adviser, not as a sacrament for forgiveness. This image of confessor as a spiritual adviser is not only referred in María de Cazalla's trial, but it clearly resembles

[501] This is appropriately pointed by Bataillon as an Erasmian parallel. Erasmus would say "psalms badly recited" (Bataillon, DDB, 259-260). This would confirm Valdés' affinity with Erasmus in this aspect.

[502] DDC, OC, 88.

[503] Ibid.

[504] Ibid., 89-90.

[505] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 53.

[506] DDC, OC, 94.

[507] Ibid., 88.

[508] Erasmus wrote, "With that holy water you were washed and . . . . you sweared to be always obedient (*Enchiridion*, 116).

[509] Purely translated from Erasmus (DDC, OC, 24).

the conversations that Pedro R. Alcaraz maintained with those whom he counseled after the mass. It resembles, furthermore, the conversation with Giulia Gonzaga, which originated *Christian Alphabet*. It is an image which is clearly linked to the *Alumbrado* environment but was not an issue in the circle of Spanish Erasmianism.[510]

Forgiveness in Valdés is not the fruit of the sacrament's ritual. Forgiveness, writes Valdés as he glosses Luther, is obtained by "those who know their fault (. . .) humble themselves (. . .) confess and make penance (. . .) and hope to obtain pardon through the blood of Jesus Christ."[511] This is also supported by Wagner who refers to Valdés as "putting before us the problem of auricular confession."[512] Whereas Wagner, on the other hand, argues that Valdés does not reject the practice of penance, Valdés' description of it is rather alternative: "The penance you ought to give (. . .) must be mainly to have him read a book where he might find good doctrine and a remedy for that sin to which he is mostly inclined; in this way, he can better depart from it."[513] There are other references to penance as Valdés translated Erasmus,[514] but they are not specified as to their nature.

Not only, therefore, is Valdés re-orienting the definition of the church, as it was said previously. His reference to the church's religious exercises is also re-oriented, with the exception of the eucharist, in which he also had a particular understanding and emphasis.

In reference to the outworking of the Christian's life, the *Dialogue* offers a general aim of its whole discourse, which helps to describe Valdés' pastoral guide:

> What I intend in all my talks is to show you that which is convenient for all of us; that we might be true Christians, genuine and not feigned, evangelicals and not ceremonialists, spiritual and not superstitious, with generous attitude and not scrupulous [i.e. meticulous],[515] and that we might establish our Christianity in the sincerity of our intent [or attitude],[516] and not only in external appearance, and ultimately that we might know that which constitutes evangelical liberty and how far it extends, and so that we will make our count [self-examination] whether we (. . .) have Christ formed in our souls.[517]

The end, evidently, is "to have Christ formed in our souls." To this end, the adjectives of genuine, evangelical, spiritual, of generous attitude, of sincere disposition, arise in contention against feigned, ceremonial, superstitious, scrupulous, and of only external appearance. These contrasts are not theologically or systematically outlined. These

[510] Vergara said, "I have never talked in conventicles nor with suspicious individuals" as *Alumbrados* do (AHN, *Trial J. Vergara*, fol. 159v).

[511] DDC, OC, 51.

[512] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 52.

[513] DDC, OC, 93.

[514] Ibid., 28; Cf. Erasmus, *Inquisitio*, 71.

[515] Sp. *Scrupulosos*.

[516] Sp. *Ánimo* – a very important word and focus of Valdés' thought, present also in Ortiz's declarations as he spoke on ceremonies and internal religion. Valdés, however, takes the matter much more apart from ceremonies than Ortiz does.

[517] DDC, OC, 71.

expressions endeavor to describe "evangelical liberty," and neither the adjectives nor the expressions are exclusive to Valdés. These terms and concepts constituted a common ground shared in different degrees by *Alumbrados*, Luther, Erasmus, and Erasmian circles.

The previous paragraph reflects Valdés' perception of his contemporary Christianity: an overemphasis on ritual to the neglect of an actual Christ-like life. As Wagner rightly states, Valdés frequently uses expressions like "very truly," or "with a sincere disposition."[518] Translating Erasmus, with whom he shared this emphasis, Valdés inserts that "the whole foundation of our Christianity" should be built upon "spiritual and internal" elements instead of upon corporal and external things.[519] Valdés himself also criticizes institutional Christianity for "exalting their external works and diminishing and despising the internal ones."[520] Valdés' internal focus is also manifest as he translated Luther: God's will for man was "to thoroughly take away and dig up the very roots where sin is born."[521] It is significant that D. de Sta. Teresa refers to Valdés as showing "resentment against those diligent examiners of sinful works that can plunge the soul in scruples."[522] And this includes Ciruelo's reference, already mentioned, and that Wagner thinks Valdés supported. Valdés' focus, as D. Sta. Teresa writes, is "the disposition with which something is done."[523] In fact, this "disposition," in Spanish *ánimo,* is a favorite word of Valdés,[524] particularly in portions of his own, fully akin and probably derived from Erasmus' use of the term in his writings. The *Dialogue*, for instance, emphasizes that the Archbishop's teachings should be printed and fitted on man's disposition, rather than printed in books. Erasmus, with a similar focus, referred to Christ as the channel through which God "influences and outpours heavenly grace and (. . .) spiritual wisdom in your disposition."[525] Conversely, Erasmus also warns concerning the most dangerous thing, that, "in one's disposition, false opinions concerning the things that pertain to true salvation might be seated."[526] Regarding Luther, the word is not that common in the writings that could be accessible to Valdés.

In addition to *ánimo,* there is another favorite expression of Valdés that is important to trace: God's "rule and government" over the Christian's heart and life.[527] This is an expression found in Porete's *Mirror*[528] that is also echoed in Alcaraz's trial.[529] The expression would be also used by Erasmus, even though with a slight but

[518] Sp. "muy de veras," or "con sinderidad de ánimo." Wagner, *Le Dialogue,* 54.
[519] DDC, OC, 24.
[520] Ibid., 61.
[521] Sp."Que quitemos y desarraiguemos muy de raíz las raíces de donde … nace" (DDC, OC,52).
[522] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 73.
[523] Ibid.
[524] E.g. DDB 39 r,v. 46r; DD 14, 20, 26, 58, 67, 70, 71, 75, 79, 82, 103, 105, 120, 131.
[525] Erasmus, *Treatise,* 64 Cf. Ibid, 65, 70, 75, 77, 82, 86 and *Enchiridion,* 249-250. Cf. Also, "Printing in the heart a firm purpose of the perfect life" as a goal (*Enchiridion,* 172).
[526] Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 292-3. Cf. similar references to man's disposition, or "ánimo" in Erasmus writings: *Treatise*, 75, 84; *Paraclesis,* 450,453,454,468).
[527] DDC, OC, 27, 29. Man having God as his king and Lord (Ibid, 109).
[528] Porete, *Mirror,* cap 11, p. 65.
[529] AHN, Trial of Alcaraz, fol. 22v.

significant difference in its context. Whereas Erasmus speaks of man "ruling himself according to virtue (. . .) helped by the Holy Spirit's favor,"[530] Valdés always refers to God and particularly the Holy Spirit as the ones who should rule and govern the Christian. As previously noted in the section of Valdés on "God and Man," Erasmus, even though occasionally seemed to focus on Christ,[531] focused predominantly on virtue. It is *Philosophia Christi* that brings more grace and eventually salvation. Erasmus often used Philosophy to illustrate virtue. He used particularly Virgil and the example of Eneas, in which virtue becomes more and more pleasant as virtue becomes more habitual.[532] Virtue and love are humanly reasonable in Erasmus,[533] and man's motivation can be eternal fear,[534] personal self-profit,[535] or even honor versus shame.[536]

Valdés, contrary to Erasmus, neither relies on philosophical arguments nor exhorts with human motivations; his discussion revolves around God's commandments and the Holy Spirit's rule. Valdés' use of "God's rule and government" is actually akin to Alcaraz's connotation, even though it was also used by Erasmus. More than the few instances where "rule and government" are mentioned in this *Dialogue,* the significance of these terms is much more expanded in Valdés' later writings. In Valdés' later writings, to be "ruled and governed by God's Spirit" becomes a coined phrase identifying the true Christian.

Valdés' interest in internal religion had important implications on the performance of ceremonies**.** Valdés argued, for instance, that "it would be better to work" on feast days than to abstain from work and murmur or sin.[537] This example could be offensive to the Inquisition, as it particularly observed *Conversos* on Sundays and other feast days, to see whether they respected or not Christian festivities. Regarding feasts, there is an interesting association of feast days and abstaining from sin. Valdés expands considerably a concept that is present in Luther's writing: "Truly, feast days are all in which we are not sinning."[538] Interestingly, on the other hand, translating Luther, Valdés concedes to the external aspect of religion, both to "external and internal obedience," and to "other exercises which are or can be holy and good."[539] Considering Valdés' own words, he stated that ceremonies and statutes of institutional Christianity were "accessory;"[540] or even, "I do not know which ceremonies and devotions they invent through which they count themselves as more than Christians."[541]

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[530] Erasmus, *Enchiridion,*193.
[531] E.g. Erasmus, *Paraclesis,* 450; or *Treatise,* 78.
[532] Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 133, 150, 172, 207, 210. "Plato, Aristotle . . . with Scripture "are much alike" (ibid, 173).
[533] Ibid., 209.
[534] Ibid., 237.
[535] Ibid., 356.
[536] Ibid., 367.
[537] DDC, OC, 40-41.
[538] Luther WA, I, 439. Cf. 439-441.
[539] DDC, OC, 109, 69.
[540] Ibid., 13.
[541] Ibid., 61.

This reluctance to ceremonies could be found in both Erasmus and Luther. Both of them refer to "superstitions" and Judaic practices in reference to vain ceremonies.[542]

Two references to ceremonies become particularly significant, however. One refers to the human vanity and false security that ceremonies created around their performance. The *Dialogue* referred to the false confidence in beads, prayer books, and daily mass: "They counted as certain that if they sat with God to square things up, they would exceed their obligations."[543] And Valdés reiterated, "In their judgment, they can save their companions' souls on account of their justice, how much more their own!"[544] This could be an echo of Alcaraz's epithet as "owners." However, Erasmus also referred to this attitude when he said that "through these works (. . .) they think that heaven is reserved for them."[545] On one hand, this is a general human perception. On the other hand, the fact that both Alcaraz and Valdés expressed it in the context of the mass could imply a closer affinity or dependence. Valdés' words, furthermore, clearly recalled Alcaraz's struggles with priests and friars: "Whomever they see not taking their cold and vain devotions, even though his soul is alive according to the law of God, they count him not as a Christian."[546]

A second reference of Valdés concerning ceremonies clearly extended beyond Erasmus and Luther. In reference to Old Testament ceremonies, Valdés explained that God gave ceremonies to the Israelites "to keep them busy and hinder them from disobedience and rebellion until (. . .) he determined to send his own Son."[547] Nieto states that "this emptying of the sacrificial and ceremonial laws of any spiritual meaning, and the refusal to interpret them allegorically or symbolically (. . .) is a radical element (. . .) in opposition to the priestly tradition."[548] This detachment from Jewish ceremonies might well be related with the centrality and emphasis he gives to the person of Christ; nevertheless, it also reflects a detachment from ceremonies in general, more akin to his *Converso* background.

Along with ceremonies, Valdés opposed institutional devotion and contemplation, proposing a clearly alternative spirituality. Both devotions and contemplation are directly dealt with in the *Dialogue*. Before dealing with them, Valdés, translating Luther, refers to false preachers who deceive the people and move them with false miracles and tales into certain "devotions."[549] Those devotions are "invented," "cold, and vain."[550] On one hand, as Nieto states, "devotions to the Virgin or the saints

[542] "Superstitious" referred to by Valdés himself (DDB, 80v); by Valdés translating Luther (WA, I. p. 445), by Erasmus (*Enchirition,* 228, 231, 259). "Jewish" referred to by Luther (WA I, 440, 441); Valdés using the term "Pharisaical" (DDC, OC, 61).

[543] Sp. "tienen por cierto que si se asentasen a cuenta con Dios, le alcanzarían de cuenta"(DDC, OC, 46).

[544] DDC, OC, 46-47.

[545] Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 259.

[546] DDC, OC, 61.

[547] Ibid., 125-6

[548] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 124.

[549] "Into devotions" is inserted by Valdés (DDC, OC, 51).

[550] DDC, OC, 61.

are drastically rejected because true devotion seeks to give glory only to God."[551] But, furthermore, mechanical prayers, prayer books, beads, avail nothing, either for a life of perfection or for man's destiny.[552] Valdés' alienation from these devotions and ceremonies clearly appear to extend beyond Erasmus' thought. Erasmus qualified them as "simplicity," and he "did neither condemn them nor even despise them, but could not put up with attributing so much merit (. . .) thinking about them as so holy."[553]

Instead of devotions and ceremonies, Valdés underlined obedience and God's commandments; however, that does not mean that Valdés' message exhorted a raw, insensitive obedience. Valdés' devotion is even more than "to do willingly what is of precept,"[554] as Domingo de Sta. Teresa stated. Valdés' obedience is primarily "love God over all things and one's neighbor as oneself, and to fall in love with the law of God."[555] His message exhorted to a spirituality of affections that is translated into obedience, much more than mere willingness. The love of God was a central focus and common denominator of Valdés' background and of Valdés himself. There are some religious "exercises" mentioned in the *Dialogue* as Valdés translated Luther. These exercises "are *or can be*" good, in reference to religious duties on Sundays or Feasts.[556] Evidently, however, these works were considered away from the institutional and popular concept of devotions, recitations, venerations, etc.

Contemplation is also explicitly dealt with by Valdés. Both Bataillon and Nieto underline Valdés' opposition to the "contemplative imaginations" which became classic through Ignatius of Loyola's Exercises.[557] Of those "imaginations," Valdés does not comprehend their "art", their nature, or the fruit of them, "excepting a dry contentment of thinking they have spent well that time."[558] Valdés' intentionality in this regard is furthermore underlined as Eusebio, the priest in the *Dialogue*, becomes convinced through the "reproof" against those "imaginations;" Eusebio says, "The more I consider (. . .) [your words], I find them so true that I cannot contradict them."[559]

On the other hand, in Valdés' contemplation, Nieto discards "any mystical experience or preparatory exercise to reach the state of contemplative life."[560] That seems logical to conclude from Valdés' own words, as he said that contemplation was "to think in the commandments and the law of God," in order that the soul might take "knowledge of his own lowliness and misery."[561] Bataillon also referred to the *One Hundred and Ten Considerations*, Valdés' most theological book, as the most

[551] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 121. Cf. DDC, OC, 119.
[552] DDC, OC, 105.
[553] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 229-230.
[554] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 80.
[555] DDC, OC, 104.
[556] DDB, fol. 47 v. = WA, I, 521. In italics, that which is inserted by Valdés.
[557] Bataillon ed., DDB, 275; Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 276.
[558] DDC, OC, 132. Of those "imaginations", "the soul remains . . . cold and dry" (ibid).
[559] Ibid., 133.
[560] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 276.
[561] DDC, OC, 132.

emblematic product of Valdés' contemplation.[562] While I generally agree with Nieto and Bataillon, I consider that Valdés re-defined but did not exclude a mystic dimension. His "contemplation" cannot be reduced to a theological reflection. First, Valdés's *Dialogue* was certainly a dissident reaction toward institutional Christianity, and he clearly differed from the spirituality of Francisco de Osuna, the incipient Spanish Mysticism. However, as we have seen earlier, Valdés' use of "experience" can be read as an answer to Osuna's *Third Alphabet.* Valdés' first writing in Italy was *Christian Alphabet*, possibly remembering and answering to Osuna's work. Furthermore, in Valdés' *Christian Alphabet,* there are twelve "steps" outlined which can be paralleled as an answer to Cazalla's *Light of the Soul* and Cazalla's twelve steps therein. On the other hand, and at the same time, Valdés defended a God-given, Spirit-generated spirituality. Later in Italy he even wrote about having a particular "vision" of God, something which could clearly be traced to Alcaraz.[563] All of these arguments convey that while Valdés was contending against "imaginative contemplation," he was not excluding all mystical overtones. Valdés had his own concept of true mysticism in which Scripture and a dependence on God's intervention were fundamental, and in which theological reflection had an important place.

Continuing on Valdés' pastoral views for the church and religious exercises, the teaching of Scriptures and a scriptural Christian faith are clearly emphasized throughout the *Dialogue*. This emphasis is expressed apart from any translation or quotation from other sources; it is his own message. For Valdés, teaching Scripture was the main task of the clergy, that for which they receive their revenues; and yet, that was a main deficiency among them.[564] The lives of the clergy, furthermore, ought to be primarily in conformity with Christian religion; however they should also be "educated and skillful."[565] A working knowledge of Latin is important; if that is not possible, the clergy "ought to study much in books written in the vernacular."[566] If they lack knowledge, they should seek the company of "someone of good letters and good spirit," to whom it is worth paying half of one's revenue for their instruction.[567]

Scriptures and Christian teaching ought to be imparted publicly and exercised personally. Publicly, Valdés inserted in his translation of Luther, it is necessary to declare it concisely, many times, and especially to children.[568] Scripture must individually be exercised upon. The individual should get himself accustomed to read it, study it, and employ prayer and contemplation "upon the lesson" (i.e. meditation).[569] The study of it required an appropriate disposition: Greatest submission and reverence, humbling my spirit before the presence of God, and so I plead that he would so illumine

[562] Bataillon ed., DDB, 275.
[563] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 194r. Cf. Chapter 3, p. 167.
[564] DDC, OC, 98.
[565] Ibid., 136.
[566] Ibid.
[567] Ibid.
[568] Ibid., 108.
[569] Ibid., 120, 134.

my understanding, that whatever I might understand will be all but to his glory, to the edification of my soul, and the profit of my neighbors.[570] With that attitude, the reading of Scripture brings forth "a new desire for God and a new desire for virtue."[571] This particular disposition before Scripture is appropriately linked by Bataillon with Erasmus' *Pietas puerilis*.[572]

In addition to the study of Scripture in religious circles, its teaching should be present in public, daily life. Parents ought to teach their children, since its teaching is an inheritance far more valuable than riches or fame.[573] Talking about Scripture definitely revives and nurtures virtues in the soul, "which should really be the whole end of the conversation of Christians."[574] Contrary to an artificial sacredness of institutional Christianity, the things of Scripture should be the talk of "children and women," even though Antronio speaks of this as most recent and against the dictates of sound reason.[575] The individual's moral life is the product of what his continual talk is; therefore, common people should read and talk about "holy and good things in order to be holy and good."[576] The exercise of teaching, underlines the *Dialogue*, should also include questions to the pupils in order to ensure good learning.[577]

Considering Valdés' background, it is evident that his emphasis on Scripture was not original. He was writing the *Dialogue* in the environment of a University which produced the "Polyglot." Christian Humanism, Erasmus, and Luther promoted and exalted Scripture as a source of religious knowledge and fountain of piety. As in the previous case concerning the attitude of reading Scripture, this reference of Valdés to the convenience that even children and women would talk Scripture is likewise linked by Bataillon to Erasmus' *Paraclesis*.[578] These references are concepts that Valdés assimilated and wove with his own words. They certainly reveal affinities and even influences, but in this case of Scripture, Valdés' background must also be recognized. The use of Scripture among *Conversos*, and more particularly among those so-called *Alumbrados*, who met precisely around the reading of Scripture, reveals that Erasmus could have met a stimulating affinity with Valdés' religious background, but Erasmus did not mean an innovation as Bataillon claimed. Valdés' regard for Scriptures should be read neither merely nor chiefly as Erasmian, but rather as a Christian *Converso*, strongly influenced by the *Alumbrado* context and Alcaraz, and strengthened in this aspect through Erasmus and Luther. There needs to be remembered that the sole authority of Scripture echoes Luther's rather than Erasmus' use of Scripture, as has

[570] Ibid., 134.
[571] Ibid., 134.
[572] Bataillon ed., DDB, 153.
[573] DDC, OC, 79. The higher value of a pious teaching over riches is a reiterative subject in Valdés (Ibid, 129-130).
[574] Ibid., 76.
[575] Ibid., 88. As Bataillon appropriatedly pointed out, Valdés takes this from Erasmus' *Paraclesis* (1925, 260-1).
[576] DDC, OC, 88.
[577] Ibid., 31.
[578] Bataillon ed., DDB, 260.

been previously stated in this thesis. This is again one example of the dynamics of Valdés' eclecticism.

Recalling the paragraph in which Valdés summarized the purpose of his catechetical guidelines, the different expressions and contrasts endeavor to express "that which constitutes evangelical liberty and how far it extends." This may be particularly related with teaching Christians to be of a generous attitude and not scrupulous, as the paragraph referred to. It is interesting that in Luther,[579] Erasmus,[580] and Spanish Erasmianism,[581] the adjective of "evangelical" is applied particularly to internal, genuine religion, to the consideration of the teachings of the gospel as precepts and not merely advice. The expression "evangelical liberty," could find a link with Erasmus' writings and the Erasmian circle of Alcalá de Henares;[582] however, Valdés' background is a much stronger reference to this expression, particularly that of "liberty."

Within the *Alumbrado* conflict, and also traceable to Porete's *Mirror*, "evangelical liberty" was a crucial element of dissent from institutional regulations. The expression is found in association with individuals like Francisca Hernández, Isabel de la Cruz, or María and Juan de Cazalla. Common to all these three female leaders, the term referred to dispensing with religious regulations on account of a spiritual perfection or maturity. Isabel, closely akin to Porete, did not feel the need for vocal prayer but favored abandoning herself to God's will, understanding that the Spirit led her in those things. In the case of Isabel, furthermore, her liberty also denoted a freedom to teach Scripture to others as she felt so led, even though she was a woman and had no formal education.[583] Additionally, her liberty exempted her from accountability to others that were not in the love of God, qualifying them as "bound" or "in shackles."[584] In reference to freedom, Isabel also confessed that she did not restrain the "external senses;" in their stead, she restrained the "internal acts and senses."[585]

Regardless of some similarities with Isabel's liberty, the *Dialogue* proposes some correction in regards to Isabel's example. Similarly, in the *Dialogue*, there is an authoritative, spiritual tone somewhat unexpected from a student of liberal arts. There is also a disregard toward ceremonies and regulations. Without stressing "shackles," like Isabel or Alcaraz did, the *Dialogue* does refer to the excess of "scrutinizing circumstances" which meticulous people do, "like those women, always learning and

[579] Luther wrote, "To live according to the evangelium" (WA, I, p.461), or, "the bread of Evangelical Doctrine" (WA, II, 129), so translated by Valdés (DDB, fol. 79r).

[580] Erasmus wrote, "There is no need that you would approach this Evangelical Philosophy armed with so cumbersome disciplines" (*Paraclesis,* 453), or, "the crust of evangelical doctrine and the exterior letter of the Holy Scriptures" (*Enchiridion,* 139-40).

[581] The translator of *Enchiridion* glossed, "all his abundance dried . . . *because he lacked evangelical doctrine, which purely and clearly had to be administrated to him"* (*Enchiridion,* 290), or, "Jesus Christ becoming our redemption, [that is] *for those of us who are called to his evangelical law"* (*Enchiridion,* 151).

[582] The translator glossed, "God is spirit, *and the things that he commands us are mainly of the spirit rather than of the body, and* where the Spirit *of the Lord* is *to feel and embrace his law spiritually,* there is *the true* liberty *in order to fulfill it generously for love sake"* (*Enchiridion,* 275).

[583] AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol 112r.

[584] Ibid., fol. 113v. Sp. "Atados" "Ataduras."

[585] Ibid.

never reaching the perfect knowledge of the truth."[586] However, there is a clear difference as to "the extent" of that liberty, something which Valdés pointedly underlined in the paragraph previously referred to: "That we might know that which constitutes evangelical liberty and how far it extends."[587] In that regard, the *Dialogue* clearly speaks of moderation regarding "external senses." On the capital sin of gluttony, Valdés translated Luther and exhorted his readers "to be chaste (. . .) to take the means of chastity which are, moderation in eating and sleep, physical labor, prayer, the lesson, contemplation, study, doing good works to one's neighbor, suffering coldness, heat, and poverty."[588] Therefore, while Valdés maintained some aspects of that spiritual freedom which he heard from Alcaraz and the so-called *Alumbrados*, he certainly underlined a moderation regarding the "extent" of it.

The Figure of Antronio

Alongside the Archbishop as Valdés' mouthpiece, there is a parallel argument that is presented through the other two characters of the dialogue: Antronio and Eusebio.[589] Antronio is the one who fictitiously assumes the initiative and writing of the *Dialogue*. The opening scene presents Antronio as a man "of letters and experience,"[590] who had baptized more than five-hundred children,"[591] and who assiduously taught "his children."[592] Antronio came across Eusebio, a priest who was teaching some children. As Antronio watched him, he thought Eusebio was an "idiot, not so well grounded as he ought to be in the things he was saying."[593] Watching Eusebio, and seeing that at least he had a good attitude and some skill, Antronio encouraged Eusebio to go with him to Pedro de Alva, the Archbishop of Granada, so that the Archbishop might teach them both more in depth.

As we understand, this primary appreciation of these two characters partially contradicts some of the opinions shed by some authors on these two characters. On one hand, Domingo de Sta. Teresa considers Antronio to be ignorant,[594] and Nieto calls him "ignorant and unlearned."[595] However, regardless of some deficiencies, the so-called "idiot" is not Antronio but Eusebio.[596] On the other hand, Christine Wagner refers to Eusebio as "the object of almost all the criticisms on behalf of the clergy."[597] Contrarily,

[586] DDC, OC, 71. In reference to II Tim. 3.6.
[587] Ibid.
[588] Ibid., 67; Luther WA, I, 519. Referred to by Gilly (*Juan de Valdés*, 1997, 108).
[589] E.g. Tellechea says nothing in his introduction about this element of the dialogue. He focuses on the Archbishop of Granada (*Diáleg*, 1994, 17-18).
[590] DDC, OC, 9.
[591] Ibid., 12.
[592] Ibid., 13.
[593] Ibid., 9.
[594] Sp. derogatory "ignorantón" (De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 1935, 64).
[595] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 122, 130.
[596] DDC, OC, 9.
[597] Wagner, *Le Dialogue*, 93.

however, in the *Dialogue*, Eusebio is occasionally presented as wiser than Antronio.[598] Conversely, Antronio ends up confessing his false assumption concerning his superior knowledge and spirituality.[599] Furthermore, Antronio's final discovery of what is true Christianity is of such a magnitude that he commits himself to serve Eusebio for the rest of his life; Eusebio had been the cause for coming and hearing the Archbishop's teaching.[600] These two characters, therefore, are rather an illustration of what the *Dialogue* said: divine wisdom is "often given by God to an old lady and to an idiot, whereas it is denied to a high scholar, in such a way that if you talk about it he would think of it as gibberish"[601] – even though I recognize that Antronio was no scholar. Valdés' attitude to institutional Christianity, therefore, should not be estimated according to his use of an "Archbishop" as his mouthpiece, but through Valdés' portrait of Antronio.

Valdés presents Antronio with some deficiencies, but more particularly as one whose traditional perspectives are unfocused. Regarding his shortcomings, there is an evident deficiency in knowledge; however, that is often connected with deeper religious dimensions. For example, concerning Christ's Second Advent, he had only known "a table" about it; the bigger problem, however, is that it hardly constituted a matter of faith and hope. Contrarily, the *Dialogue* presents Christ's Second Advent as something of real importance; Valdés inserts in his translation of Erasmus, "It is becoming for us Christians to believe all of this and also to teach it to those whom we instruct."[602] Continuing with Antronio's deficiencies, he is not trained in Latin and feels too old to start studying it.[603] Furthermore, although recommending devotional books, Antronio confesses to having never been fond of studying.[604] He also refuses to get into "subtleties" that he does not understand about man's constitution,[605] and fails to see the difference between the gifts of wisdom and science.[606] His self-assumed "letters," therefore, are found to be actually scarce, particularly as to provide grounds for a further dimension than mere religiosity. We wonder whether Antronio is the kind of preacher or confessor who, with the garb of religious office, was found to be deficient in the eyes of instructed lay people, e.g., Alcaraz, María Cazalla, or Valdés.[607]

In many occasions, Antronio is an example of traditional Spanish Christianity, the contrasting counterpart of Valdés' teachings that at times coincide with Erasmus' or

[598] Eusebio has good discernment in asking questions (DDC, OC, 21); Eusebio corrects Antronio in that "we are not obliged to serve God because of the Church but the Church because of God" (Ibid, 86); Eusebio also tells Antronio that he, Antronio, cannot give good doctrine if he, Antronio, does not know it well through effort and study (Ibid, 135).

[599] Antronio said, "I went to get wool and return sheared . . . I wanted to praise myself as a devout man, and it turned against me" (DDC, OC, 119).

[600] DDC, OC, 137.

[601] Ibid., 84. "Gibberish" in Sp. is "Algarabía."

[602] Ibid., 25-26. Valdés inserts this as he translates Erasmus' *Inquisitio* (Thompson ed., 67).

[603] DDC, OC, 31.

[604] Ibid., 134-135.

[605] In reference to three parts of man that ought to rejoice in the Lord's Feasts, "the external, internal, and medium man which correspond to the sensual, rational, and spiritual parts of man" (DDC, OC, 40).

[606] DDC, OC, 84.

[607] Diversely referred to in the trials of Alcaraz and particularly María Cazalla.

Luther's tenets. At this point, therefore, it would be redundant to repeat issues like baptism as a mere ritual versus a vow, perfection being an option or not, the Sermon on the Mount being advice or precept, or the first commandment dealing just with idolatry or with a lack of perfect love. Other occasions, however, reflect particular emphases of Valdés' thought and enhance Valdés' portrait of institutional Christianity, particularly in reference to the spiritual dimension of religion, faith, and moral commitment.

As to Antronio's needs, more than "unlearned" as Nieto states, Antronio appears as "unspiritual." His need originates in a lack of spiritual understanding and discernment. Antronio, for instance, declared that the "secret inspirations" from the Holy Spirit, as referred to by the Archbishop, go by unnoticed for him.[608] Antronio confessed his inability to spiritually "feel" cardinal Christian teachings.[609] Contrarily, the Archbishop, for instance, understands the Lord's Prayer with the "feeling" of a "full conformity with God's will (. . .) something which supersedes human strength."[610] The spiritual need is also manifested in Antronio's faith. In response to his reluctance to the resurrection of the body, Valdés responds to him with an insert amidst his translation of Erasmus: "It is enough to embrace it with faith more than with human reasons."[611] Antronio's faith is particularly weak in view of the individual's sinfulness, and even his own. He finds no resource to empty oneself of human wisdom in order to fully love God.[612] Antronio exclaims, "What if I cannot believe that God will hear me [in reference to giving me strength to fulfill his exhortations]?"[613]

Concerning morals, Valdés intensified through Antronio some of his radical overtones. In reference to the Sermon on the Mount being precept for all Christians and not advice, as both Erasmus and Luther stated, the Archbishop exclaimed, "For your life, keep yourself from saying that those [precepts] are advice."[614] That supposition was "an evil sin (. . .) a doorway to be wicked."[615] Of particular interest concerning morals is Valdés' marked disagreement with Erasmus' statement that "none can love another person, if he does not first love himself."[616] As Antronio appealed to that common saying, the Archbishop responded, "You are very much deceived if you think like that."[617] Again, this marked disagreement confirms the eclectic but not dependent relation of Valdés on Erasmus. Valdés could have used or even assimilated some of Erasmus' concepts, but that did not mean an affiliation; Valdés had his own thought which he clearly defended.

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[608] DDC, OC, 26; Cf. Erasmus, *Inquisitio*, 67.
[609] DDC, OC, 30.
[610] Ibid., 110-111.
[611] Ibid., 29.
[612] Ibid., 34.
[613] Ibid., 116.
[614] Ibid., 62.
[615] Ibid.
[616] Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 313-314. This was a popular sentence that originally came from Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologica* 2.2. Question.26.Art.5.
[617] DDC, OC, 60.

The interaction with Antronio, figure of traditional Christianity, reveals a clear polarization. One occasion where this is evident is when the Archbishop explains, from Erasmus' *Inquisitio*, that Christians are not to trust *in* the church but only in God, since the church is made of imperfect men. As Antonio changes to the Archbishop's perspective, Antronio confesses that he had certainly fallen "into that foolishness without noticing it"[618] – the foolishness of trusting *in* the church. Regarding that polarization, it is also interesting to consider Valdés' particular examples, such as Antronio and others in regards to the Lord's Prayer. These, being unable to forgive others, recited the prayer omitting "forgive our debts as we also forgive our debtors." The Archbishop, besides calling that a "new superstition,"[619] exclaims, "Did you ever in your life see a greater nonsense and foolishness? They fear not calling God father, being children of Satan, and desire and ask heavenly bread, which is only given to those who have clean hearts."[620] Another example of that polarization is presented as Valdés considered his own message; he portrayed Antronio estimating the Archbishop's religion as too hard, heavy, and rough, "too narrow (. . .) seeing that very few are the ones who keep the commandments that way."[621]

Finally, Antronio's reactions and resolutions are categorical. In reference to his need, he is frightened by the true intention and full intensity of God's first commandment.[622] He repeatedly confesses his need "to be made anew," considering his fixed and contrary disposition to such a level of commitment.[623] He later stated, "Until this moment, I did not know what Christianity was" and praised God for showing it to him through the Archbishop's conversation.[624] He recognized himself and others "who counted ourselves even as light (. . .) and salt," who lived in blindness and darkness.[625] Antronio finally exclaims: "You send me back so wholly changed that I think that those who saw me will not recognize me."[626]

Summary on Valdés' *Dialogue* in Light of his Influences

This chapter's first task has been to confirm the strong documentary attestation in favor of Juan de Valdés' authorship of the *Dialogue*. Valdés' authorship has been further and repeatedly confirmed by the coincidence of terms, thoughts, and even illustrations between the *Dialogue* and the rest of Valdés' writings. The clear trace of the *Dialogue*'s teachings to the teaching of Alcaraz, as well as the use of Luther, confirm the author's personality. The *Dialogue's* use of Luther's *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer* instead of Erasmus (as well as other Lutheran textual dependences), or

[618] Ibid., 28.
[619] Ibid., 113.
[620] Ibid., 112-113.
[621] Ibid., 51.
[622] Ibid., 59. Cf. also, ibid., 65.
[623] Ibid., 60. Also, ibid., 71, 101.
[624] Ibid., 50.
[625] Ibid., 71.
[626] Ibid., 137.

the references to "today's saints" or to a life of perfection, to the Scripture's authority, or to the need of Antronio "to be made anew" are irreconcilable with Juan Luis Vives being its author. Therefore, both the documentary attestation and the analysis of the *Dialogue's* contents confirm Valdés' authorship of the *Dialogue*.

Secondly, this chapter has analyzed the *Dialogue's* contents in order to provide specific criteria to evaluate and define the relationship of Juan de Valdés to the different religious currents that made up his religious background. Both the analysis of the *Dialogue*'s contents as well as its proven textual dependencies, particularly from Erasmus and Luther, reveal the composite or eclectic thought of Juan de Valdés. Significantly, no source or religious influence remains undeveloped or without criticism; contrarily, crucial differences are clearly stated with each one of them. The clear influence from Alcaraz (e.g., radical dependence on God, God-given illumination, life of perfection) needs to be contrasted with Valdés clear evolution and permeability to the Erasmian influence (e.g., the centrality of Christ or salvation and its eternal dimension). That clear Erasmian influence needs to be also balanced with Valdés' clear correction of Erasmus' optimistic anthropology, or his non-synergistic soteriology. Valdés' foundational, Alcaracian dependence on God clearly adopted Luther's soteriology; nevertheless, contrary to Luther's *simul peccator et iustus,* Valdés' true Christianity was identified with a God-enabled life of perfection and love-union with God.

Valdés' eclectic, non-conformist thought could have certainly been influenced by his *Converso* lineage. Even though his assimilation into Christianity was clearly further than his first teachers (i.e. Isabel de la Cruz or Alcaraz), his religious message portrayed the struggle of deeply searching Christian piety but restlessly interacting with the institutional church's theology and his contemporary religious currents. He seems to struggle between dissidence from institutionalism but belonging to Christianity. He did not side with any single religious current as ideal but endeavored to bring together whatever could be usable in order to express his own message. He sought to harmonize, to comply as much as possible while maintaining his most basic foundations. In that struggle and quest, he certainly participated in the non-ceremonialism, in the internal religion and integrity, in the return to Scripture, and in every one of these aspects his *Converso* legacy had a particular relevance.

Valdés' personal eclecticism had a central focus: the basis and experience of true Christianity. Valdés presented what he considered its theological foundation: the Apostles' Creed. The axioms of the creed were to be understood according to orthodoxy and taken as essentials, different from the neither essential nor relevant additions of traditional church and Christianity. Church and Christianity are defined in terms of a spiritual experience and on the basis of a justification by faith and a satisfaction of Christ's atonement. As such, the saints, true Christians, or the spiritual people were able to joyfully fulfill God's Commands. The need was not to purge the individual from all sinful acts but to deal with the root of his depravity, aiming to love God supremely and one's neighbor as oneself. Valdés defended the individual's full dependence on an all-

powerful, loving God and the provision made by Christ, sufficient to restore the individual's lost condition. Religion, more than merely based on virtue, moved within the spiritual dimension of God's given wisdom and enablement. As to the expression or manifestation of that spiritual man, true Christian experience was not regulated through institutional standards, ceremonies, or devotions but rather through a love commitment, obedience, and God's government of the individual. The eucharist, in accordance with Christ's centrality, Scripture, and prayer constitute man's resources in his quest for a true Christian experience, along with other suggestions or compliances that occasionally reflect some radical tenets.

According to this central focus, Valdés is neither an example of Erasmianism nor the translator of Luther. On one hand, there seems to be no originality in his thought, except the particular way in which he mixed the sources he used. Any classification only according to abstract, conceptual theology (e.g., Catholic, Lutheran, Unitarian) or inquisitorial parameters (e.g., orthodoxy versus heresy or Catholic versus Protestant) fails to represent Valdés' message. The focus of Valdés' message is expressed within the parameters of Christian experience with the purpose of defining true Christianity. In that regards, he borrowed, redefined, glossed, and argued with so-called *Alumbrados* or the already mentioned sources, expressing his own pastoral guide.

Even though this chapter has provided relevant and significant arguments to describe Valdés' thought, its evaluation and definition is not complete without a comparison with his later writings. The *Dialogue* presents the contradictions, for instance, of referring to Hernando de Talavera and translating Luther, or saying that baptism brings forgiveness of sins and yet that true Christianity is entered into through a spiritual experience. The inexorable implications of the Inquisition's pressures need to be collated with Valdés' teachings while in a more open environment, free from the Spanish Inquisition, with the possibility of diversifying his modes of teaching (spiritual guide, theological reflection, and Bible Commentary), and surrounded by followers and friends.

In his Neapolitan writings, which will begin to be written six years after his *Dialogue*, Valdés will continue to interact with his religious context, taking and using religious elements of his environment as long as it contributed to his presentation of a victorious and possible love-relationship with God. The content of Valdés' later writings will reveal those theological and religious characteristics which remain as the axis of his thought. It will reveal also the possibility of a more detailed exposition of what he could only intimate in Spain and the existence or not of an evolution in his thought.

Part III

Analysis of Valdés' Writings among Followers and Friends in Naples

Preliminary Remarks about Valdés' Neapolitan Writings

In view of the apparent urgency and pressures under which Valdés wrote his *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*, Valdés' Neapolitan writings can be considered a more unhindered expression of his thought. The evidence of the *Dialogue's* intentional glosses, dissident elements, and personal expressions build up an anticipation of that which was to come in his later and more expanded literary production. Even those who speak of a later departure from Erasmus in Naples recognize traces of his later convictions in the *Dialogue*.[1] In Naples, the environment of yearning hearts, receptive ears, and kindred voices unleashed Valdés' former self-contained disconformity. The unexpected openness to his message in Naples triggered a prolific and almost feverish writing during those last years of his life (1536-1541). The scenario recalled some elements of "the times of the *Alumbrados*:" a particular religious fervency with high aspirations, gatherings in homes, a certain degree of secrecy, and dissident or alternative teachings. Differing from Spain, the environment of Naples was freer and friendlier.

Valdés' Historical Environment and Friends

Recognizing the dependable character of Valdés' Neapolitan writings, different aspects of his experience in Italy could affect the understanding of his writings. One of those aspects is Valdés' categorical change from his Roman to his Neapolitan profile: from a total concealment of his religious interests to a public projection of his message. When Valdés arrived to Rome in 1531, he was received by the anti-Erasmian Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. Pietro Carnesecchi, one of Valdés' closest friends later in Naples, spoke of him in Rome as a man "of cape and sword," totally unaware of his spiritual interests. Valdés' post as "Chamberlain of the Pope and Secretary of the Emperor"

[1] e.g., Bataillon (DDB, 1925), Haggard (*Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés*, 1971), De Sta. Teresa (*Juan de Valdés*, 1935).

could hardly be taken as an ecclesiastical position;[2] it was mainly political, provided through the influence of his brother Alfonso, Imperial Secretary. Likewise, those letters full of "wit and style" which Valdés wrote from Rome to some Neapolitan noblemen were never mentioned afterwards, contrary to the frequent references to letters, Considerations, and discourses which appear in his religious writings. In addition to his religious silence, the coming of the Farnese's to the Papal chair and the relapse of influential posts to more traditional individuals must have added a considerable degree of frustration in Valdés.[3]

Valdés' secular profile changed as he moved to Naples and Giulia Gonzaga shared her spiritual struggles with him. Even though some concealment was requested by Giulia and consented by Valdés,[4] he immediately and earnestly transcribed their conversation and his pastoral guide. Her struggles perfectly matched Valdés' religious focus and message. His pastoral earnestness and writing increased year by year. As Valdés' pastoral labors developed, his boldness and call for church reform re-emerged and consolidated. His technical terms, phrases, and definitions became repetitious and instructive mantras. His pastoral and theological views were concisely settled in letters and short treatises.

Valdés' Neapolitan writings, consequently, manifest a certain precipitation. Pacheco, a personage of Valdés' *Dialogue on Language*, referred to Valdés as writing "at night that which he does during the day, and during the day that which he dreams by night."[5] While he was writing a commentary, for instance, he was writing another and planning on another.[6] His pages occasionally contain verses misquoted,[7] inconclusive thoughts,[8] or listings which are said to be three points and end up in thirteen.[9] These inaccuracies do not remove dependability from his writings. Valdés' teachings do not depend on isolated texts; they are frequently repeated through coined sentences and technical words.

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[2] As Nieto refers to, along with "political" (*Two Catechisms,* 1981, 7).

[3] We understand that more than "cautious" as Nieto expresses (*Two Catechisms,* 1981, 8), there was certainly a degree of frustration.

[4] One of Giulia's requests, consented by Valdés, was to lead her to a piety which could be lived "in secret;" She did not want "to give occasion for the people to murmur" (Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 415, 455. Cf. also ibid., 438, 450); Valdés' pastoral guide was "a secret way through which to go to God without being seen by the world" (Ibid., 459).

[5] Valdés, *Dialogo de la Lengua*, OC,162.

[6] Juan de Valdés, *El Salterio: Traduzido del hebreo en romance castellano*, ed. Edward Boehmer (Bonn: Impr. de C. Georgi, 1880). When writing Romans Valdés referred to having written something of Corinthians and also planning on writing other writings, which he had not yet begun (Valdés, *Comentary on Romans,* 1856, 245). While writing Matthew, he referred to "that which I will say on Mark" (Valdés, *Commentary on Matthew,*1880, 401).

[7] E.g. Valdés wrote, "God putting all the treasures of his divinity in Christ …," when actually Paul wrote "the treasures of wisdom and the fullness of his deity" (*Com. Ro.*, 79); or, "Vengeance is mine" of Deut. 32.25 is quoted as Deut 42 (*Com. Ro*., 254).

[8] E.g. Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 78, p. 660; n.79, p. 689.

[9] E.g. Valdés, Considerations, OC, n. 76, p. 655-666; In Consideration n.8, Valdés refers to four things that God will do with the Christian (adoption, justification, resurrection, and eternity), and forgets to discuss the resurrection (*Considerations,* n. 8, p. 510).

Valdés' categorical change to religious fervency and pastoral labors was not caused by any conversion; it was rather a re-awakening. He did not turn to a previously unknown Neapolitan religious current; his revival rescued his past religious formation and convictions. The coincidences between the *Dialogue* and the Neapolitan writings will manifest it. Domingo de Sta. Teresa, in order to preserve a more orthodox Valdés, defended an "evident change of preoccupations and themes" in Valdés' Neapolitan writings, fruit of "the period of religious crisis in Italy, from 1530-1542."[10] Domingo de Sta. Teresa outlines the traits of that Italian religious influence as the commitment to an internal religious life, the study of Saint Paul as master of all spiritual life, a feeling of the need to be certain of an efficacious divine grace, the experience and consciousness of the sickness of man's free choice and will, the conscience of the imperfect works of justice that people present to God, the need to rest and trust on the merits of Christ, the issue of Christian liberty, autodidactic spirits, or unlimited trust in interior illumination.[11] These characteristics, as this thesis has expressed, existed among *Conversos* and particularly among the so-called *Alumbrados*. Also Wolfang Otto refers to Valdés's mystic and *illuminist* influences as received in Italy, unjustly ignoring Valdés' Spanish background.[12]

Valdés certainly interacted with his religious environment in Naples. The *Dialogue* has already proven a degree of permeability and eclecticism. However, there is a fundamental uniformity between the *Dialogue* and Valdés' Neapolitan writings, acknowledged by authors like Bataillon[13] or Nieto.[14] Examples of that uniformity will keep coming up as the various aspects of Valdés' teachings are discussed. The analysis of his writings will confirm that Valdés' teachings are clearly traceable to his Spanish background.

Another element that could have affected Valdés' writings is the socio-religious climate that anteceded Inquisition in Italy. It was instituted one year after Valdés' death, persecuting and executing some of his closest friends. Was there any growing pressure or hostility that could have caused some concealment or external compliance again in his later writings? Naples, under Spanish dominion, was affected in some measure by Spain's absolutism. Gregorio Rosso, a contemporary chronicler, refers to Emperor Charles not only being moved by a Lent sermon from Bernardino Ochino, a preacher linked with Valdés, but also being implacable against Lutheranism.[15] The Emperor's

[10] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 125. Franca Petrucci's claim that Flaminio's siding with Tulio's position and differing from Contareno and Seripando on sola gratia and predestination was due to "le influenze del valdès e del Vermigli" is annecdotal ("Crispolti, Tulio," *Dizionario Biografico*, 30th vol., 1984).

[11] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*,126-128, 133.

[12] Otto refers to the *Alphabet* as the settlement of his mystic personality focused on Scripture, which will continue through the rest of his writings, with no trace to his Roman Catholic past (1989, 24-25).

[13] Bataillon ed., DDB, 186.

[14] Nieto, *Two Catechisms*, 17.

[15] Gregorio Rosso. *Historia delle cose di Napoli sotto l'imperio di Carlo V*, Napoli, 1635, 133-135, cited in Croce, *Alphabet*, vii.

openness to Ochino's ethical exhortations did not exclude or mitigate his zeal against heresy.

In Valdés' writings, there appears to be a changing connotation regarding hostility. In the *Alphabet's* context (1536), opposition and hostility came from the people "of the world."[16] In his *Commentary on Psalms* (c. 1537), there is persecution from the religious world. Valdés referred to those who pretended piety through ceremonies, scruples, and superstitions as those who "always persecute" the pious.[17] As his writings developed, his expressions became bolder. Valdés referred to "secret enemies of God and of Christ" who despised true Christians, causing them to be "truly martyrs for Christ's sake."[18]

From *Considerations*, there appears the figure of "the saints of the world." In Consideration no.76, Valdés first referred to them, persecuting "the saints of God" (i.e. true Christians) with "derision, mistreatment, and death," impelling them to depart from the gospel and from Christ.[19] Saints of the world are those who turn against the saints of God, the true Christians, tearing them up as dogs do with their murmurings, persecutions, and martyrdom.[20] These saints of the world, linked with biblical Jews and Pharisees, are portrayed as more pernicious than the men of the world; true Christians must flee and depart from them as from the plague.[21]

Persecution, as Valdés perceived, was "not against the name of Christ, but because of "the Christian living,"[22] that is, because they follow Christ's internal holiness. Valdés stated that during his days persecution was "much fiercer than before."[23] Persecution arose against "preaching the gospel or teaching about Christian living, against having the gift of an apostle or a doctor," which he tacitly assumed, as we shall discuss later.[24] As time went on, therefore, Valdés was convinced of his own teaching and pastoral gift, suffering hostility from that Christianity which he associated with an empty ritualism and esteemed governed by human judgment. To the increasing pressure, he certainly responded with more boldness.

Another element affecting the understanding of Valdés' Neapolitan writings is the so-called Valdessian circle. The Valdessian circle, or even "Valdessian Church,"[25] has brought some definite connotations to Valdés' thought. The general association of

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[16] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 438, 525. Also, " These ones, differing from those who seek their own self, are despised, abhorred, and persecuted by the world while they are loved and favored by God" (Ibid., *Considerations*, n.95, p. 706); true Christians, writes Valdés, "have suffered and sufer from hand to hand" (*Alphabet,* OC, 455); "men of the world" are desirous to inflict pain both in the body and in one's disposition" (*Considerations,* OC, n.17, p.525); Cf. also *Considerations,* OC,n.96, p. 706; *Com. Psalms, 220, 233; Comm. Matthew,* 181-187.

[17] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 64, 77, 144, 169.

[18] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 96, p. 706. Cf. Ibid., n. 17, p.525-526.

[19] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC. n. 76, p. 653.

[20] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 126.

[21] Ibid., 126, 507-508.

[22] A technical expression of Valdés to be discussed later.

[23] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 251. Also *Considerations* , OC, n.93, p. 700.

[24] Celio Secundo Curione called Valdés so in the prologue of his ed. to Valdés' 110 Considerations.

[25] Nieto, Two Catechisms, 9; Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés*, 15.

spirituali [26]and the different theological paths that its members took after Valdes' death have led some authors to infer that Valdés was not interested in theology.[27] Conversely, in addition to the theological content of Valdés' writings, the letters of Marcantonio Flaminio to Cardinal Contarini rather disproves that consideration. Not only do the letters express a discussion over very particular theological issues, they also reveal a diversity of opinion among those who have been linked with Valdés.[28] Also in reference to the Valdessian circle, its historical encounter has identified Valdés with Ochino's Unitarianism.[29] However, Valdés' writings do not warrant that association.

Concerning the extension of Valdés' circle, after Valdés' death, there were both generalizations concerning heresy and eulogies towards him that cannot be accepted uncritically. Antonio Caracciolo (1519-1571), author of a biography of Paul IV, spoke of three thousand "Protestants" in Naples, which some sources have identified or associated with Valdés' followers.[30] Caracciolo referred to Vermiglio, Ochino, and Flaminio as Valdés's disciples; however, Caracciolo's generalization should be taken as a token of his dislike towards dissidence, not as a theological assessment. On the other hand, eulogies like Bonfadio's reference to Valdés as "a rare man in Europe,"[31] or Cuirione's reference to Valdés as a "Pastor and Doctor of noble and illustrious people," cannot be taken as indications that Valdés was representative of all those who gathered. Haggard refers to Valdés arriving in 1535 and being "established" as Doctor and Pastor" of a large group of Italians.[32] That is an improper consideration. Haggard is taking a eulogy of 1550, nine years after Valdés' death, and imposing it on his arrival to Naples.

Regarding Valdés' leading role within the so-called circle, the reading of his writings reveal a personal and even intimate tone in the writing of many of his *Considerations* and Commentaries**.** Haggard's perception of Valdés as "the chief theologian and pastor of the gatherings of his Italian Villa" is not warranted.[33] In reality, Valdés' teaching had humble beginnings in Naples, with Cardinal Gonzaga introducing Giulia to him for a secular business upon his arrival to Naples.[34] In the *Alphabet*, Valdés is not Giulia's confessor and his gentleness reveals a certain distance. Certainly, Valdés' personal style does not limit his eventual influence on others but points to his writings as the criteria to evaluate his thought, not his apparent associations or representativeness

[26] Spirituali was a label denoting 'verae pietatis amantes' in reference to those who constituted the circle in Viterbo (De Sta. Teresa, 1957, 150).

[27] The position of Massimo Firpo (*Entre Alumbrados*, 2000) or A. Hamilton (*Juan de Valdés*, 1993).

[28] Letters of Flaminio to Cardinal Contarini and Seripando, reproduced in: Ercole Cuccoli, *M. Antonio Flaminio: studio, con documenti inediti.* (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1897), available in: http://books.google.com/books?id=79DUAAAAMAAJ , accessed 4/06/2015.

[29] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados y Espirituales, 145.*

[30] E.g., Maximiliaan F. Van Lennep, *La Reforma en España en el Siglo XVI* (Michigan: T.E.L.L., 1984), 167.

[31] Letter of Giacomo Bonfadio a Carnesecchi, xx (quoted in Tellechea ed. *Diàleg*, 11).

[32] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés*, 33, 157.

[33] Ibid., 34.

[34] Valdés, *Letters to Cardinal Gonzaga*, 3.

of the so-called circle. Furthermore, his friends' descriptions[35] or his own expressions[36] discard an intentional leadership; they rather depict a passive influence that steadily grew in confidence and relevance. The grounds to evaluate Valdés' thought, therefore, is the analysis of his writings and not historical associations.

Throughout Valdés life, relationships, common interests or fervency did not denote affiliation or identification. In Spain, the *Alumbrado* meetings were not indicative of theological affinity. Don Diego's proceedings in favor of Alcaraz did not mean a commitment to his beliefs. Valdés dedicating his *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* to Don Diego did not mean a disciple-relationship either.[37] Likewise, Valdés' participation in the Erasmianism of Alcalá did not mean an affiliation to Erasmus' theology. Likewise, his writings suggest a diversity of relationships to the so-called circle. He wrote, for instance, concerning some who initially manifested "certain (. . .) feelings (. . .) insights from the Holy Scriptures (. . .) and tears," appearing as from the Spirit but being of the flesh, and, consequently, "with the time they wither[ed]."[38] In Flaminio's letters, also, Flaminio differs from Contarini and from Seripando and speaks of himself in terms of "we" and "our opinion." In addition to them being related with the so-called circle, Valdés explicitly resented theological partisanships (even though he maintained a dogmatic position on some theological issues).[39] The so-called Valdessian circle in Naples, therefore, included a variety of personalities who shared a common fervency and pursuit for a renewed religion, but without a necessary theological affinity or general identification.

Regarding the Valdessian circle, Valdés' relationship with Giulia needs to be also critically assessed. Domingo de Sta. Teresa speaks of her as Valdés' "preferred disciple."[40] Croce states that all of Valdés' writings were "ideally for her, for her first and worthy disciple."[41] Nieto speaks of the relationship between Valdés and Giulia as "platonic love (. . .) at the level of spiritual communication."[42] Nieto defends that perspective to the point that he refers to the non dedication of *Considerations* and five *Tracts* as an indication that Valdés left them unfinished.[43] It is true that Valdés eulogized Giulia, having "a divine conversation and gentleness, which is not a bit inferior to her beauty."[44] This reference, however, was prior to any religious relationship with her (1535), manifesting her reputation and beauty rather than an appraisal of her religious character. Valdés spoke of her "honesty and … moderation of

[35] i.e. humble, charming.

[36] e.g., "Finding my disposition totally dry and steril . . . I thought …" (Considerations, n.23, p. 535); "I take this resolution" (Ibid., n.45, p. 581); "Many times I have set myself to examine how is…" (Ibid., n.70, p.635).

[37] Francisco de Osuna also dedicated his *Third Alphabet* to Don Diego with similar eulogies.

[38] Valdés, *Considerations,* n. 100, p. 717.

[39] E.g. Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 53, 270; *Com. Matthew*, 96.

[40] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan Valdés*, 105.

[41] Croce ed., xxiii.

[42] Nieto, *Two Catechisms,* 9.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Valdés, *Letters to Card. Gonzaga,* 3.

habits."[45] Those remarks, along with Valdés' compliant attitude towards her, need to be balanced with both Valdés' interests as he related to the nobility and his indirect suggestions for her sponsorship. Valdés' words rather resemble Erasmus' eulogies to Juan de Valdés in view of the contributions that his brother Alfonso procured for him. These compliments are comparable to those in Francisco de Osuna's dedication of his *Third Alphabet* to the Marquis in Escalona.

Other remarks about Giulia were not that elevated. The *Alphabet* (1536), for instance, recorded her exasperation in response to Valdés' exhortation: "What an irritation (. . . .) leave me alone with your reproofs; if I could do it so quickly, I promise you that I would not delay."[46] Valdés considered that she continued "contemplating" low and transitory things.[47] Years later in *Doctrinal Epistles* no.4, Valdés still exhorted her "to diligently deprive herself from everything that is according to human prudence" in order to keep herself and grow "in piety."[48] In *Doctrinal Epistle* no.6, Valdés spoke about her great anxiety in regard to sickness, not knowing whether she took her sickness "as children of this age (. . .) or as children of God do."[49] *Questions and Answers*, considerably after the *Alphabet*, portray Giulia beginning to walk in the way indicated by Valdés.[50] After Valdés' death, the fact that Giulia went to a monastery for the rest of her life does not reflect either a close attachment to Valdés' teachings.

In addition to Valdés' expressions about Giulia, some statements betray his invitation for her to patronize him. Writing with reference to Giulia, Valdés spoke of "the preacher" and the *dottore del vivere Christiano*[51]as individuals who had received "the apostolate"[52] – a clear reference to himself and his pastoral labors; their disciples should "serve their preacher and doctor with external and corporal services."[53] In addition to that, as Valdés dedicated his writings to Giulia it is evident that he was writing to a wider audience.[54] Considering Giulia's status and reputation, her name certainly added a considerable reputation to his writings. These elements speak of more material interests and not just a "preferred-disciple" or "platonic-love" relationship.

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[45] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 394-395.

[46] Ibid., 380.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Valdés, *Seven Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 848.

[49] Valdés, *Seven Doctr.,* OC, 858. The date is clearly 1540, evident in Valdés' letters to Cobos, Cf. letters of March 25, 1540. Reproduced in Croce ed. *Alphabet,* 158.

[50] Valdés used expressions like "beginners in Christ," or "one who is young in the Gospel," or "one who has just entered" (*Questions and Answers,* OC, n.8 p. 819; n. 10, 823, 824).

[51] Name already mentioned and used by Celio Secundo Curione in his dedicatory letter to Valdés' 110 Considerations. Cf. Juan de Valdés, *Le cento et dieci divine Considerationi del S. Giovanni Valdesso : nelle quali si ragiona delle cose piu utili, piu necessarie, et piu perfette, della Christiana professione,* ed. Celio Secundo Curione (Johannes Oporin: 1550).

[52] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 827.

[53] Ibid,.826-827. Also, "You should know that . . . it is a most good deed for the Christian to pay attention to keep . . . . the advice of the person through whom God has communicated to him the Holy Spirit" (Ibid., 810).

[54] E.g. Valdés, *Com. Romans,* xii.

Valdés' Neapolitan Writings

Regarding the chronology of Valdés' writings, research agrees concerning the *Alphabet* and the *Commentary on Matthew*, dating them in 1536 and 1541 respectively. They mark the beginning and end of Valdés' writings in Naples. Concerning the other Commentaries, even though Valdés simultaneously wrote and planned different works,[55] his Commentaries contain explicit references. Valdés completed first *On Psalms* and one year later *On Romans*,[56] then *Corinthians*, and lastly *On Matthew*. Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to 1538-1541 as Valdés' "religious exercise (. . .) in its deeper and intense phase," reaching its climax "concerning depth of doctrine and radius of influence" from 1539 on.[57] Domingo de Sta. Teresa, with implications to the chronology of Valdés' writings, depicts Valdés as a recipient or victim of his friends' influence on justification and predestination (1539-1541). Similarly, Domingo Ricart, in view of *Psalms* referring to justification and predestination, places this *Commentary* towards the last years of his life 1539-1541.[58] This late date, however, contradicts Valdés' explicit remarks.

Tellechea, Catholic scholar of this period, has suggested 1537 as the date of *Psalms*,[59] which fits better with Valdés' indications. The relevance of this date is that Valdés expressed his conviction about predestination before the arrival of Flaminio, Carnesecchi and Ochino to Naples in 1539. His friends' arrival on 1539 could have strengthened or enhanced his convictions, but Valdés' conviction anteceded that relationship. Predestination is a natural consequence of the dependence-on-God tenet which he received from Alcaraz and theologically articulated with Luther.

One Hundred and Ten Considerations is dated around 1540 by Tellechea. This could be confirmed by Valdés' reference to Consideration 109 as he commented on his *Commentary on Matthew's Gospel*.[60] Considering its format and contents, this work could have been written simultaneously with others. The disordered presentation of *Considerations*, as well as the relationship of contents among some of them, suggests that their present order could be the order in which they were written. This could be significant as to their contents and characteristics, e.g., the connection of the *Alphabet* and first considerations regarding "happiness," or "the saints of the world" beginning in Consideration no.76. *Questions and answers* and other short treatises should be located towards the end of Valdés teaching period, 1539-1540; they manifest a more settled formulation and public dimension of Valdés' teaching. The significance of this later date is that *Doctrinal Epistles* records Valdés' concern for Giulia's attitude toward her sickness. If Valdés' *Alphabet* was written in 1536, this observation would confirm that

[55] Cf. Footnote n.6 of this chatper.
[56] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* vii.
[57] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,*134. He also refers 1539-1541 as when "the spiritual magistry of this man from Cuenca reaches its heighth" in doctrine and influence (ibid., 137).
[58] Ricart ed., *Dial. Doctr. Cristiana,* 9.
[59] This date is also favored by Haggard (*Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés,* 1971, 36).
[60] Valdés, *Com. Matthew,* 17.

Giulia was not really an advanced disciple of his, though she could have been a patron of Valdés and even disciple to some extent.

Focus and Modes of Valdés' Teaching

Considering Valdés' writings, there is no question about the unity of his thought. There is a basic "thematic unity" and stable "spiritual system" throughout Valdés' works.[61] His writings, however, present different modes of pastoral instruction, i.e. a spiritual guide, theological reflections, letters and pamphlets, and Bible commentaries. His audiences range from the personal, almost intimate *Christian Alphabet* to the open public audience of *Little Treatises* or *Commentary on Matthew*.

Authors have offered different keys to unlock or methods to explain Valdés' thought. Authors like Bataillon, Longhurst, [62] Domingo Ricart, [63] Cantimori, [64] Hamilton, [65] or Firpo [66] have valuably contributed to Valdessian research from a historian's perspective. Their works may present valuable historical connections; however, the lack of analyzing concepts, terms, and emphases may portray general pictures that could be misleading. Domingo de Sta. Teresa, the first one to write a systematic appraisal of Valdés' thought, stated that it revolved around "the concept of fallen man, of God, Christ and his work, and the consequences which that [work] has brought to the Christian in its dogmatic and moral aspects." [67] Complementarily, Bataillon and Cione underlined the law, gospel, and "experience" as cardinal aspects of Valdés thought, something which Domingo de Sta. Teresa already referred to.[68]

Haggard and Bankhuizen discuss the *Alphabet*, Valdés' personal and spiritual image, and basically extend the *Alphabet*'s contents on the rest of Valdés' writings.[69] Haggard believes that the *Alphabet* is like a bridge between Valdés' more Erasmian *Dialogue* and the less Erasmian writings towards the end of his life. Consequently, Haggard defends the *Alphabet* as the best criteria to analyze the rest of Valdés' writings. He basically takes Valdés' contrast between the law and gospel (referring to external

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[61] Expressions of De Sta. Teresa, the first one who approached all writings after Bataillon's discovery of DDC (1935, 156).

[62] Longhurst, *The case of Juan de Valdés*.

[63] Ricart, *Juan de Valdés y el Pensamiento Religioso Europeo en los Siglos XVI y XVII*.

[64] Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del cinquecento, ricerche storiche.* (Firenze: G.C. Sansoni--editore, 1939).

[65] Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés*.

[66] The contribution of Firpo to the Italian environment of Valdés is remarkable; however, he himself refers that he does not go deeper into theological issues (*Entre Alumbrados,* 2000, 67). Cf. Massimo Firpo, *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento: un profilo storico* (Roma: Laterza, 1993); Massimo Firpo, *Dal sacco di Roma all'inquisizióne: studi su Juan de Valdés e la Riforma italiana* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998); Massimo Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados y «espirituales»*, *Op.Cit.*; Massimo Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation* (Routledge, 2016).

[67] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 156. It is interesting that De Sta. Teresa would recognize here the dogmatic nature of Valdés' thought; he regularly presents it in a psychological aspect.

[68] Bataillon ed., DDB, 128-130. Also Bataillon, *Erasmo: estudios sobre la Historia*, 409-410; Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 84-86; Domingo, *Juan de Valdés*, 66-68.

[69] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés*; Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Juan de Valdés, réformateur en Espagne*.

versus internal religion) to confirm Bataillon's Erasmian perspective of Valdés. Haggard's assessment of Valdés' use of law versus gospel, however, ignores the *Converso* and Lutheran elements of Valdés' background. Furthermore, his appreciation ignores the large theological and soteriological aspects of that expression in Valdés' use.

Other authors like Carrasco, Jones, or Otto have systematized Valdés' thought according to personal categories, which I believe help only in part to grasp Valdés' teaching.[70] Their outlines appear to answer their own questions instead of letting Valdés express his own emphases. Nieto has used "knowledge and experience" as the interpretation-key of Valdés' thought. It would appear that Nieto desires to rebut a mystical Valdés, and he starts off portraying an abstract-theological view which is difficult to harmonize with the exclusive Alcaracian perspective he desires to portray of Valdés. Furthermore, it is necessary to recognize that "knowledge and experience" was not a stable term in Valdés; he actually confessed that he was not satisfied of his definition until his Consideration 110th.[71] Otto's analysis begins with knowledge, like Nieto does. His descriptive exposition of Valdés' thought emerges much more from Valdés' expressions than Nieto. On the other hand, however, when Otto considers Valdés' teachings in view of his background, his appreciations could be seen as somewhat confusing.[72]

In the presentation of Valdés' thought, this research endeavors to take a recognized criterion which I understand has not been used. Authors like Domingo de Sta. Teresa or Nieto, recognize a small *Treatise* as expressing the structure of Valdés' thought: *De Penitentia*. [73] Nieto states that,

> The outline of the preaching of the gospel here presented [in *De Penitentia*] gives at least the impression that Valdés was working toward a more systematic presentation of his thought (. . . .) The theological structure that he presents is not different from that of *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* or the *Alphabet.* [74]

Sad to say, however, Domingo de Sta. Teresa, Nieto, and others, recognizing this tract-summary, have preferred to use their own schemes. There are other writings which

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[70] Carrasco focuses on the rather intellectual question concerning "the conditions to understand Christianity," focusing on the spiritual nature of Valdés' concept of knowledge (*Alfonso et Juan,* 1880, 98-99). Otto outlines different themes, sometimes very pertinent and others clearly distant from Valdés' environment, from mysticism to scholastic influences.

[71] Valdés, *Considertions*, OC, 748.

[72] E.g. Otto sees Wiffen and Menendez Pelayo as "crucial for a coherent comprehension of Valdés" (139). In addition to the Catholic Menendez Pelayo being considered even by Catholic writers as "tendentious" (Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* xx), neither Wiffen nor Pelayo had any idea of Valdés' *Dialogue on Doctrine*, attributing his brother Alfonso's dialogues to Valdés' authorship. They knew nothing of the *Alumbrado* Edict nor those accused of Alumbradism. Otto continues in a literary survey of authors, but to speak of Wiffen and Pelayo as "crucial" is confusing. Otto appropriately discusses the mystic overtones of Valdés' knowledge, and yet speaks of Valdés as "clearly" influenced by Anselm (*Juan de Valdés,* 1989, 150).

[73] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 192; Haggard refers to it as the "unifying principle for all of his works," even though he does not develop it (*Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés*, 1981, 91-92).

[74] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 193.

constitute summaries of Valdés' thought, e.g., *On Friendship with God*, or *Jesus Christ as our Best Friend*.[75] However, differing from *De Penitentia*, these writings endeavor to simplify the gospel, as Valdés understood it, for the widest possible audience instead of presenting an outline of his thought.

In *De Penitentia* Valdés presents an organic unity,[76] focusing on the central problem and solution of the individual's relationship with God. In Nieto's words, that is, "the misery of man and his fallen state realized through his confrontation with the law (. . . .) the necessity to seek a mediator."[77] Valdés' central focus is on the resolution of that problem, which actually constitutes the distinction of true Christianity.

Valdés' message, as I understand, endeavors to draw a theological and spiritual guide for the individual to have a true and satisfying experience of Christianity, and this is evident through all his writings. More particularly, Valdés' message describes the individual's experience as he approaches, enters, and grows in God's kingdom, particularly associating that entrance with becoming a true Christian, a child of God. This entrance includes an effective, internal transformation of the individual's disposition (*ánimo* in Spanish, which was Valdés' focus of attention since the *Dialogue*).[78] In regard to other issues, such as the future renovation of all things, the Abrahamic promise of inheriting the world, the gifts of the Spirit to the early church, or marriage, Valdés openly expresses his ignorance, that is, his disinterest.

Valdés' *Alphabet*

The *Alphabet* is Valdés' answer to Giulia's spiritual struggle. This writing presents an "organic unity," a complete answer and comprehensive perspective of his thought. Valdés' message in *Dialogue on Doctrine* was about a true Christian experience and religion, a true and internal commitment resulting in a joyful and loving relationship with God. It is no wonder that, after Valdés' silent years, Giulia's struggle triggered Valdés' pastoral labors and writings. The catalyst was the preaching of Bernardino Ochino in Lent of 1536. Ochino was a Capuccino friar, famous for his ascetic appearance and his fervent reproaches against vice and exhortations for Christian living, a preaching that "would make the stones cry."[79] Ochino's powerful preaching brought Giulia's internal struggle to a crisis.

Giulia's suffering consisted of a mixture of discontentment about herself and the world; she felt confusion, perplexity, anxiety, restlessness, and doubt. Her struggle had

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[75] Valdés, *Little Treatises*, n.6-7.

[76] "Organic unity" is a phrase used by De Sta. Teresa to refer to the *Alphabet* in distinction with other writings (*Juan de Valdés*, 1935, 156).

[77] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 194

[78] Cf. Valdés refers in his *Commentary on I Corinthians* to an similar outline of the mysteries of God that preachers should focus on (*Com.. Corinthians*, 70-71)

[79] "Che faceva piangere le pietre" (Rosso, *Historia delle cose di Napoli*, 1635, 70). Agustín Gonzaga's letter to Marquesa Isabel, 12 March 1535, referred to Ochino as "of ascetic figure, of quick and appropriate oratory, speaking with fervor and freedom of the Christian way and of salvation, without fear to attack vice" (in "Lucio, Vittoria Colonna," in *Rivista Stor. Mantovana*, n. I, (1885):26. Cited in De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 145; cf. also Alcalá ed., OC, xliii).

increased after "so many things" had happened, particularly a legal suit over the inheritance of her deceased husband. The powerful sermons of Ochino, instead of calming her spirit,[80] caused an internal struggle between "fear of hell and love for paradise (. . .) fear of the people's tongues and love for the honor of the world."[81] In the eyes of Valdés, Giulia's problem was not merely a "psychological need of the soul," as Domingo de Sta. Teresa has considered.[82] It pointed to the core need of the human being. This struggle would be described again in Consideration no.99. The "unceasing internal struggle" belonged to those who believed only superficially, because their faith came from the words of others and not through the Spirit's agency. In that condition, individuals like Giulia could never come to faith in the gospel.[83] Consideration no. 99 interprets Giulia's symptoms and applies the problem to all humanity.[84] The remedy, in addition to the *Alphabet'*s guide, is reiterated in Considerations no.1-2: "Man's happiness consists of knowing God through Christ with the light of faith, and [it consists] of the union of the soul with God through faith, hope, and charity; only the true Christian comes to this happiness."[85]

Valdés' answer is not merely an orientation towards God and perfection;[86] it is an attainable experience. As Domingo de Sta. Teresa recognizes, Valdés gave Giulia "the formulation of an internal way to access the divine sphere;" the answer is the state of perfection, "summarized in the love for God and the neighbor, and in the imitation of Christ (. . . .) that final state of perfection in which pure and filial love as well as the freedom of God's Children reign."[87]The *Alphabet*, therefore, presents the preparation, the entrance, and the walk of this experience of perfection. This life of perfection resolves the core need and struggle of the individual in opposition to Valdés' contemporary traditionalism of "useless ceremonies"[88] and "false humilities."[89]

The *Alphabet* was the "a, b, c," i.e. essential teachings, to begin that life of perfection. First of all, Valdés established foundational concepts regarding mankind. Even though a positive presentation, Valdés wrote against the backdrop of a professing Christianity that, according to him, did not seek God as the absolute Lord of one's affections. Traditional Christianity was dominated by human wisdom and pretentious works, which obscured the reality of the individual's own misery and need to depend upon God. Valdés, therefore, classified people according to their desire, their understanding, and the existence or not of "the life of God" in them. In addition to that, Valdés established his principles concerning God's laws; not to enforce conduct but as

[80] Sp. ánimo
[81] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 375-6; repeated in Ibid., 471.
[82] So defended by De Sta. Teresa (*Juan de Valdés*, 1935, 105).
[83] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.99, p.715.
[84] Also: "This same thing that you suffer is that which the people of the world have always suffered" (Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 377).
[85] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 380.
[86] So expresses De Sta. Teresa (*Juan de Valdés*, 1935, 105-6), even though she recognizes something like a definite step towards perfection (Ibid, 108).
[87] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 106.
[88] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 375.
[89] Ibid., 377.

guidelines to orient and transform the heart. He also classified the causes of sin: malice, ignorance, or fragility. All these essential considerations diagnosed the condition of the human heart and Giulia's. There were three possibilities: the heart was a heart mixed with fleshly affections, led by the Spirit, or struggling between the two. This diagnosis, therefore, was based on both theological foundations and spiritual, personal evidence. As a result of these discussions, Giulia confessed being in the worst state, which paved the way for the dialogue's second part: twelve steps to Christian maturity.[90]

Valdés' solution is outlined in twelve steps, which contrary to its appearance do not express gradual stages of spiritual growth. The first four steps stress the distinction between true Christianity and the general, external Christian profession of their environment. Clearly addressed to professing Christians, true Christianity is only accessible after recognizing that one is on the wrong path. The individual needs to take a clear determination to abandon it and follow Christ. Such a change is illustrated by the fourth step, the celebration of the Christian Sabbath. The Christian Sabbath is an inward cessation of sin, distracting curiosities, wrong company, and conversations. Steps one through four, therefore, revolve around the need to take one critical turn and change.

From the fifth step onwards, growth is described as a process wherein the true knowledge of God illumines the individual. He, therefore, sees the true nature of the world and self, producing distaste for self and an increasing love for God. That personal knowledge is given by the Father[91] through the contemplation[92] of Christ bearing the punishment of man's sins upon himself.[93] This personal knowledge is also described as an assurance brought by the Spirit. This fundamental assurance is a necessary spiritual dimension, but founded on, and never losing, its propositional content. Applied to the different parts of the creed, "faith will be alive and true, because you will have the experience of it inside of you."[94]

Valdés' answer to Giulia included some guidelines at the end concerning the practice of religion and personal life. Valdés' thought, or the organic unity that characterizes and distinguishes Valdés, is his theological basis, the individual's critical change as he enters into this life of perfection, and the resulting life-relationship with God. Issues like internal religion versus ceremonies, the spiritual nature of faith, personal growth, or practical guidelines derive from the individual's entrance into God's kingdom and are built upon it. As to the foundations of that "organic unity," they are clearly repeated and focused on in *De Penitentia*. The significant difference in *De Penitentia* is that, instead of a personal exhortation, the tract constitutes a projection of his message to Christianity in general.

[90]Christian maturity should not be defined generally but in Valdés' terms, akin to perfection, akin to true Christianity (Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 417).

[91]Ibid., 425, 439.

[92] Not understood in a mystical way. For Valdés this expression would be synonym of "trusting" in Christ's atonement.

[93] Valdés, *Alphabet, OC*, 427.

[94] Ibid., 430, 432.

Valdés' Theological Writings

Of Valdés' theological writings, *One Hundred and Ten Divine Considerations* is probably the most widely known work of Valdés. I would not support Tellechea's view that this is Valdés' "last and most mature work,"[95] since it appears to be a progressive work, and the *Commentary on Matthew's Gospel* is the one which includes the greatest number of references to other writings and *Considerations* by Valdés. Some have taken it as "the chief work" of Valdés, containing "the summary of his thought concerning the most important points of Christian doctrine."[96] Conversely, *Considerations* are personal reflections[97] or answers to proposed questions regarding either theological or pastoral issues. Even though their contents, lists, could imply that they would be read by others, their personal expressions do not favor the idea that they were to lead a congregation.[98] According to Haggard's high view of a Valdessian church, he takes *Considerations* as programmed meditations for each Sunday, as tools for church reform.[99] As I have already stated, I doubt that Valdés had that ambitious, magisterial intention as he wrote them, particularly at the beginning.

Questions and Answers, Seven Doctrinal Epistles, or *Little Treatises* are also theological reflections. According to the *Dialogue's* perspective concerning a true theologian, the subject matter of Valdés' *Considerations, Epistles,* and *Treatises* have predominantly a theological content, a scriptural foundation, and an experiential focus. Some Considerations responded to questions or needs of his immediate friends, being purely pastoral in nature.[100] The great majority of them, however, emerge from a desire to explain or understand unquestionably theological matters.[101] There is no question to Nieto's assertion that their form and content constitute "an indication that Valdés was really concerned with the systematic and logical presentation of his thought," even though Nieto might have gone a bit too far, almost approaching a scholastic understanding.[102]

Valdés used theological expressions as "I understand piety as (. . . .) justification as…"[103] Valdés' *Considerations,* furthermore, contain lists, technical terms and phrases which are proper of theological reasoning. It is interesting how he uses and adjusts lists

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[95] Juan de Valdés. *Las Ciento Diez Divinas Consideraciones: Recensión inédita del ms de Juan Sánchez (1558),* intro, ed. y notas J.Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras, (Salamanca: U. Pontificia, 1975)., 8.

[96] Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan,* 87-88.

[97] E.g "Having heard many times of the agony . . . fear . . . of Jesus Christ . . . . not feeling satisfied in my spirit (Sp.ánimo) with neither that which I heard nor read . . . hearing a preacher . . . I have come to a resolution" (Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.85, p. 669); "Many times I have set myself to examine in which regards (faith, hope, charity) are they eminent…" (Ibid, n. 70 p. 635).

[98] Considerations addressed "the matter which many weekly meetings of the Valdessian congregation . . . . composed by Juan . . .which served as a protocol of his exposition . . . or more probably, at the end, summarizing and specifying the matter discussed" (Alcalá ed., OC, xlvii).

[99] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés,* 158f.

[100] E.g. considering why God may give and take away a son from a mother (*Consideration* n.22), or giving exhortations to be governed by the Spirit (*Consideration* n.7).

[101] "I have wanted to understand …" (*Considerations,* OC, n.1, p.495).

[102] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 191.

[103] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 97, p.709.

– e.g., matching three characteristics of the wicked to three of the pious.[104] Even though an imperfect or developing systematization, Valdés' theological discussions pursued universal principles. He sought to comprehend types of individuals, types of faith, or sources of human errors. [105] He proposed rather radical dogmatic and practical requirements to distinguish true Christianity. He adopted, redefined, or used technical terms, such as incorporation, justification, regeneration, experience, gospel, or God's covenant. His discussions included issues like *liberum arbitrium*, predestination, or general and particular providence. These elements rule out Valdés as uninterested in theology[106] or being a mystic.[107] His arguments do not allow his dissidence to be taken as something "psychological."[108] To state that "for Valdés (. . .) the essential reform consisted in a return to the primacy of the things of the Spirit, rejecting all external things of the flesh,"[109] is to ignore that Valdés' view of piety was established upon theological convictions.

As years passed, Valdés produced different writings that presented important aspects of his thought in a systematic and summary form, e.g., *Seven Doctrinal Epistles* or *Little Treatises*. Valdés' eventual, emerging influence among the so-called Valdessian circle becomes manifest through statements like, "Should you desire how do I understand that God created (. . .)" [110] Both *Epistles* and *Treatises* expressed a consolidation of Valdés' thought through key terms and concepts repeatedly expressed as "Valdessian creeds." These writings, furthermore, bear the signs of a wider projection, for instance, moderating the contrast between human prudence and God's government through the Spirit.[111]

Christian Instruction for Children

Another significant writing of Valdés was *Christian Instruction for Children*. Differing from *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*, which was primarily directed to adults, *Christian Instruction* appears to be directed to children.[112] This appreciation exists since Boehmer. [113] *Christian Instruction*, also called *Spiritual Milk,* contains a more condensed and concise expression of the essentials of the Christian faith according to Valdés. The contents themselves, as Nieto well asserts, confirm and establish the direct relationship of *Dialogue on Doctrine* with Valdés' Neapolitan writings. This is

[104] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 59.

[105] E.g. "Three principles from which I understand proceed all errors that men do against God … malice … disconsideration … disbelief" (Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.105, p.729).

[106] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados*, Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés*.

[107] Ricart, *Juan de Valdés.*

[108] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*. 154.

[109] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés,* 11.

[110] Valdés, *Seven Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 837.

[111] Ibid., 843.

[112] We do not take the perspective of Nieto that Valdés thought of children when he wrote *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* (1981, 29). He later recognizes that it was not intended for children but "directed to adults, so that once they were instructed they could in turn instruct children" (ibid., 30). The reference to children in the *Dialogue* constituted probably just a literary recourse.

[113] This was suggested first by Boehmer (*Spanish Reformers*, 1874, vol. I, 71).

particularly underlined by the Bible Summary included in both writings, that is, the biblical narrative used for discipleship, an expression in which his *Converso* legacy could have had an important relevance. Nieto asserts that this biblical narrative confirms the relationship between the *Dialogue* and Valdés' Neapolitan writings "in a way which no one of his other writings can do."[114] In my opinion, however, it is difficult to measure which elements are more or less significant. There are key teachings, phrases, terms, concerns, and illustrations throughout his writings that confirm the relationship of the *Dialogue* with all of his Neapolitan writings.

As a later writing, *Christian Instruction* presents also a condensed, matured expression of Valdés' thought. Complying with Valdés' pattern of contrasts, his endeavor was that children might clearly distinguish true and false religion, personal experience and external ceremonies. The title, directed to those who are "called" Christians, manifest his desire to reach a broader audience. On the other hand, however, to take these writings as Valdés' particular "program" is somewhat far-fetched.[115] This writing's moderation and public projection possibly suggest a later date than Nieto's proposal, 1538.[116] Whereas Pious IV indexed *Instruction* as a forbidden book, it was widely accepted in Protestant circles.

Bible Commentaries

As to the pastoral use of Valdés' Commentaries, his exposition is presented in lessons, comparable to the *Considerations* in structure and extension. His address is mostly personal, alluding occasionally to a wider audience. Pérez de Pineda, the first editor of Valdés' Commentaries, referred to him as a practical theologian who was as knowledgeable as pious. Nieto appropriately qualifies the devotional character of these Commentaries, underlining that their piety included "learned scholarship, objectivity in method, or honest and sincere pursuit of truth."[117] Valdés' Bible Commentaries should actually moderate any consideration of Valdés professing a "radical spirituality" that disregarded Scripture.[118]

In reference to his style and comparable to his other religious writings the repetition of terms and expressions is remarkable. Domingo de Sta. Teresa has stated that Valdés' "exaggerated repetitions" are annoying, probably "caused by the improvisation with which he writes, an improvisation born out of literary and religious convictions."[119] Ricart states that "some of the religious writings of Valdés lack the brilliance of style that he was able to have."[120] Rather than improvisation, however,

[114] Nieto, *Two Catechisms,* 34.
[115] Nieto defends Valdés' "program" (*Two Catechisms,* 42).
[116] Nieto, *Two Catechisms,* 27-28.
[117] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 195.
[118] Firpo sustains Valdés as "radical spirituality" discarding Scripture (*Entre Alumbrados,* 2000, 67ff).
[119] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,*155.
[120] Ricard, *Juan de Valdés,*9.

Valdés intended and had pleasure in the repetition of his "creeds."[121] Such a repetition confirms the theological foundation of his spirituality, the importance of his re-definitions (e.g., gospel, experience, regeneration, etc.), and even the alternative content of his affirmations.

[121] E.g. "It is good to repeat that which I have said often times …" (Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 484); "I take pleasure repeating …" (Ibid., 528).

Chapter 6

Valdés' Theology Proper and Soteriology in his Neapolitan Writings

According to the "organic" unity of Valdés' thought expressed in the *Alphabet*, in *De Penitentia*, and in other *Treatises* and *Epistles*, this research proposes a central and fundamental teaching of Valdés: the binomial "perfection and entrance into the kingdom." This entrance is identified with justification, incorporation, regeneration and other categorical expressions. This entrance is what constituted the foundation of the solution to Giulia's and any person's spiritual struggle, according to Valdés. Around the binomial "entrance to God's kingdom and perfection," there are three spiritual contexts: First, theological foundations and preparatory stage; second, the individual's actual entrance into the kingdom and its relationship with perfection; and finally, the individual's growth in a life of perfection. Not as crucial but very important, there are some religious practices that derive from that central focus. The following discussion on Valdés endeavors to reflect these different elements of his thought as he expressed it in his Neapolitan writings. The consequent characteristics will reveal the relationship between Valdés and the different religious currents of his background.

Theological Foundations

God: Faithful and Sovereign

Valdés' Neapolitan writings do not discuss the nature or person of God. He basically underlines the implications of God's attributes and workings toward humanity, e.g., his justice, faithfulness, sovereignty, absolute power, goodness, wisdom, and revelation. Valdés' teaching revolves especially around two fundamental issues: the satisfaction of his justice through the atonement, and his sovereignty related to his grace for salvation and providence. Both of them are clearly traceable to the *Dialogue*. Valdés' stress on God's justice and faithfulness is remarkable, underlining one of his dogmatic foundations: God having "executed the rigor of his righteousness" on Christ, as the individual puts his confidence in the gospel, "we force God to justify us."[1] Because of this orientation, Nieto states that for Valdés, "the only and really true knowledge of God" was "soteriological knowledge."[2] This is true to a large extent, but it is pertinent to consider that soteriology for Valdés dealt more with present than with future life; it was more experiential than speculative. Furthermore, Valdés' references to the knowledge of God were directly connected with the acceptance of God's particular

[1] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.8, p. 509.

[2] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 202; Haggard, in view of Valdés' centrality of Justification by faith, says that "The totality of Valdessian Theology is soteriological in character" (*Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés*, 1971, 111).

providence for the individual, for instance.[3] Those who had the Spirit, furthermore, "recognize that they know and understand natural and human things" better,[4] being able to "use" but not "depend" on medicines.[5] Valdés' particular soteriology, therefore, may not totally fit what has been systematically considered as soteriology.

The second governing issue of Valdés' theology of God was his sovereignty. This is clearly traceable to his particular addition to Erasmus' *Inquisitio*: God being able to do everything he desired.[6] Later, in his *Commentary on Matthew*, according to his stress on God's sovereignty, he reiterated that God is "most omnipotent, [and] with only his will, he does everything he desires."[7] If people understood and knew that "God can do everything he desires,"[8] they would not doubt. Assuming God's power, Valdés' emphasis was on his will.

Man: Depraved but Retrievable

Valdés' anthropology is frequently mentioned in Valdessian research, becoming one of the fundamental and distinctive characteristics of his thought. Nieto expresses that Valdés' anthropology "is clearly expressed in Alcaracian terms."[9] Sad to state, he does not discuss Alcaraz or give references to his trial to verify the extent of their affinity. As we have previously expressed, Alcaraz focused rather on the spirituality of the *Abandonment* with a clear dependence on God, but he did not articulate anything about the individual being flesh and spirit, whose human "spirit is also flesh," not distinct from the body.[10] Furthermore, to say that there was "no ascent of the human spirit toward the divine realm" in Valdés, or that there was no "spiritualism" other than "the work, the power, the action, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit,"[11] in light of Alcaraz's thought and his dependence on Porete, is difficult to accept.

Valdés' anthropology, as Alcaraz's, more than abstract discussions on the nature of man, focuses on its soteriological implications. The following explicitly comprehensive statement can be taken as representative: "All law, doctrine, and religion that men have come up with have endeavored to mortify only the body's depravity, and of this one, only the acquired one."[12] Note that Valdés' disconformity with "all" human religion" focused on man's natural depravity, particularly as it affected the individual's internal disposition. He distinguished "the old sickness and the accidental one,"[13] or the

[3] E.g. Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 37, p.568.; cf. also the discussion on God's mediated and immediate will (Ibid., n.40 , 572ff).

[4] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.67, p. 630.

[5] E.g. on Sickness Valdés, *Seven Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 861; on medicine (Valdés, *Consideraciones,* OC, n.12, p. 515).

[6] DDC, OC,19. Cf. this thesis, ch. 5, p.192-193

[7] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 46. It is twice mentioned.

[8] Ibid., 414.

[9] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 294.

[10] Ibid., 294, 299.

[11] Ibid., 299.

[12] Valdés, *Considerations,* n.84, p. 673. Also expressed in *Considerations,* n. 6, p. 506, even though perhaps not that clearly.

[13] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 377.

acquired one. Confirming it through Scripture and natural comparisons, natural depravity was the origin of the acquired one and that which inflamed it.[14] The individual's need, therefore, was not his acts or habits but his essential fallen state.

Valdés underlined the individual's condition with vivid and derogatory descriptions.[15] He defended that in Adam's fall, the person's body suffered death and sickness, like the animal world, and his disposition was perverted like the evil spirits.[16] According to Valdés, "All men (. . .) are born[17] with wicked dispositions (. . .) enemies of God (. . .) full of self-love (. . .) vicious.[18]

Natural depravity, Valdés stressed, originated in Adam's sin; mankind lost God's image and likeness. Adam's sin, in which "all men sinned," caused a fundamental enmity between God and man, beyond that which personal sins have caused.[19] This is identified by Boehmer as "the imputation of Adam's sin to the entire human race," which he personally disagrees with and qualifies as "paradoxical and repulsive."[20] Carrasco, apparently desiring to defend Valdés, excludes eternal implications from Adam's fall for all humanity; however, Valdés' descriptions of all individuals as enemies of God do not allow the limitation of "original sin (. . .) not receiving as its chastisement except the physical, temporal death."[21]

Valdés emphasized the essential depravity of the individual to such a point that it actually prevailed over the moral evaluation of actions themselves. Contrary to Erasmus' positive anthropology, Valdés considered that "human philosophy and human wisdom pervert things that are good in themselves," whereas "the Holy Spirit [leading the regenerated] transforms that which is evil in itself" in good things. Good things done through philosophy and human prudence constitute an offense to God, "because the main intent will be one's own glory (. . .) the evil tree never gives forth good fruit." Conversely, other actions like Moses killing the Egyptian, "will serve God, because the individual's intent would be the glory of God, and the good tree never gives forth bad fruit."[22] Particularly regarding philosophy, Valdés explicitly stated that philosophers were unable to free themselves from this "natural depravity."[23] The greatest need of the individual, therefore, was to have this depravity resolved or "repaired."

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[14] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.6, p. 505.

[15] Valdés, *Instruction Children,* OC, 927. Valdés writes - A éste pueblo hebreo hizo Dios obrar más que de …., y cuanto más hacía Dios por ellos tanto más ejercitaba su malignidad e impiedad contra Dios."

[16] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 50, p.598. Also: People are "most prone to do evil and most slow to do good" (*Considerations,* n. 98, p. 713).

[17] Traced also from the mother's womb (Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 113); also, "Evil, rebellion and malice, which is rooted in the individual's disposition, which is even in children as they come from their mother's womb" (ibid., 259).

[18] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.84, p.672-3. Cf. also *Com. Romans,* 17, 36; "All men of the world have their hearts dirty, on the basis that being children of Adam, they are wicked, unfaithful, and enemies of God, having this wickedness, unfaithfulness, and emnity in their hearts" *Com. Matthew,* 65.

[19] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 71.

[20] Ibid., 8.

[21] Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan,* 102. Valdés' comments disavow Carrasco's limitation (e.g., *Com. Corinthians,* 285).

[22] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 810.

[23] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.6, p.506.

Differing from Erasmianism, Valdés explicitly described "knowing oneself": "Not as man knowing the evil deeds, which he does seeing that he is a sinner, but knowing the evil and perversity of the root from which those evil deeds come;" self-knowledge points to the recognition of one's "natural depravity (. . .) iniquity with impiety, which are rooted in man from his mother's womb."[24] This description clearly sought to underline the individual's essential need, beyond the struggle between good and evil as portrayed in *Enchiridion*. This essential difference from Erasmus was already expressed in the *Dialogue.*

This comprehensive corruption of natural man constituted a distinction from Aquinas' view of man, as Nieto has appropriately stated.[25] Nieto, however, refers to Valdés' position as a breakage from Patristic, Medieval, Renaissance, and Reformation thought.[26] However, Valdés' concept of sinful man is comparable to what *Exurge Domine* presented in reference to Luther's thought. As friend and participant in the so-called Valdessian circle, Flaminio portrayed this view of natural depravity in connection with the Fathers and former theologians.[27] This breakage, therefore, is not original to Valdés.

In addition to this essential pessimistic anthropology, the implications of this natural depravity become characteristic of Valdés' thought. In addition to eternal consequences, which significantly differ from Alcaraz, [28] Valdés' main focus was on the individual's obligation to God. This focus is interesting in view of Cazalla's *Lumbre del Alma* but more so in view of Porete's *Mirror* through Alcaraz.[29] The individual's obligation is not explained through the casuistry of the ten commandments but in terms of "loving God, depending on him, and rendering oneself to his rule and government."[30] No effort is able to fulfill this "obligation." [31] Depravity, furthermore, particularly involves one's attitude, disposition, intention and inclination towards evil, things which Valdés repeatedly relate to one's *ánimo* in Spanish, a term also used by Spanish translations of Erasmus in relationship to internal religion and virtues. [32]

A predominant trait of the individual's natural corruption is self-love. According to Valdés, that is man's greatest enemy.[33] The individual's natural inclination is "to love

[24] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 112-113. Morreale points to this "root" of depravity as a distinction between the scriptural and Jewish concept of knowledge versus the Greek mind (1957, 92-93).

[25] According to Saint Thomas Acquinas, only the supernatural gifts were taken away from man in Adam's fall. Cf. Thomas, *The «Summa Theologica» of St. Thomas Aquinas* ..., ed. Roy J Deferrari, M. Iviolata Barry, y Dominicans (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1920), Pt. I, Q., 97. This difference was pointed out since Carrasco (*Alfonso et Juan*, 1880, 100).

[26] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 206-7.

[27] Flaminio referred to Saint Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Prospero, St. Anselm, St. Bernard, and also St. Thomas (but only deriving indirectly a teaching of his) (Cuccoli, *Flaminio*, 273), 285. Also "Santo Agostino, et di tanti altri Theologi antichi et moderni pieni di santita et di dottrina" (Ibid., 285).

[28] E.g. Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 200.

[29] Cazalla, *Lumbre*,1; Porete, *Mirror*, ch.80, p.51.

[30] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC n.8, p. 508.

[31] Ibid., 509. Cf. also *Alphabet*, OC, 469.

[32] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.72, p. 641; Cf. also *Doctr. Epistles*, OC, 837-8; *Intruction Children*, OC, 926; *Alphabet*, OC, 379.

[33] Valdés, *Alphabet*,OC, 470-471.

yourself without control."[34] A sincere disposition to examine oneself will find out that the individual is not moved "except for fear of hell (. . .) [or] love for self-glory; nothing for pure love to God."[35] The individual's disposition is frequently identified as human arrogance, generating evil affections and impeding people from knowing themselves and God.[36] Human generation, synonym for the individual's natural disposition, is qualified as a "shrewd enemy," "extremely antagonistic to Christ."[37] Godly initiatives actually constitute initiatives against self.[38] This language and emphasis clearly echo Alcaraz's teaching.

The individual's natural depravity was not only described by Valdés as the "bad stuff"[39] of which man is made and thwarted any ability to do what is good. Central in Valdés' message, depravity was also responsible for the perversion of virtue and religion. He who is not regenerated through Holy Spirit[40] is actually "unable to stop perverting and distorting" his natural instinct, because "his own prudence and reason distort the works of God."[41] Domingo de Sta. Teresa recognized that Valdés taught that "in all works there is contamination."[42] Domingo, however, did not notice that such a statement reproduced Luther's thought almost verbatim as expressed in *Exurge Domine*.[43]

Valdés identified the unregenerate, distorted religion. He referred to Adam and the natural person still persevering in the "daring pursuit to reach God's image" by himself. In other words, the individual's resented depending on other than himself and loved himself, loving all things through self-love, seeking his own glory,[44] and performing everything which he desired.[45] Valdés identified the sin of false doctrine as "justifying themselves with their own works, showing thereby that they give no credit to Christ regarding the covenant of justification, [that is,] the covenant he set between God and men when he shed his blood."[46] As it will be discussed later, dependence, love, self-glory, and self-government constituted crucial symptoms to denote the individual's condition: either natural depravity or a life of perfection.

As Domingo de Sta. Teresa recognizes, for Valdés, the grace of the gospel "has a foreword: the state of fallen man."[47] Even though I agree with that assessment, I understand that Valdés' anthropology takes natural depravity as a fundamental criterion

[34] Ibid., 422.
[35] Ibid., 471.
[36] Valdés, *Questions and Answers*, OC, 825.
[37] Sp. Enemicísimo de Cristo (Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.69, 633).
[38] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 469.
[39] Bad stuff in Sp. "mala masa" (Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 80 p. 665).
[40] This anathorous reference to the Holy Spirit is kept from Valdés' original writing.
[41] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 26, p.544.
[42] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 165-166. Cf. In natural man, even virtue was considered to be sin (Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 26, p. 544).
[43] *Exurge Domine*, art.21.
[44] Continuously man's disposition is referred to as arrogant or "most arrogant" (e.g., twice in *Consideration*, OC, n.93, p. 698).
[45] Valdés, *Consideration*, OC, n. 72, p. 641.
[46] Ibid., n.21, p. 532.
[47] Ibid., n.107, p. 736f; De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 164.

that distinguishes between humanity and true Christians. Having natural "depravity and corruption" in one's disposition identifies those who "are not regenerated."[48] These individuals "without regeneration," also described as those who are "without Christian Spirit," constitute "the world" which is alienated from God.[49] Furthermore, natural depravity is not removed with baptism;[50] conversely,

> [Natural depravity] is purified and cleansed through the Christian faith, through the acceptance of the remission of sins and reconciliation with God through Christ (. . .) It is something truly miraculous and divine that, once man accepts in his disposition the righteousness of Christ, he loses the impiety, infidelity, and enmity with God, and begins to believe in God, trust in God, and love God, and thus know and see God.[51]

Significant and distinctive of Valdés, even though man's natural depravity has to be mortified till the Christian's death, there is a categorical change through faith, through which the individual's corrupt nature is "repaired."

> Natural depravity cannot be repaired except through grace (. . .) Only those who enter through faith in the kingdom and come to be Children of God through the Holy Spirit, who indwells them, are free from it. Natural depravity is repaired in those who, knowing Christ through revelation and accepting the covenant that was set between God and man, believe and, because they believe, are baptized; and only the acquired [depravity] is left in them, which they steadily discard, little by little, the Spirit of God helping them. While they continue discarding it, what they offend is not accounted to them as sin, because they are incorporated with Christ Jesus, and therefore, as Saint Paul says, nothing comes to them as [to their] condemnation.[52]

Furthermore, even though Valdés would confess the effects of man's sinful inclination throughout life, he defended a "freedom from it" particularly in connection with the individual "entering in the kingdom through faith" and "becoming children of God through the Holy Spirit." There is, therefore, an essential difference and change upon the individual accepting the satisfaction of Christ's atonement through revealed faith and the entrance in God's kingdom.

Valdés' anthropology and its essential distinction constitute a central foundation for both his soteriological and pastoral teaching. As Domingo de Sta. Teresa well recognizes, "to take possession of the state of misery (. . .) after the fall (. . .) is the first thing that the preacher should enunciate, as *De Penitentia* states."[53] This is the beginning, continues Domingo de Sta. Teresa, for the spirituality of *The Benefit of Christ* and "Italian Evangelism."[54] It should be objected, however, that it is not just

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[48] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 255.

[49] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 100.

[50] Accused to Luther (*Exurge Domine*, art.2); Stated by Valdés (*Alphabet*, OC, 382ff), prior than Flaminio's letters to Contarini (Cuccoli, *Flaminio*, . 271).

[51] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 65-66.

[52] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 6, p.505-6. Other examples of Valdés distinguishing natural depravity from other added evil customs or depravations (Ibid., n.24 p. 539,540).

[53] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 165.

[54] Ibid., 165.

"spirituality;" it expresses a soteriological scheme. Moreover, it should also be objected that it is characteristic of "Italian Evangelism," since Valdés' anthropology can be clearly traced back to his *Dialogue*. Moreover, the greater point of Valdés' anthropology is its resolution, in such a way that the Christian's experience is positive and victorious: the experience of entering into God's kingdom.

Christ: Indispensable and Living Mediator

Regarding Christology, Valdés generally expressed himself with orthodox expressions. Valdés overwhelming soteriological emphasis would suggest that he is hardly interested in Christ's nature or Person;[55] however, he explicitly declared to "know" and "rejoice" in Christ being the Word of God, Son of God, of the same substance, and one same thing with the Father.[56] He required the confession of Christ as Word, Son, and King for salvation.[57] He referred to Christ as begotten of Son of God "*ab initio et ante secula*,"[58] the only one generated by God (humans being regenerated "because God considers them as members of Christ").[59] Valdés' debated expression that he did not comprehend the Son's generation from the Father or the cause of the Word being called Son is not enough to associate him with Ochino's later Unitarianism.[60] As Domingo de Sta. Teresa said, what Valdés confesses is that "Christ is God, even though human nature is unable to comprehend divine generation."[61] What Valdés' expression revealed is the limitation of his particular theological method of analogies and experience. However, he actually stated that John did understand it,[62] and that God could supernaturally give him the understanding of "this divine secret before leaving this present life." [63]

On the other hand, however, some of Valdés' convictions applied to the life of Christ led to some perplexing statements. Even though Valdes confessed that Christ did not have a sinful flesh,[64] that Christ was always ruled and governed by God, with his affections always in submission to God,[65] he referred to Christ as having experienced three internal weaknesses: crying over Jerusalem, weeping over Lazarus' death, and praying in Gethsemane. [66] The first two (one of them reiterated in another Consideration)[67] refer to the experience of sadness as a feeling of the flesh in opposition

[55] Thus states Otto, *Juan de Valdés,* 60.

[56] Valdés, Considerations, OC, n.109, p. 744; Also Ibid., n.85, p. 674-75; *Doctrinal Epistles,* OC, 837-38; *Treatises*, OC,886; *Com. Corinthians,*281; *Com. Matthew*, 356.

[57] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 189.

[58] Valdés,*Com. Psalms*, 22. Repeated in *Com. Matthew*, 318 along with being one same thing and one same substance.

[59] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 3-4.

[60] Prof. Berti attributed Unitarianism to Valdés because of *Consideration* n.109 in the days of Carrasco (1880, 108).

[61] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*.167.This is also how Carrasco sees it of Valdés (1880, 106).

[62] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 95, p. 704.

[63] Ibid., n. 109, p. 744.

[64] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 87, 121.

[65] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 844.

[66] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 81, p. 666.

[67] Ibid., n.35, 560-561.

to feelings of the Spirit. Valdés defended that the Spirit's influence produces joy in whatever circumstances God's providence may bring to the individual; consequently, Christ's sadness was a weakness of the flesh. There is a third weakness of Christ pointed out by Valdés: praying in Gethsemane. Valdés described Christ praying with doubt; when Christ felt that such an impulse (to doubt) was not of the Spirit, he committed himself to the Father's will. [68]

These risky Christological considerations are fruit of Valdés imposing his own pastoral convictions as hermeneutical principles, i.e. sadness versus gladness and doubt versus confidence. This imposition speaks of the intensity of Valdés' convictions about feeling sad or being moved by the Spirit. A similar imposition is found in Christ's words "learn of me because I am meek and lowly." Since the union of Christ with God was more excellent than any other human being and Valdés emphasized humility, Christ must have assumed "the condition (. . .) of vulnerable and mortal man, as something vile and of little value."[69] This speaks of Valdés esteem for humility, something which is also traceable to Alcaraz.

One aspect of Valdés upon which there is no question is his radical emphasis on Christ as the only Mediator and on his vicarious satisfying death as the dogmatic confession of true Christianity.[70] More than Christ being the second person of the Trinity, Valdés' Christological emphasis focuses on his atoning sacrifice and the application of that sacrifice to the true Christian. More than an axiom of theology, as Nieto presents it,[71] it is a living identification with Christ's sacrifice and headship. Christ's mediatorship and satisfaction are set at the same level as his messiahship and being one with the Father.[72] Domingo de Sta. Teresa states that the Christological metaphors used in Valdés' later writings, e.g., Christ as the "way to know God," are mentioned neither in the *Dialogue on Doctrine* neither in the *Alphabet*.[73] Conversely, Nieto has already claimed that "the Christocentric knowledge of God" was clearly outlined in the *Dialogue* and was also present in the *Alphabet.*[74]

This thesis has already discussed the portrait of Christ in the *Dialogue*. Regarding the *Alphabet,* Valdés writes, "We cannot know, believe, or love God except through the contemplation of Christ crucified, who, suffering , made suffering sweet, and who, dying, made dying tasty."[75] No one knows anything except in Christ and through Christ.[76] He is the only object of our trust,[77] the unfailing way of restoration,[78]

[68] Ibid., 617-618.
[69] *Com. Cor.*, 275.
[70] E.g. Valdés, *Comentary Psalms,* 108; *Romans, 79.*
[71] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 215.
[72] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 193-4.
[73] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 170.
[74] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 214, 215.
[75] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 428.
[76] Ibid., 425.
[77] Ibid., 382.
[78] Ibid., 395.

him whom the Christian is to fall in love with,[79] the certain result of entering the kingdom and growing to perfection.[80] These characteristics can be clearly traced from the *Dialogue*. As Nieto refers in regards to Christ being the channel to know God and that knowledge justifying the individual, "it would be better to speak of clarification [in his Neapolitan writings] rather than development."[81] If there is any development in Valdés' through the years, it must be spoken of as confirmation and not as change.

The Neapolitan writings, therefore, confirm Valdés' clear difference from Alcaraz. He was not momentarily influenced with the Christological emphasis of Alcalá or Spanish Erasmianism; he truly adopted a fundamental Christological emphasis. Haggard speaks of Valdés' Christology as Erasmian,[82] which I believe is most plausible. But along with this consideration, we should not speak of Valdés steadily losing his Erasmian influence in Naples, since he maintained his Christological emphasis throughout his life.

Considering his radical Christology, it is necessary to consider whether Valdés' teaching was expressed in distinction from his Christian environment. Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers that, "in Valdessian spirituality, Christ essentially appears as origin and head of the new regenerated humanity."[83] As we stated concerning the *Dialogue*, the reader must notice Valdés' Christological emphasis along with his deafening silence about the institutional church, its hierarchy, or the Papacy in their mediating role. Christ is the head of the church, from whom virtue, sustenance, and government descend to his body, through the gifts that he communicates to "all the members (. . .) [i.e. to] all who belong to the church."[84] Christ actually takes the place of all other human mediation.

Another significant aspect of Valdés' Christology refers to Christ's holiness. As in the *Dialogue*, Christ's holiness is set against external religion. Christ's internal piety consisted of "making no profession of external holiness, ready to experience martyrdom (. . .) able to speak with all kinds of people (. . .) disguised in front of human prudence."[85] Valdés even took the Apostle Paul's words about "your life being hidden with Christ in God" as a reference to that true type of holiness. Differing from the human sufferings of Christ's passion,[86] Valdés referred to Christ's internal sorrow, standing before God in Gethsemane as "more painful than any of the martyrs who have suffered for the gospel's sake or (. . .) any man in the world."[87] Valdés' internal holiness resembles Alcaraz's reluctance towards both ceremonies and outward manifestations of personal spirituality.

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[79] Ibid., 396.
[80] The 12 steps lead to a way through which "you will unequivocally find Christ" (*Alphabet,* 418).
[81] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 214.
[82] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments in Valdés,* 201.
[83] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,*168.
[84] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.75, p. 650-651.
[85] Ibid., n.89, p. 688.
[86] Significantly akin to Alcaraz. Cf. this thesis ch. 3, p.124.
[87] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 83, p. 669, 670.

Holy Spirit: Inspiration and Guide

In spite of his fundamental role in the Christian's experience, Valdés does not discuss the Spirit's person or nature. His discussions revolve around the Spirit's work or effect in the individual. Several elements of Valdés' pneumatology are significant, however. Countless times the Spirit is referred to without the article. It certainly recalls "the operations of the love of God" in the Christian, an expression common among *Conversos Alumbrados*. Confirming this apparently impersonal reference to the Spirit of God, Valdés explicitly defined Spirit (in contrast with letter) as that which man does, says, and thinks "moved and inspired by God."[88] At times the "impulse" or "move" appears to prevail over the personality of the Holy Spirit.[89] As this thesis progresses, therefore, in Valdés' quotes, we will include or omit the article in reference to the Holy Spirit in accordance to Valdés' use.

Another significant aspect of Valdés' pneumatology appears regarding John the Baptist and the Christian. In reference to the time before or after the death of Christ, Valdés states: "In reference to the spirit of Christ, which is filial spirit, it is clear that it was not granted to the saints of the law [J. the Baptist among them], to whom the filial spirit was not given, but the servile spirit was."[90] The difference between the law and the gospel, therefore, seem to prevail over the personality of the Holy Spirit. These expressions and convictions tamper with the unmovable concept of traditional Christianity concerning the third person of the Trinity. Valdés certainly did not mean to deny it, but he certainly expressed some independence from it. This independence, these traits of Valdés' pneumatology might have been fruit of his *Converso* legacy.

Knowledge of God: Scripture and Spirit

The question of how man perceives or knows God constitutes one of the distinctive characteristics of Valdés' thought. As Morreale writes, knowledge "is a fundamental concept of Valdés;" but furthermore, using it "without any specific object" could be considered "a semantic neologism."[91] We do not share Nieto's view as he begins to outline Valdés' thought in Italy, saying that "knowledge" in Valdés is "the principle of true justification."[92] What Nieto quoted is a mistranslation. Valdés, translating Luther's *On the Ten Commandments*, is saying that the law "shows us that we are sinners, which knowledge is the beginning (not principle) of true justification."[93] We wonder about the impact of this mistranslation in Nieto's approach to Valdés particularly assessed through "knowledge and experience."

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[88] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, xv.

[89] In Morreale's excellent presentation of "La Antítesis Paulina entre la Letra y el Espíritu en . . . Juan de Valdés" she does not refer to this notorious phenomenon of anathorous use of Spirit in Valdés, simply referring to the overwhelming instances that Valdés "spirit" is used in reference to the Holy Spirit (*Antitesis Letra-Espíritu*, 1954, 173ff).

[90] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 211.

[91] Morreale, *Valdés Gnosis*, 90.

[92] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 214.

[93] DDC, OC, 32.

Valdés' discussions and descriptions on the knowledge of God underline his connection with *Conversos* and the *Alumbrado* conflict. True *Conversos* often turned to the mystical or internal aspects of Christianity. Illumination became a key word for them in reference to knowing God. Closer to Valdés' concept, the idea of receiving a special knowledge from God is clearly traceable to the *Alumbrado* conflict and particularly to Alcaraz.[94] Very specific elements in Valdés, such as giving a special revelation to old and new saints[95] and "seeing God"[96] were present in Alcaraz's declarations.

The supernatural element in Valdés' concept of the knowledge of God has caused a variety of responses. Regardless of his defense of justification by faith, for instance, Béze denigrated this supernatural understanding as "imaginations" that departed from Scripture.[97] More contemporarily, however, David Estrada refers to Valdés as "more biblical," because he favored justification by faith.[98] The fact is that Valdés' statements at times appear contradictory, defending Scripture as a reliable source of authority and subsequently dispensing with it in favor of a subjective, higher knowledge. Likewise, he emphasized a supernatural, God-given, Spirit-imparted revelation, and yet, his thought process included Scripture, human analogies, and reason. Valdés resented human inquiry but on other occasions, his considerations emerged from his own deep, human questions. Differing from Erasmus, as Morreale states, Valdés "comes to occupy one of the most anti-intellectual positions of the Renaissance."[99] Yet, in his last writings he appears to moderate his view of philosophy. Valdés himself expressed concerning his struggle to define the God-given knowledge that he defended. Valdés' concept of knowledge requires the analysis of terms, phrases, and emphasis, avoiding generalizations.

Natural Light

According to Valdés' anthropology, natural knowledge, also referred to as natural light or human prudence, is inexorably attached to man's depravity.[100] Nieto appropriately traces Valdés' contrast between human and divine wisdom to Alcaraz rather than Erasmus.[101] On the other hand, it should be added that this polarization was also present in Franciscan Spirituality, and, in Valdés, that appears to be moderated by Erasmian influence. Cione, on the other hand, qualifies Valdés as an "agnostic" because of his rejection of science in favor of experience;[102] that is not appropriate. Valdés' rejection of Scholasticism or stress on personal illumination never ruled out theological

[94] That he would not tell him but God would reveal it.
[95] Valdés, Consideration, OC, n. 25, 542; Inquisition, AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol.30.
[96] Inquisition, AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol.196 (Alcaraz attributes it to A. Foligno but Cf. Porete, *Mirror,* ch.33, p. 96; ch.49, p. 114).
[97] Referred to in: Pastore, *Una Herejía,* 349.
[98] Estrada ed., *Dialogo de Doctrina*, 65.
[99] Morreale, *Valdés Gnosis*, 92.
[100] Underlined in *Consideration,* n. 106, attaching it to Adam's fall (OC, p. 733).
[101] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 229.
[102] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 101.

or biblical reasoning. Domingo de Sta. Teresa rightfully defines Valdés' "human wisdom" as not referring directly to the individual's intellectual capacity but "to the complexity of discursive acts that judge divine matters according to the mold of human ones." [103] Valdés' total rejection was particularly to the possibility that human knowledge would in any way contribute to the knowledge of God or the individual's approach to him.

As the individual approaches God's kingdom, he is exhorted to totally discard natural knowledge;[104] it is one of his great enemies. Valdés identified natural light with "the science of good and evil," through which Adam misread God's goodness and saw himself naked. Consequently, natural man "perceives defects in God's works and endeavors to correct them." [105] Valdés particularly rejects those who "claim to understand spiritual things, being only led by natural light." [106] Their distorted perception will lead them astray. There is, therefore, no valid contribution from man's natural condition. [107] Or as Otto says, "God is a totally different dimension, which man cannot grasp on his own."[108] If the individual is to receive the Holy Spirit, he should avoid any "mixture" with natural reason. [109]

This total denial of human reason, however, is mitigated when the individual has entered the kingdom. Natural light, as natural depravity, is *repaired* through faith in the gospel.[110] The issue, as Valdés clarifies, is that human reason must be "subject and obedient to the government and rulership of God,"[111] which is impossible for the natural person. In the "regenerated," natural instinct is "more chaste and pure." [112] This possibility for human reason was hinted since the *Alphabet*, when Valdés advised Giulia that, *at that time*, natural and scriptural knowledge (without the Spirit), were "not suitable" for her need. [113] Conversely, when someone believed in the gospel and knew God through revelation, reasoning about God's omnipotence, providence, wisdom, goodness becomes a godly, useful, and profitable exercise. [114] This "soteriological

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[103] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 157.

[104] "In order that Christ might reveal to you the true knowledge of God, you must renounce yourself and go to Christ" (Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 843). Also, the individual must "captivate . . . renounce . . . and mortify" human prudence (*Considerations,* OC, n.106, p.733).

[105] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 106, p. 735.

[106] Ibid., n. 46, p.583. Also, "the wise men of the world have assumed that the science of good and evil [that is, natural mind] is something spiritual . . . from man's first creation" (ibid., p. 734).

[107] "Man can give of himself to God as much as he can touch the heavens with the hand" (Valdés, *Considerations*, OC., n.80, p. 663).

[108] Otto, *Juan de Valdés,* 33.

[109] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 809. Cf. *Com. Corinthians*, 14.

[110] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.106, p.733.

[111] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 843-4. This needed subjection of human reason is also expressed in *Intruction Children,* OC, 928.

[112] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 67, p. 629.

[113] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 426. Italics mine.

[114] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 840. Also Cf. *Considerations,* n. 2, p. 497. Cf. Regarding "knowing oneself" he said, "I have learned them from a gentile philosopher" (*Alphabet,* 453) (Know thyself). Also *Com. Psalms,* 100.

resolution" of human reason, as Nieto refers to it, [115] is not traceable to Alcaraz but to an Erasmian influence.

Valdés' Neapolitan writings, therefore, neither disagree with his *Dialogue* nor depart from Erasmus in this regard. In Naples he emphasized his own distinctive stress on spiritual wisdom, an emphasis which was shared by some of his Neapolitan friends like Flaminio. Resembling very much Flaminio as he wrote against Seripando's claim (i.e. there was nothing in the "divine books" of Scripture which contradicted "natural light"), Valdés denounced those who believed "more in Aristotle (. . .) striving, not for Aristotle to say what Christ said, but for Christ to say what Aristotle said, as if the authority of Christ depended on Aristotle."[116] As Morreale has stated, "Valdés seized upon the condemnation of philosophy" in favor of "a genuine religious attitude of humility and submission of man to God."[117] But his positive comments and his own use of reason and analogies revealed that he did not discard human reasoning altogether, and that was since the *Alphabet*. There is, therefore, no major departure from Erasmus in this regard. Valdés always emphasized "feeling" and spiritually understanding divine truth, and he always retained a value for human reason when it was under Christ.

Valdés' strongest rejection of natural light was expressed in the context of false religion.

> Men are deceived by human philosophy[118] and by their own wisdom and reason, which does not reach God's knowledge, and [their wisdom and reason] deceive them particularly regarding superstition and false religion. They present to us that God is dumb and offended (. . .) offended with anything (. . .) so vindictive that he punishes every offense (. . .) so cruel that he punishes them with eternal damnation; that he is so inhuman that he rejoices when we mistreat our persons to the point of pouring our own blood (. . . .) that he is covetous, pleased with gifts, enjoying gold and beautiful hangings;[119] in summary, that he delights in all things that a tyrant delights in, and enjoys having his own [people] under subjection.[120]

Valdés declared, furthermore, that

> No judgments are as false and daring as those which men without piety claim concerning the things of God (. . .) deceived by their human wisdom. They always condemn what God approves and always approve what God condemns. These are always mortal enemies of true piety (. . .) of these ones are those whom Christ said: killing the apostles they think that (. . .) they do a great service to God

[115] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 231.

[116] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 485-6. Flaminio responded that "there are some things in our theology that are not only above, but perhaps also against the reason of human discourse" (Cuccoli, *Flaminio,* 285); also Flaminio wrote, "experience clearly shows that whoever seeks to mix the heavenly secrets of faith,[with natural knowledge] ends up making more harm than benefit" (Ibid., 285).

[117] Morreale, *Valdés Gnosis,* 91.

[118] Cf. also Gentile philosophers are explicitly said to be able to "search and imagine and come to an understanding God as omnipotent, providential, wisdom . . . but they cannot know Christ" (*Alphabet,* 424, 425); also *Consicerations*, OC, n.2, p. 497.

[119] Hangings, Sp. tapices.

[120] Valdés, Considerations, OC, n.32 , p. 555-556.

> (. . .) these ones are always ceremonious, scrupulous, and superstitious.[121]

First of all, Valdés' thought is recurrently expressed by way of contrasts. Contrary to the knowledge of God, human, natural light is associated with the perversion of the understanding of God and religion. Undoubtedly, the reference to God as cruel, pleased with gifts… portrays a reaction against the traditional understanding of Christianity. The mortal enemies mentioned in the quote naturally refer to the Spanish Inquisition which he fled. As it will be later discussed concerning the church, Valdés accused church leaders back in history of turning away to human wisdom.[122] Therefore, Valdés' dissent from the institutional church is parallel to the *Dialogue*, only bolder.

Scriptures

In Valdés' writings, the knowledge of God was built upon a several elements rightfully understood: Scripture, the individual's disposition, and God's revelation. Regarding Scripture, Valdés counted on its divine origin and authority. His translations stressed "much respect" to that which was "written with Holy Spirit."[123] In Naples, like in his *Dialogue*, Valdés' occasional expressions could resemble a Protestant position. Since the *Alphabet*, for instance, Valdés exhorted to give neither confidence nor credit except in what was founded upon sacred Scripture. [124] In *Christian Instruction*, towards the end of his life, Valdés stated that, "the Christian must apply as much faith [to Scripture] as to God himself, being persuaded that God is talking to him every time he reads it." [125] The Scriptures, furthermore, contain "the things that a [Christian] has to believe and (. . .) do."[126] As a hint to his actual, more complex conviction, however, Valdés reiterated that Scripture conveyed those "concepts" and "opinions" upon which "true religion" was founded.[127]

Enhancing his biblical reliance, Valdés expressed his rejection of men's scriptures. He resented giving the same value to "men's scriptures and imaginations"[128] as to Scripture.[129] A dependence on human scriptures was labeled as "shackles" of an imperfect individual, "even though many times they [who depend on them] take themselves as most perfect." [130] Conversely, "food for the perfect (. . .) is found only in the divine Scriptures."[131] Better than "men's scriptures," Valdés accepted those writings

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[121] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 144.
[122] To be discussed later regarding the Church. Cf. this thesis ch.8, particularly regarding the eucharist.
[123] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 5.
[124] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 372-3.
[125] Valdés, *Christian Instruction*, OC, 931.
[126] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 32, p. 555.
[127] Valdés, *Christian Instruction*, OC, 932; This attention to "*opinions* and … *concepts* in the things of Christian piety" is also referred to in *Considerations*, OC, n. 32, p. 555; n. 37, p. 566.
[128] Note the coincidence of this with DDC, particularly regarding devotions (cf. this thesis ch.5).
[129] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 372-373.
[130] Ibid., 373.
[131] Ibid.

that contained "the *example* of saints"[132] or "things that had the flavor of the Spirit of God."[133] However, as Bankhuizen appropriately states,

> If these words had been written in Germany or in Switzerland, we would immediately speak of the opposition between Scripture and tradition (. . .) or between Scripture and spiritualism. The fact that Valdés has written them forces the reader to discard this traditional contrast.[134]

Hence, the need to analyze Valdés' expressions becomes evident.

A second pillar in the experience of knowing God was the individual's disposition. In one sense this was simply the consequence of man's depravity, which needed to be repaired for the individual to approach Scripture appropriately. A particular problem in the individual's natural disposition was to read Scripture only "to know and understand:"[135] "I have as most dangerous the study of Holy Scriptures when it is out of curiosity,"[136] i.e. focusing on things "in which there is no Christian edification."[137] Conversely, as Valdés emphasized in *Dialogue on Doctrine,* Scripture should make an imprint in man's disposition: the virtues of a pious character.[138] This rather "practical" reading of Scripture could be traced to Alcaraz;[139] however, it was also the case in Franciscan spirituality. [140]

Worse than curiosity, Valdés resented false presuppositions and opinions. These were "obstacles," proper of "false Christians, Gentiles, and Hebrews."[141] Valdés particularly referred to an "Old Testament understanding" (i.e. as if the world was still "under the law"), which saw God "angry" and "cruel."[142] Valdés compared this spiritless biblical knowledge to "an ignorant, idiot (. . .) reading that which a most famous scholar has written."[143]

The role of one's disposition, according to Valdés, involved more than discarding negative elements. Valdés pictured the individual's disposition as a book which needed to be regularly checked.[144] In addition to the ethical or spiritual implications of self-examination, this "book" had a particular relevance on the understanding of divine things and Scripture.

> Regarding the learned man who has Spirit, when a desire to understand a secret of God emerges, he goes first to the book of his own disposition;

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[132] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 46, p.583.Italics mine. Interestingly, "examples" is twice referred to instead of "writings" in the quoted passage.

[133] Valdés, *Com. Psalms,* 68-69.

[134] Bankhuizen, *Juan de Valdés,* 29.

[135] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.68, p. 631.

[136] Ibid., n.55, p. 609. It is called "Curiosity of the flesh." Cf. also *Com. Romans,* xviii; *Alphabet,* OC, 455; *Considerations,* OC, n.37, p.566; *Com. Matthew,* 10.

[137] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 460.

[138] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 32, p. 555 ; *Instruction Children,* OC, 932. Instr. Ch, 932.

[139] As Hamilton does (1992, 41).

[140] E.g. In fact, the description of "curiosity" given by an anonymous Franciscan is certainly significant: "to vainly delight oneself in looking or hearing many things without any fruit, not satisfying that which fills the soul" (*Brevisimo atajo*, b6r).

[141] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.68, p. 633.

[142] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 425.

[143] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.2, p. 497.

[144] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 449-450. Cf. also *Considerations,* OC, n.121, p. 790.

> he first consults [i.e., asks advice from] the Spirit of God and then proceeds to confirm that which he has understood from that which is written.[145]

With these words Valdés expressed his focus and stress on the individual, subjective aspect of the knowledge of God.

Maintaining the reliability of Scripture and his respect translating it,[146] Valdés certainly discarded a mere objective reliance on its text. It is very difficult to maintain Nieto's statement that Valdés' *Considerations* were "grounded in a philological and scientific exegesis of the biblical text."[147] In fact, as to the individual's appropriation of knowledge of God, Scripture is given a complementary, secondary role by Valdés.[148] This is expressed in several ways. First of all, he rejected a sole dependence on Scripture, which placed the individual in "danger" of "falling into darkness." [149] To seek God's knowledge only through Scripture is like seeking him through human agencies, proper of human prudence;[150] it is "most dangerous," because it has "the appearance of piety and holiness."[151] Those who trust only in Scriptures, not in God, "are always restless and live always disturbed."[152] They "are totally alien from piety."[153]

Scriptures, furthermore, are "used" by the true Christian. The Spanish reflexive expression is significant, stressing the individual's prerogative: "God's children draw benefit for themselves from the Holy Scriptures in order to keep holiness in one's disposition"[154] or "to grow and increase in that knowledge of God."[155] Different than the sons of Adam, those who are "incorporated in Christ" have a proper disposition. Scripture, like natural knowledge or the teaching of others, is profitable to them, since they do not trust in Scripture itself but in God. [156]

A complementary role of Scripture is seen as the true Christian is led to use it to "confirm" the Spirit's inspirations. Those who are pious use Scripture to compare and confirm that which the Holy Spirit teaches them. [157] Interestingly, when this confirmation is referred to, Valdés points to "the saints who wrote the Holy Scriptures."[158] Considering, for instance, several characters in Scripture and their faith

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[145] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.32, p. 556. Cf. also *Com. Psalm*, 111.

[146] Eg. Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 37, p. 567; as Valdés speaks of predestination, and the need to judge it or to understand this divine secret from true piety (539) he refers that "the truthfulness of this can be attested by many authorities of Scripture" (Ibid., n.16, p. 524).

[147] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 190.

[148] Haggard makes Valdés strongly Biblical, recognizing his spiritual emphasis (Haggard, 1971, 95ff). However, it is more than a spiritual emphasis.

[149] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 63, p. 623.

[150] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 191.

[151] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 28.

[152] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 33; *Considerations*, OC, n.3, p. 499.

[153] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 137.

[154] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.3, 499; also ibid., n.106, p. 734-735.

[155] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 2, p. 497.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Valdes, *Com. Corinthians*, 13-14; Example of Valdés himself, "Understanding through its consideration, comparing it with Holy Scripture, I find that it fits very well with that which Paul says . . . and, therefore, I feel confirmed all the more " (*Considerations*, OC, n.1, 495).

[158] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.121, p. 788.

or lack of it, "Scripture serves as a commentary to me."[159] Those saints wrote "with experience of Holy Spirit;" that is, experience was their authority. [160] When Valdés referred to scriptural authority, therefore, he did not refer so much to the text itself, but to the spiritual experience with which its authors wrote, something that he extended to a certain degree to other saints, old and new.[161] He referred to Scripture and the example of the saints as candles in the night, which were to be retained until the revelation of God was granted.[162]

The role of Scripture is also explicitly expressed by Valdés as secondary in regards to the individual knowing God. Scripture was something for "beginners." The "concepts and opinions" of Scripture, true and reliable as they were, constituted a basis, a foundation, but only an "alphabet," the first steps,[163] which the learned man with spirit used to rise to the knowledge of God. The learned man, however, "giving attention to internal inspirations, having the Holy Spirit himself as teacher, used Scripture as in a holy conversation, which brings recreation to him."[164] The perfect, Valdés explicitly stated, does not need Scripture. [165]

Valdés never questioned Scripture regarding its divine origin or truthfulness. He, however, focused on the appropriation of God's knowledge, for which the subjective element was inexorable. He did not advocate, as Cione states, "a new and original form of religiosity, deeply personal, independent from the authority of men and dogmas."[166] Valdés' understanding of Scripture was not "an eternal allegory" in opposition to the Reformation's position, as Cione states; [167] it was rather complementary to the propositional "concepts" and "opinions" of Scripture, but beyond that.[168] We do not need to justify his subjective element as to make of Valdés a good Protestant reformer, like Carrasco endeavored. [169] But we should not emphasize so much his "radical spirituality" and make of Valdés' subjective element a mystic experience like Francisco de Osuna's either, like Firpo does.[170] Scripture and subjective appropriation of God's knowledge should not be polarized. Valdés' experience needs to be balanced with his concept of Scripture and Commentaries, and with his own theological reasoning and writings.

Valdés himself appears to seek that balance. He said, for instance, that, "He who has received the Spirit (. . . .) does certainly not discard Scripture."[171] Nieto has stated that "Valdés does not appeal to (. . .) private revelations to support his theological

[159] Ibid., 789
[160] Ibid., n. 32, p.555.
[161] Ibid., n. 25.
[162] Ibid., n. 46, p. 583.
[163] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 372-373.
[164] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.32, p.556. Cf. also, Ibid, n.63, 624.
[165] Ibid., n.3, p. 499. Make use in Sp. "servirse de".
[166] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 84.
[167] Ibid., 104.
[168] Ibid., 83.
[169] Carrasco, *Juan de Valdés,* 126.
[170] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados,* 78.
[171] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.63, p. 624.

thought,"[172] even though he spoke of his revelations and experiences. Valdés himself recurred to Scripture to "penetrate well into" his considerations.[173] There were "many things that without it [Scripture], we would not understand."[174] Notwithstanding, Scripture was clearly subservient to personal and subjective illumination. Speaking of the lost image of God in man, for instance, he wrote, "I thus understand from Scripture and likewise feel in me, in such a way that I would have the courage of confessing it without Scripture."[175]

Valdés' view of Scripture is also defined in view of its apparent disagreements. Against the "curious" endeavor of harmonizing either the prophets or the gospels, Valdés rejoices that "his faith does not depend upon Scriptures, nor is founded in them, but depends on inspirations and experiences." He illustrates his conviction with the Samaritans in John's Gospel, believing in Christ because of what they themselves saw, instead of through the indirect testimony of the Samaritan woman.[176] In other words, the Scriptures were given by God to provide sufficient light so that the individual would be illumined with "internal inspirations."[177]

Considering hermeneutics, there is an interesting duality in Valdés' Commentaries. In spite of his linguistic explanations and his rather literal approach to Scripture,[178] his theological interpretation of Scripture is evident and relevant: "if we do not want to depart from the doctrine of Holy Scripture, we must keep firm that eternal life is not given for any merit in our works but for the grace of God."[179] Justification by faith, or the Epistle to the Romans, constituted Valdés' hermeneutical principle; if Romans was understood, he wrote, "understanding everything that is significant in the Holy Scriptures becomes easy."[180]

Nieto also refers to justification as Valdés' "key to unlock" both the teachings of David in Psalms or of Christ in the Gospels.[181] However, it was not merely the doctrine of justification; according to Valdés' personal and experiential focus, his approach to Scripture depicts and serves his scheme of preparation, entrance or justification, and growth into God's kingdom. This threefold scheme is reiterated in Valdés' prologues and throughout his expositions, imposing his theology upon the objective reading of Scripture.[182] Justification constitutes the basis of the individual's effectual entrance into God's kingdom. Significantly, Valdés understood Romans as Paul's answer to a

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[172] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 253.
[173] E.g. Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.23, p.538; n.51, p.601.
[174] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 282.
[175] Ibid., 72.
[176] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 7.
[177] Ibid., 8.
[178] E.g. "To understand what Spiritual gifts were, we would need to have lived there" (*Com. Corinthians*, 12-14).
[179] Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 892. Cf. *Com. Psalms*, 191.
[180] Ibid, xxxii.
[181] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 242.
[182] E.g. Statements like "God delivered me because he was glad of me" is immediately paraphrased as "God did this, *not because I deserved it*, but because his will was thus, because he had accepted me and taken as his, and made vessel of mercy" (*Com. Psalms*, 97).

contention in Rome between Jews and Gentiles over justification by works or by faith alone in Christ's sacrifice. His *Commentary on Romans*, furthermore, includes a glossary in which Valdés defined terms like gospel, justice of God, grace of God, or Christian liberty, portraying fundamental distinctions of his thought.

Following Valdés' scheme, his *Commentary on Psalms* is particularly addressed for the individual who desires to apply himself to piety, in other words, a preparation to the acceptance of justification. The book of Psalms defines the pious, justice, or God's enemies in reference to the New Testament. Valdés directs the reader to see for himself whether the reader is only in his natural condition or whether he is regenerated, if he is or not God's sheep, or if he belongs to God's kingdom.[183]

Regarding Matthew, Valdés follows his theological principle and scheme. Valdés argues that "not all things that Christ said and taught belong to all peoples or all times."[184] Considering some exhortations from the Sermon on the Mount, he excludes any "Hebrew" or legalistic demands on the Christian, arguing that the cross had not taken place yet.[185] Valdés reads Isaiah's quote in the gospel as foreseeing "the spiritual exodus (. . .) out of the servitude of the law and the kingdom of the world, entering into the grace of the gospel and the kingdom of God, which (. . .) one takes possession of in this present life." [186] Even Jesus "preaching the kingdom of God" is understood as "intimating the coming of God's kingdom," that is, God's government in his people "without law or precepts but with his Holy Spirit, [that is], that which those who accept the justice of Christ and are in the kingdom of God effectually feel."[187] Having entered, the abundant "effectiveness" of the teachings and example of Christ in Matthew become "the duty" of Christian spirituality and practical religion.[188]

This scheme of application to piety, justification or entrance, and the Christian's duty provides "the true intelligence of the law of Moses" and "the true intelligence of the gospel of Christ."[189] People, therefore, must "give attention first to the lesson of the Epistles," lest anyone would fall in the "dangerous" error of claiming "to be just and thus obtain salvation and eternal life through his works."[190] This theological exegesis confirms Valdés' soteriological scheme as presented in *De Penitentia* and throughout his Neapolitan writings – also implied in the *Dialogue*. Valdés' theological exegesis also confirms the theological nature of his teaching and spirituality, and it outlines the

[183] Cf. On Ps. 8 Valdés expresses the preference that David is not celebrating "in this instance the condition of men as created, but as regenerated" (*Com. Psalms*, 10).

Note: Interestingly, by the way, "to sabbatize" or celebrate the "Christian Passover" in *Corinthians* is linked to perfection, in full harmony and correspondence with *Dialogue on Doctrine (Com. Corinthians, 101).*

[184] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 5.

[185] Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 896.

[186] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 59.

[187] Ibid., 59.

[188] This order is reiterated in the different prologues on Psalms, Romans, and Matthew (*Com, Psalms*, 6ff*; Com. Ro*,x-xi; *Com. Matthew, 2*).

[189] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 2.

[190] Ibid, 3.

content of his distinction between the law and the gospel, much more than Haggard's perspective, i.e. external versus internal religion.

Illumination

In addition to Scripture, for Valdés, God's intervention was an essential element of the knowledge of God. Even though God's knowledge is "the true fruit of Scripture,"[191] scriptural knowledge alone is like a candle in the dark. It is contrasted with the sunlight of the spiritual knowledge, [192] still very far from a true knowledge of God.[193] Unless God ignites our understanding, writes Valdés, "everything man knows about God, is by way of opinion, imagination, which always contains more falsehood than true knowledge." **[194]** Conversely, when the sunlight of God's revelation enters, the candle, i.e. Scripture, looks as if it had lost its "light" and "brightness." The individual, consequently, instead of guarding the candle, goes to the Holy Spirit which is in his disposition, and not to that which is written in Scripture: "There is no more need to look for the light of Scripture."[195] This knowledge through God's revelation is "the most perfect way;" Christ said so (Lk. 10:22; Mt 11:27). [196] God's "supernatural light" was the solution to both Giulia's personal struggle and to the world's continual wondering in diversity of opinions. [197] It was a "secret knowledge" through which the individual "comes to know God perfectly through Christ." [198]

This light, according to Valdés, originates in God. As Nieto recognizes, "the knowledge of God is not man's grasping but God's gift, not man's knowledge but God's revelation."[199] For the individual to know God, God must "illumine and open the eyes of our soul;" for such a "knowledge of God through Christ (. . .) special grace of God if necessary." [200] Morreale has correctly pointed out that this "knowing God and being known by him (. . . .) is the fundamental mode of Jewish and scriptural knowledge, which he (Valdés) very pertinently contrasts with the Hellenic mentality."[201] Valdés' *Converso* lineage, therefore, may have an important relevance in this aspect.

Parallel to the *Dialogue*, God's given wisdom confounded human standards and made its recipient wiser than "all the men of the world." [202] That constituted a scandal to those who had a "Hebrew" disposition or a "Gentile" disposition. The significant difference inserted in his Neapolitan writings is that God's wisdom was given to "those

[191] Valdés, Considerations, OC, n.37, p. 566.
[192] Ibid, n. 46, p. 583. **"**In the best of cases, Scripture by itself is a candle to which man has to hold awaiting a greater light" (Ibid.).
[193] Ibid., n. 63, p. 622.
[194] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 100.
[195] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.63, p.623.
[196] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 226.
[197] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 379.
[198] Ibid., 426.
[199] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 210.
[200] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 425.
[201] Morreale, *Valdés Gnosis*, 92-93.
[202] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 24. Cf. DDC, OC, 84.

who [by way of] believing are incorporated" in the cross of Christ. Again Valdés speaks of illumination in terms of a contrast drawn by his soteriological scheme: those who are "incorporated" into Christ have been given this wisdom, and those who are not have not received it. Firpo and Hamilton emphasize the "progressive" aspect of Valdés' illumination; however, it is necessary to include this initial reception and categorical difference.[203]

Very significant in light of his background, Valdés stressed the individual's dependence on God for this spiritual knowledge. If anyone comes to know God, it is because "God himself has let them see and know him," regarding both the possibility and the time of knowing him.[204] The easiest and safest way to know God was for the individual "to confess his ignorance, to take what is given to him, and wait for more, not taking upon himself to seek it with curiosity in holy books, much less in books of men." [205] This reliance and wait for God's intervention clearly echoes situations reflected in the Trial of Alcaraz.[206] Extending beyond Alcaraz, however, this "waited-for" illumination had a dogmatic criterion attached to it; it was particularly experienced by "those who, believing in the gospel, feel in themselves the justification that is reached through Jesus Christ our Lord."[207]

There are other aspects of the individual's disposition particularly resembling Alcaraz's "conversion" experience. In *Questions and Answers,* Valdés wrote,

> You will not be able to reach it except through Christ, and trusting in Christ's goodness and generosity; you cast yourself at the feet of Christ pleading to him with much urgency and perseverance for him to reveal this knowledge; and I advise you to unceasingly beg for it until you obtain it.[208]

Later on we will discuss more about this preparation on the part of the individual. At this point I only desire to include this required human disposition for God to grant his revelation, clearly echoing Alcaraz's experience. In both Alcaraz and Valdés, this is the only thing for which urgent prayer is appropriate; in every other request, urgent prayer is discarded as humanly inspired. This prayer, on the other hand, is not a matter of a high spiritual ascension; if the individual has "a little of the light of faith," he can "most easily and with the grace of God" obtain that supernatural light.[209] It is important again to note that "through Christ" is added by Valdés as a dogmatic development away from Alcaraz.[210]

Regarding the way illumination takes place, Valdés writes that it could happen during the "consideration." As a description of this "consideration," Valdés writes of his experience, desiring to understand God and how everything depended on him:

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[203] Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés,* 107; Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados,* 68, 79, 83, 84.
[204] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 839. Cf. also *Considerations,* OC, n.73, p.643.
[205] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 219. Cf.also *Com. Psalms,* 130; *Considerations,* OC, n.55, 609-610.
[206] E.g. Inquisition, AHN, *Trial of Alcaraz,* fol 186r.
[207] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 154.
[208] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 842.
[209] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 379.
[210] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 425, 426.

> To enter well into this consideration, I begin to imagine that which ordinarily happens (. . . .) Advancing [in the *consideration*] I consider that which through experience is understood regarding man (. . . .) For these two natural illustrations, my own mind is sufficient (. . . .) But regarding God, (. . .) being not enough with my own mind or discernment or experience (. . . .), I cannot have the assurance of it in myself until God himself will allow me to understand and see how this is so.[211]

This quotation illustrates something of the nature of Valdés' concept of illumination. Domingo de Sta. Teresa, stating that Valdés "does not stop to specify the nature" of that internal light,[212] referred to "the intensity with which [Valdés] lives the need of internal illumination and experience." [213] Valdés' own expressions, however, reveal that the subjective, experiential nature of illumination emerged from scriptural and human meditations.

Illumination, therefore, in spite of the inexorable supernatural, God-given aspect of it, contained an important ingredient of human, propositional reasoning. On the spiritual side, however, Valdés explicitly stressed the divine, sometimes using knowledge of God as a synonym of experience. In this regard, Nieto's statement that "for Valdés, [conceptual] knowledge has a certain priority over experience," is difficult to accept.[214] Likewise, Nieto's statement that Valdés' "inward vision" "has nothing to do with private revelations or mystical visions" is clearly excessive.[215] Equally his defense of "illumination" as "the clarification of the mind,"[216] i.e. only conceptual, is unwarranted. It is strange that Nieto, who defends an Alcaracian, or *Alumbrado*, perspective on Valdés, would make of him such a technical theologian. Though propositional, Valdés' knowledge had a mystical connotation of personal revelation. The mystical dimension, however, did not have to do with the content, but rather with the appropriation of that knowledge.

There is a significant element in Valdés' understanding of the knowledge of God which is highly significant in view of his background: the vision of God. This was an element which was present in both Porete and Alcaraz. On one hand, in his *Commentary on Psalms*, Valdés uses the expression "to see" God's presence as a synonym of "feeling" and knowing him.[217] In this regard, we do not understand Otto's remarks concerning "experience and feeling" being first and "vision" second.[218] In the general concept of seeing God's presence, Valdés is grasping for terms and synonyms

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[211] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.51, p. 601-602.

[212] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 162.

[213] Ibid., 163. This, by the way, De Sta. Teresa states that is traceable from the *Dialogue on Doctrine* (ibid. in ref. to DDB, 2r, 75v).

[214] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 197. De Sta. Teresa says, "The appreciation for internal light is maximum" (1935, 162).

[215] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 219.

[216] Ibid., 233, 237. Nieto's concluding definition of Valdés' illumination – "Illumination gives to the regenerated reason the right concept of God and man, and thus it provides an objective norm to measure and criticize the false concepts of God and man" (ibid., 236).

[217] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 80, 91, 191.

[218] Otto, *Juan de Valdés*, 38.

to express the individual's subjective appropriation of the knowledge of God, practically impossible to dissect and set them in order. But on the other hand, however, Valdés speaks of a different "sight" of God which is a rare favor from God. The vision consists in perceiving "in which manner God sustains all things he has created," and how is it that if God withdrew himself even "a little" from them, "they would cease and exist not."[219] That is a foretaste of what the Christian will experience in eternity in its full dimension.[220] It is very significant how Valdés appears to have added a connotation of spiritual comprehension rather than just a visual dimension. Even this exceptional vision speaks of the propositional nature of Valdés' illumination.

The experience of God's illumination and knowledge, according to Valdés' contrasts and soteriological scheme, distinguishes the true Christian. The unregenerate individual is incapable of understanding "this wisdom."[221] As Otto states, "knowledge takes place through the Holy Spirit, through the conversion of these persons in a new being." [222] This "gift of knowledge" is "men's happiness," synonymous with salvation,[223] only understood by "those who cease being men (. . .) leaving aside the image of Adam and taking the image of Christ (. . . .) [They] know God, being incorporated in Christ, first knowing Christ."[224] Once the individual has received this knowledge, then "the lesson of Scripture" and the consideration of other men's writings becomes useful. Valdés portrays God calling all men

> to reach the knowledge of God, which is through vision and revelation. (. . .) In order to give us this knowledge, he justifies us, and for this he brings us to his kingdom, and rules us with his Spirit (. . .). This is what I understand that eternal life consists of.[225]

Knowledge of God takes place when the person "begins to walk (…) begins to enter."[226] It is synonymous to "being in the kingdom of God, being through faith in the gospel, incorporated in the Son of God."[227]

Experience

An important term in Valdés' thought describing the supernatural dimension of the knowledge of God is "experience." It is not only, as Nieto expresses, that "knowledge has to be tested in and through experience,"[228] Experience is an ingredient of true knowledge.

As Nieto notes, Cione was the first one who discussed the term "experience" in Valdés. Cione's perspective links "experience" to the Renaissance, particularly to the

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[219] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 51, p. 601.
[220] Ibid., p. 602.
[221] Ibid., n.17, p. 524.
[222] Otto, *Juan de Valdés*, 54.
[223] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.2, p. 496-497.
[224] Ibid., p. 497.
[225] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 151. Cf. also *Doctr. Epistles*, OC, 839.
[226] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 432.
[227] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.106, p.735-736; Ibid., n.12, p.515-516.
[228] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 218.

weight of personal subjectivity in opposition to the medieval system of authority. Cione, I understand, appropriately stresses the almost "anthropocentrism" of Valdés' "experience." Valdes, moreover, focuses on the individual's appropriation of revelation and salvation; he is not necessarily questioning theo-centrism. Nieto and Cione oppose each other, but these views do not necessarily need to be contrasted to each other. Cione unnecessarily contrasts the "truthfulness of the mystic experience" with rational discourse; [229] however, that is not contradictory in Valdés. Experience emerges and interacts with biblical, theological, and propositional concepts. Cione, furthermore, somewhat arbitrarily, attaches experience to mortification and vivification.[230]

Nieto's perspective on Valdés' "experience" is not satisfactory either. After presenting a theological rather than a spiritual knowledge of Valdés and with the lens of "this specific knowledge of Valdés' religious epistemology," Nieto deprives Valdés' experience from any mystic connotation, which is somewhat odd in light of Alcaraz and the *Alumbrado* environment.[231] The intellectual lens of Nieto even extends to define experience, a spiritual happening, as that which Valdés applied to his *Dialogue on Language*, a fully secular writing.[232] Even though Nieto later refers to some spiritual connotations and even to Valdés' crisis, his articulation and arguments overemphasize Valdés' theological reasoning to the neglect of his evident spiritual emphasis. Neither Cione nor Nieto refer to "experience" in its evident connection with Gerson, as it was mentioned by Francisco Ortiz during the times of the *Alumbrados*, understanding that Valdés added his own definition.

To evaluate Valdés' concept of experience, it is necessary to notice his words, probably nearing the end of his life:

> I have said (. . .) that the Christian business is not science but experience (. . .) Having through many comparisons sought to make some people understand this truth, I have never been satisfied (. . .) till now [*Consideration* 110th], when by my judgment, having more clearly understood it, I think I can explain it better. [233]

These words set all previous endeavors and expressions in its proper place. As Morreale has stated, Valdés was not a "formalist" but a "realist."[234] There was a reality, which he experienced and he believed in, but which he struggled to explain. Previous expressions, therefore, cannot be taken as "final" or "representative." Morreale suggests that "feeling, (. . .) knowledge itself (together with experience), is defined most often by what it is not."[235] I am not sure that such is always the case, but it is an appropriate approach to Valdés' struggle to explain it.

Valdés' writings present a considerable proliferation of synonyms or interchangeable terms in reference to the subjective happening of God's revelation.

[229] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 85.
[230] Ibid., 86-87.
[231] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 255.
[232] Ibid., 258.
[233] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.110, p. 748.
[234] Morreale, *Letter and Spirit,* 172.
[235] Morreale, *Valdés Gnosis,* 94.

Nieto explains that, in the *Dialogue*, Valdés referred to Scriptures and knowledge of God "without the peculiar distinctions found in the *Alphabet* and later works."[236] Haggard states that Valdés "parallels Calvin's idea on the enlivening and illuminating power of the Holy Spirit through his concept of experience."[237] He even suggests a possible dependence on Calvin, which is unnecessary and artificial. "Experience" was used by Valdés since his *Dialogue*, and its meaning is clearly traceable to the times of the *Alumbrados* and Alcaraz.

Even though terms are important in Valdés, the idea he endeavors to pursue is more so. Experience, in general terms, refers to the spiritual dimension of Valdés' knowledge of God; in fact, he uses it interchangeably with "a living knowledge of God through Christ," associated with "living and true faith," which distinguishes the person as being a "true Christian."[238] After its initial reception, this experience, or knowledge is renewed in such a way that the individual seems to come anew to that knowledge of God.[239]

As a more satisfying definition, Valdés defines experience through the difference between believing, accepting, or approving and knowing, acquiring, or possessing. Regarding theological virtues, for instance, anybody can approve their existence. In order to know them, however, acquiring or possessing them "makes the difference as to the effect that these virtues produce in the soul."[240] When there is no possession, the result is both sadness and hopelessness, because the person sees himself unable to reach the perfection of those gifts. When "God gives" a virtue, the individual "comes to possess it," and people, "realizing themselves as having faith, hope, and love, (. . .) fully rejoice and feel satisfied when hearing about them."[241] Valdés extends this difference to all spiritual gifts, which "are not understood until they are possessed."[242] This description clearly underlines not the concept but the appropriation of God's virtues.

Experience, as knowledge of God, is applied to Scripture. Through that which a person "knows, finds, and feels within himself," the person "might come to understand that which is written in Scripture."[243] It is also described as having "tasted it," and hence, "having in themselves proof of it," and "giving certainty to the individual about it."[244] Experience is also referred as the transformation of the "truths confessed in the creed" by the Spirit, adding "feeling," "tasting," and "glory," to the person as he confesses them.[245]

Experience is not limited to an initial and single occasion, as it appears in Valdés' previous explanation. First of all, experience is exclusive of true Christians.

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[236] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 210.
[237] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés*, 21.
[238] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 432.
[239] Valdés, Considerations, OC, n. 37.
[240] Ibid., n. 110, p. 749.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid., 749-750
[243] Ibid., n. 54, p. 606.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 429.

This is expressed in different ways. Spiritual understanding, for instance, is only perceived by "those who have experienced," i.e. "those who have felt the presence of God."[246] Experience, furthermore, is also dependent on a dogmatic foundation:

> When I accept the gospel, that is, the happiest news of the general pardon, I feel my conscience coming to peace (. . .) the affections and appetites of the flesh become absent, without any effort or exercise on my part. I feel falling in love with God and Christ and eternal things. I feel disattached from myself and the things of the world, and I feel a great certainty of my salvation in my soul and a [future] glorification in Christ and through Christ, in such a way that I live in a perpetual spiritual joy (. . .) I feel these and other most stupendous effects, which true faith produces. And knowing the truth of the gospel with such experiences, if an angel from heaven comes to tell me that the faith which the gospel proclaims is not true, I would yell at him with Saint Paul, "Be anathema" (. . . .) for it is truthfully said that the Christian issue consists not of science but experience.[247]

This description and the treatise which contains this description establish experience as beginning when God's revelation is given to a person who through inspired faith accepts the justice granted by Christ's atonement.

Even though, therefore, Valdés borrowed "experience" from Gerson and the environment of the *Alumbrados*, he presents his personal definition. Valdés defines experience as God's revelation upon one's entrance in God's kingdom, which is repeated in progressive illuminations from God, being sensed, made certain, and proven in one's life. It includes the certainty of divine truths being proven in one's environment as he lives under the rule of the Spirit. Experience constitutes an assurance of God's revelation, whose effects last and continue, maintaining the theological, ethical, and spiritual aspects of the knowledge of God. The initial and subsequent experiences constitute a foundation upon which to build more knowledge of divine matters and theological expressions. We certainly believe it is more than "a vital possession (. . .) having left its psychological effects in the soul," as Domingo de Sta. Teresa states.[248] Valdés defended an actual transformation resulting from it.[249]

Valdes' Understanding of Salvation

The Cross, Pivotal Point

Valdés defended his understanding of salvation as from the Apostle Paul. He explicitly declared of Saint Paul, "He alone explained the gospel and gave clarity to the Christian issue[250] more than all who have written till this day altogether;" furthermore,

[246] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 58, 117.
[247] Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 888.
[248] De Sta. Teresa, *Jua de Valdés*, 160.
[249] . It is also a more mystic dimension than what Haggard states as he links Valdés with Calvin (*Sacraments Valdés*, 21).
[250] "The Christian *issue* or *business* (sp. *negocio*)" is a phrase by Valdés, which even in Spanish is somewhat odd, particularly denoting what Christianity consists of.

"none has understood the Christian issue as he did."[251] Accordingly, the cross was the changing point from the law to what he understood as the gospel. The cross actually brought peace between God and man.[252] Christ's death, according to Valdés, was "more efficacious than his life had been."[253] The law lasted till Christ expired.[254] Before the cross, even Christ's words and exhortations were read as law and not as gospel; the gospel began to be "openly" preached only after "Christ had been punished for our sins."[255] John the Baptist's preaching of the "heavenly kingdom" referred to the work of the Holy Spirit through which there was the possible and effectual government of God in the hearts of men.[256] The coming of the Spirit marked the beginning of the coming heavenly kingdom.[257]

Apart from Valdés' translation of Luther's introduction to his *Commentary on the Ten Commandments*, we have no actual proof of any other textual dependence regarding the offices of the law and the gospel. Cartagena and Oropesa certainly underlined the difference between the law and the gospel, but in a different perspective. Luther, conversely, emphatically presented the contrast between the law and gospel in his *Commentary on Romans*[258] and *on Galatians*, written in 1515-1516 and 1519, respectively. We may only ponder on the possibility that Valdés could have read them or that he simply followed what he initially translated from Luther to a further development. Whereas Christ's death is presented by Luther in relationship to its accomplishment,[259] Valdés presents it also as a chronological reference to separate the law from the gospel. Haggard, even though he speaks of "the terror that is created in the mind of the one who hears the gospel as law," still refers to law and gospel as external and internal religion, ignoring Valdés' dependence on Luther's *Ten Comandments*.[260] In Valdés, law versus gospel was not a spiritual guide but a soteriological concept.

Concept of Salvation

Valdés' concept of salvation kept some resemblance with Alcaraz's tenets; however, typical of him, Valdés maintained important differences as well. On one hand, Valdés's words regarding Giulia loving paradise, fearing the world, or loving the world's glory because of self-interest clearly echo Alcaraz's teaching. The object to love was to be God himself and not his benefits.[261] The primary focus of true Christianity, Valdés defended, was not escaping from hell but true happiness and satisfaction with God in this present life. As could be expected, there was no purgatory

[251] "If anyone understood it as he did . . . we have no evidence of it" (Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 89).
[252] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 294.
[253] Ibid., 518.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid.,356-57.
[256] Ibid., 27.
[257] Ibid., 313-14.
[258] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, ed. vols. 25, 26, Jaroslav Pelikan, Hilton C Oswald, y Helmut T Lehmann (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955).
[259] Luther, *Galatians*, ed. Pelikan, vol 26, 175. Cf. also Ibid., On Gal. (2.14), vol. 25, 416, 418.
[260] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés*, 167.
[261] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 388.

in Valdés' thought.[262] On the other hand, Valdés' concept developed beyond Alcaraz's tenets. In contrast to the time of the law, Valdés stated that "justification, the kingdom of God, the Holy Spirit, the resurrection and eternal life are [now] promised through faith," and that eternal life is "true happiness." Furthermore, and typically of his contrasting thought, "you will consider those who are outside the kingdom of God as unhappy (. . .) and happy those who are in." [263] Happiness is "to know God and Christ.[264]

This happiness, identified with salvation, is referred to since the *Alphabet*, it is explicitly discussed in the first Considerations, and it is confirmed in his last treatises: "Man's happiness consists of knowing God through Christ with the light of faith, and the union of the soul with God through faith, hope, and charity, to which happiness only the true Christian arrives." [265] Happiness is "being and persevering" in God's kingdom.[266]

Differing from Alcaraz, Valdés' concept of salvation included an eternal perspective. Whereas Alcaraz seems to merely consent to eternity, Valdés positively refers to it, with hope and certainty.[267] On this earth, the true Christian is to consider himself as a "pilgrim,"[268] feeling in his own disposition "a love for eternal life."[269] If God punished Christ for our sins, Valdés writes, "Since I am a friend to God and reconciled with him, why do I have to doubt that he will grant me what I desire, which is immortality and eternal life with Christ himself?"[270] Furthermore, the presence of the Holy Spirit in the true Christian constitutes the certainty of his resurrection.[271] Even though he may still have much to grow, the existence of spiritual life is an evidence of his salvation. [272]

This certainty of salvation is a clear characteristic of Valdés' soteriology. Appealing to Saint Paul, Valdés refers to salvation "as if it was already attained, understanding that God had called them [true Christians] to the grace of the gospel; they could take themselves as saved, sure of the firmness of their faith, and sure of their constancy and perseverance in regards to their hope.[273] Clarifying his position, Valdés defended that the rejection of this certainty was "daring," and the recommendation of "uncertainty" as a token of "humility" was from "human wisdom," totally alien from

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[262] Valdés, *Instruction Children,* OC, 931. In the final resurrection, Valdés refers to judgement of "eternal punishment as unbelievers" or "most glorious and happy eternal life" for those who had accepted the grace of the Gospel.Cf. also *Considerations*, OC, n. 4, p.501; Ibid., n. 5, p. 503,4,9; *Com. Corinthians*, 101; *Com. Romans,* 49; *Com. Matthew*, 30, 249.

[263] Valdés, *Com. Psslms*, 12.

[264] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.2, p. 496.

[265] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 380. Also "They who believe" in God's free pardon "live in maximum joy and contentment" (*Considerations*, OC, n. 13, p. 518).

[266] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.5, p. 503.

[267] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 379-80.

[268] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.96, p.706f.

[269] Ibid., n.45, p. 582.

[270] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 294 Cf. also *Com.. Corinthians,* 274.

[271] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 128.

[272] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 274.

[273] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 139.

"the things of the Spirit of God."[274] This certainty is significant to Valdés' personal message. His repeated contrasts are often intended to distinguish between true and false Christians, those who are in Christ and those who are not, underlying the necessary change from ignorance to knowledge, from being outside to entering God's kingdom.

Another significant aspect of Valdés' soteriology, extending himself beyond Alcaraz, was the Christian's bodily resurrection. This was noticeable also in his *Dialogue*, differing from Erasmus' Neo-Platonism.[275] Like in the *Dialogue*, the resurrection of the body is emphasized against the background of doubt.[276] The body, Valdés writes, "will be redeemed and rescued from the hands of death."[277] As Adam's fall was responsible for the perversion and destruction of animals, human sickness, and nature's catastrophes, in "the restoration," his body, animals, and nature will be restored.[278] In eternity, human flesh will turn to be "like the glorious flesh with which Jesus Christ was raised."[279]

Even though it is not a main theme in Valdés, and even though he confesses his lack of understanding about Christ's Discourse on the Mount of Olives,[280] Valdés expresses definite eschatological convictions, particularly founded on Paul's writings. In a general sense, he understands that his position complied with the creed[281] and reflected that which the Apostle Paul "felt."[282] Valdés understood the Discourse on the Mount of Olives as a mixture of both Jerusalem's destruction and the "general ruin of the whole world" that will come before Christ's second coming.[283] At the point of Christ's second coming, in a most brief space of time, true Christians will be called through the sound of the trumpet, and they will either be resurrected or transformed.[284] Christ will join his church with himself and will deliver the kingdom to his eternal Father.[285]

> Today, Christ reigns (. . .) in those who are God's people, giving them the Spirit that God put in him and [giving them] of the divine treasures that are in him, with which they [God's people] maintain themselves in holiness and righteousness in spite of all their enemies (. . . .) Upon the resurrection of the just, God will reign without any mediation in his

[274] Ibid., 153.

[275] This is a more permanent difference in Valdés against Neoplatonism than Nieto's reference to Philosophy (Nieto,*Two Catechisms*, 29).

[276] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 432; Cf. *Com. Matthew*, 295-296.

[277] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 138.

[278] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 87, p. 680f.

[279] Ibid., n.73, p. 647.

[280] Regarding Mt. 24, Valdés said, "I find more difficulty in this chapter than in any other of the New Testament" (*Com. Matthew*, 443).

[281] In reference to the Apostle's Creed; Valdés specifies "from where he has to come to judge the living and the dead" (*Com. Corinthians*, 304-305).

[282] Ibid., 303.

[283] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 443, 461,

[284] Sp. "Transmutación." Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 303-304; Ibid., 285-286; *Com. Matthew*, 462.

[285] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 464.

> people, giving them that which he now gives them through Christ most abundantly and by himself. And this will be a greatest glory for Christ.[286]

It is important to note Valdés' devotional expressions to Christ, "Let it come, let it come now Lord, my God, this most happy and glorious time (. . . .) and, thus, those of us who are your children will be fully glorified with our Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ our Lord!"[287] At the moment of Christ's delivery of the kingdom to the Father, the child of God will "call Christ [as] King of Glory," "strong and courageous" in view of the people's internal victories against "human wisdom and the tyrants of the world."[288] These expressions toward Christ are clearly foreign to Alcaraz's teaching.

These eschatological convictions of Valdés are expressed since his *Commentary on Psalms*. Apart from other themes which are commonly associated with him, i.e. spiritual revelation, experience, Christ's centrality, anthropology, and justification by faith, Valdés maintained an eschatological hope. Another significant element of Valdés' eschatology is his typical contrast: "At the day of judgment (. . .) all men will see him and know him, seeing his church and his majesty (. . . .); those who are impious will have feared that day, whereas the pious ones will have waited for it."[289] Fear is associated with impiety. Hope and certainty are linked with piety. Likewise, his "church" will be manifested along with Christ's majesty, both differing from their present earthly appearance. Evidently, the expectations he saw in his brother and the Court regarding a millennial kingdom through Charles V were eventually transformed in him into eschatological hopes.

Justification by Faith

Regarding Valdés' teaching concerning the individual's appropriation of salvation, Valdés untiringly repeats and illustrates the satisfaction theory of the atonement and the individual's justification by faith. Appropriately responding to Cione's appreciation of Valdés,[290] Nieto underlines Valdés' emphasis on the atonement as the satisfaction of God's justice in benefit of the believer, not merely a token of his love.[291] The satisfaction theory is explicitly present in Valdés since his *Dialogue.* Moreover, differing from Nieto's scholastic portrait of Valdés, the "loving," subjective connotation of man's relationship with God was not a later development of Valdés;[292] it is clearly traced to Alcaraz's spirituality and the environment of the *Alumbrados*. In fact, the debate between Valdés' Anselmian or Abelardian concept of the atonement is

[286] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 285-286; Cf. ibid., 290.
[287] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 198.
[288] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 136. Another praise expression of Valdés to Christ, "He has worked for me, he has merited for me, he is the spouse of my soul; therefore, we have all his riches in common with him; he is the beginning, middle, and end of my salvation. I do not want to be saved if it is not through the work of my Christ." Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 883.
[289] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 5-6.
[290] Cione refers to Valdés' concept of redemption as "only a token of God's love" (*Juan de Valdés,* 88-89).
[291] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 301-314.
[292] Ibid.

scholastic, foreign to Valdés' "true theology" and his expression as layman. Even though Valdés' concept resembled Anselm, it is hardly warranted that Valdés would have been "clearly" influenced by him.[293] Valdés' resemblance must have come through Augustine and Luther.

The clarity and stress of justification by faith constitutes the ground for those who interpret Valdés as Lutheran or Protestant. After Gilly's discovery of the *Dialogue*'s dependence on Luther, Nieto's view that Valdés "formulated it and developed it (. . .) independently from Luther and other Reformation sources,"[294] became clearly outdated. The affinity with Luther, which Nieto himself recognizes, is not mere coincidence.[295] On the other hand, Domingo de Sta. Teresa, even though recognizing Valdés' teaching of justification by faith,[296] tries to "exonerate" him with several considerations. He argues that in Valdés' last writings, when "justifying faith, the benefit of Christ, pure love, and Christian liberty" became characteristic of his writings, Valdés was imbued with "the religious problems that disquieted the Italian Spiritual circles."[297] Domingo de Sta. Teresa, on the other hand, points to Valdés' reference to justification in the *Dialogue,* but fails to see that it was a purposeful insertion into Erasmus' text,[298] confirming that Valdés' conviction was already there. Domingo de Sta. Teresa dilutes Valdés' theological assertion qualifying it as "spirituality,"[299] as teachings "moving within the psychological sphere,"[300] lacking "the strength of a proper theological argument, but trusting in the individuals who approved it, and letting himself be carried by the ascetic tendency of trusting God."[301] As Nieto has stated, Domingo de Sta. Teresa's position does not correspond to Valdés' writings.[302] Even though Haggard endeavors unsuccessfully to avoid its difference with Valdés' Spanish Catholic background, he recognized that Valdés' "doctrine of justification by faith must be the central, spiritual principle of Valdessian spirituality."[303] Carrasco also endeavored to deprive Valdés of the satisfaction theory, as if Christ died "to give men a testimony of his pardon."[304] But this contradicts Valdés' *Dialogue* and much more his Neapolitan writings.

Domingo de Sta. Teresa and Cione, upon Carnesecchi's testimony, identify Valdés' teaching with the "double justification" spoken of at Regensburg (1541).[305] Carnesecchi, Domingo de Sta. Teresa argues, stated that Valdés, Flaminio and Ochino

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[293] Otto, *Juan de Valdés,* 150.
[294] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 314.
[295] Ibid., 323, 327.
[296] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 169-185.
[297] Ibid., 105, 125
[298] Ibid., 184.
[299] Ibid., 149.
[300] Ibid., 170.
[301] Ibid., 207.
[302] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 314.
[303] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 112.
[304] Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan,* 109.
[305] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 206; Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 93.

persuaded him that their teaching on justification was "good and Catholic."[306] Domingo de Sta. Teresa, furthermore, states that Carnesecchi and those men "did not embrace the consequences (. . .) of the principle of justification by faith," in reference to discarding the sacrament of penance, contrition, and satisfaction to recuperate the lost grace for sin, discarding purgatory, and invalidating indulgences.[307] First of all and regarding Carnesecchi's declaration, to ignore the pressure on this friend of Valdés, as he was declaring before the Inquisition in 1567, would be wrong. On the other hand, Valdés' writings confirm those "consequences of justification by faith," as the next paragraphs and sections will expose. Haggard has appropriately stated that Valdés' reference to works after being justified "do not build a synergistic concept."[308]

Valdés explicitly defined justification as "the remission of original sin, and the remission and non-imputation of offenses made by (. . .) members of Christ."[309] God's gift of justification "comes for (. . .) many offenses [Ro. 5:16], in such a way that God does not consider them [members of Christ] apart from Christ but in Christ, with whose justice he covers and embraces them."[310] Valdés defends that the text of Romans 5:16 "discards the opinion of those who desire to narrow the benefit of Christ as only applicable to original sin;" it likewise discards the opinion of "those who want that Christ would have made satisfaction only for guilt, leaving every man to satisfy for the penalty."[311] This extent of justification is clearly expressed since Valdés' *Commentary on Psalms*: "In no way [God] puts into their account what they [the saints of the gospel[312]] sin, being free *a malditione legis* as Saint Paul says."[313] The justice that the law intended is reached through faith in the time of the gospel, "accepting God's justice executed in Christ as ours; on the basis that, being members of Christ, we have satisfied the justice of God in Christ."[314]

In Valdés' definition, remission and justification merge, particularly based on "God's executing the rigor of his justice on his Son." In this regard, one of Valdés' key phrases was "God's covenant:"

> In the time of the gospel, God's covenant consists of that faith which gives credit to the general forgiveness preached in the gospel (. . . .) This faith puts those who believe into God's kingdom; with which [kingdom, i.e. God's government in the heart,] the image and likeness of God is recovered little by little."[315]

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[306] Ibid., 207.
[307] Ibid., 209.
[308] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés*, 113.
[309] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 74, 145-146.
[310] Ibid., 74.
[311] Ibid.
[312] These saints of the Gospel are true Christians, set against the true believers of the Old Testament. This reference to "saints," again, makes a clear reference to that of the *Dialogue on Doctrine*, confirming Valdés' authorship of it.
[313] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 240-241.
[314] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 122.
[315] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 140-141; Cf. *Com. Romans*, 226.

God's covenant constituted a theological concept for Valdés which included the individual's remission of sins and justification.

The foundational character and strength of Valdés' conviction about justification by faith is evident. Considering the Epistle of Romans, he wrote that, "as with much reason it is said," once this Epistle is understood, everything "substantial" in Scripture is "easy to understand:" "I call substantial that which belongs to justification, (. . .) vivification, (. . .) resurrection, (. . .) glorification of man, since that is the main intent of Holy Scripture."[316] Consequently, Valdés imposed his theological convictions upon key Bible texts, like Peter's confession "Thou are the Christ."

> The Christian faith is founded on this confession, so that we, who have accepted the general pardon and forgiveness as it is expressed in the gospel, ground our faith on [the conviction] that Christ is Messiah and Son of God, and thereby we get the assurance in ourselves of the remission of our sins and of our reconciliation with God, taking ourselves as sons of God, incorporated in Christ, and as heirs of eternal life with Christ."[317]

Peter's confession, according to Valdés, must be made from the presupposition of God's justification through Christ. This same presupposition is imposed on *Psalms*: "David calls himself just, not because of his own righteousness, but because he had accepted that which God had revealed him as his, [that] which was to be executed on Christ our Lord."[318]

Since *On Psalms* and throughout his writings, Valdés defended the full extension of justification. All who believed in God's general forgiveness were just, "as if every one of them had in themselves the innocence that Christ had and [as if they] had suffered in themselves what Christ suffered."[319] God's gift of justification was no less than "making individuals just, as he is just."[320] God's remission brought "entire restitution" to man, as to his position before God.[321] Separating God's given justice from man's works, Valdés wrote that at the day of judgment, "there will be nothing to condemn or chastise in the pious ones, no matter how unconcerned they might have been about their good works;" God will consider them in Christ, "having accepted the gospel and having appropriated for themselves [through faith] the justice of Christ."[322]

Valdés strongly opposed any biblical interpretation that would diminish the full satisfaction brought by justification through faith. To those who took I Cor. 4:4 as if Saint Paul would know "himself neither just nor accepted before God," Valdés stated that they were "undermining" the benefit of Christ and "slandering" Saint Paul; such opinion was "repulsive" and "directly opposed" to all that is evident in Saint Paul.[323]

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[316] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, xxxii.
[317] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 303.
[318] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 38.
[319] Ibid., 203.
[320] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 44.
[321] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 13, p. 516.
[322] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 24.
[323] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 74.

Furthermore, using the words "you will not tempt the Lord your God" as to deny "that which belongs to justification" was "wicked," according to Valdés.[324] Furthermore, in his theological *Treatises*, Valdés expounded and defended justification by faith in view of seemingly contradicting texts (e.g., Jas. 2 or "God giving everyone according to his works").[325] He defended that, "It is better to confess along with Saint Paul and Saint Augustine that eternal life is a gift from God through the merits of Christ."[326]

Valdés' discussion on justification by faith is clearly theological and soteriological. Cione states that at one time, issues like predestination or salvation without works were defended not in its theological-legal connotation, but rather in its connection with providence or spirituality,[327] or also in a psychological tone.[328]That could be true with Alonso de Palma or Porete, as their discussions were not soteriological but spiritual.[329] Conversely, Valdés' discussion, terms, concepts, arguments, and implications clearly belong to theological reasoning. To take Valdés' expressions as merely spiritual or psychological is inaccurate.

Valdés' concept of justification, on the other hand, revealed his eclecticism in a remarkable way. First of all, as Nieto recognizes, "Alcaraz (. . .) provided Valdés with no distinctive terminology or interpretation of the death of Christ."[330] The fact is that one of Valdés' most central columns breaks with Nieto's exclusive Alcaracian perspective of Valdés. Secondly, Valdés expressed his eclecticism through his presentation of the Epistle to the Romans, which was Valdés stronghold for justification. Apparently answering to a contemporary argument, Valdés understood Romans as Saint Paul's answer to a conflict between Jews and Gentiles, consisting of justification by faith versus by works, of faith coming by grace versus by *liberum arbitrium*, concerning predestination, the law, and external rituals.[331] His eclecticism or individual "mixture" is expressed as he asserted that Saint Paul "takes away the contentions, equally showing to both persuasions the wrong they had in themselves as well as the good they had by God's grace."[332] Valdés clearly defended justification by faith; however, he corrected the Protestant position defending the life of the "regenerated" as a victorious love union with God. He taught against a Christianity of

[324] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 48; Cf. also on Mt 7.22 he interprets "not doing the will of God" as not accepting "the grace of the gospel", and therefore God does not know them (*Com. Matthew*, 137-138).

[325] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 888-889.

[326] Ibid., 892-893.

[327] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,*. 79. This is evident for instance in Alonso de Cartagena's *Commentary on a Tract of Christostom*, or *Treatise on Predestination* by Fray Diego de Valencia, or Hugo de Palma or Porete's statement of salvation without works. Cione refers to Valdés' Justification by faith as "really mythologically" (*Juan de Valdés,* 88).

[328] Ibid., 89.

[329] Alonso de Palma, Porete, previously referred int his thesis.

[330] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 303.

[331] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* xxxii; Interestingly, Valdés even identifies those with a "weak conscience" (Ro. 14) as those who doubt of the "general pardon that the Gospel preaches," i.e. those who "say that they accept the justice of Christ and on the other hand go justifying themselves 'just in case'" (*Com. Romans,* 265-266).

[332] Ibid.,. xxxii.

merit but also corrected a low or fatalistic view of the justified Christian, i.e. "*simul iustus et peccator*."

Valdés cannot be equated with the doctrine of "double justification" at Regensburg as Crews and Cione do.[333] Valdés explicitly condemned any "mixture" of human works for salvation. Allowing human works for salvation questioned the sufficiency of God's "most divine and efficacious means (. . .) to save me."[334] The consideration of "any merit in man's works" constituted an "insult" and "slander" to God,[335] a token of men's pride and daring arrogance, proper of those who are "without piety, without God, and without Christ."[336] Justification by works was "most contrary to the Evangelical truth."[337] Valdés' conviction leaves no doubt: "We can conclude as a highest truth that eternal life is not given for the merit of our works but for the mercy of God, who from eternity, without any regard to our works, chose us as his sons."[338] Significantly, Valdés reproached those who believed justification through personal piety as followers of Aristotle and Plato instead of Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's. [339]

The absence of merit in the individual's works was caused by his natural depravity. Apparently coinciding with Flaminio's letters, Valdés stated, "There is no way possible that one might add the works of his own *liberum arbitrium*" to God's executing the rigor of his justice on Christ. [340] As to the foundational nature of this conviction, Valdés said, "all the Christian issue consists of this faith [without merit]," and this dogma constituted the *sine qua non* of all piety and religion.[341] He who is without Christ, therefore, cannot bring any "acceptable good work to the divine majesty."[342] Valdés, referring to Augustine, expressed, "Good works follow the justified individual; they do not go before the one who is to be justified (. . . .); our works (. . .) are good when they are done by someone already justified." [343] Works, therefore, fructify from a meritless, complete justification; consequently, the individual acts out "purely because of love for God and not because of self love (. . .) [or] self interest." [344]

Clearly in terms of theological discussion, Valdés dealt with the value of faith. Faith was not an "efficient cause" but an "instrumental cause." Furthermore, Valdés defended the concept of faith as "understood [upon the basis that] God having punished all the sins of the human race on his only begotten Son (. . . .) all who believe (. . . .) return to God's kingdom, from where they were expelled because of the first man's

[333] Crews, *Juan de Valdés,* 181ff; Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 93.
[334] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 883-884.
[335] Sp. insulto e injuria. Ibid.; Cf. *Considerations,* OC, n.49, p. 592.
[336] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 137-138.
[337] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 355. Also *Treatises,* OC, 882. Cf. *Com. Romans*, 51.
[338] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 894. Also *Com. Romans,* 44.
[339] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 97, p. 709-710.
[340] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 906. Cf. "You have not put anything of yourself" for salvation (*Com. Romans*, 271.
[341] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 906.
[342] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 25.
[343] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 397-398; Cf. Also *Com. Psalm*, 211.
[344] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.98, p.712. Cf. also *Com. Matthew*, 375.

sin."[345] This is "the true faith."[346] The individual "contributes with nothing of himself;" "living faith" is also "God's gift."[347]

Typical of Valdés' writings, as it was noticed since his *Dialogue*, even though his teaching is positive, he wrote against the background of his religious environment. In this regards, he identified "the saints of the world" as those who desire and seek "to be justified through their works, intending to enter into the kingdom of heaven, but they enter not."[348] This is reiterated in the interpretation of the parable of the vineyard as well as in the interpretation of the man without a wedding dress (Mt. 22:11). These who seek justification through works "deny the grace of the gospel of Christ, [and] the benefit of Christ." [349] Most interestingly, in light of Alcaraz, Valdés identifies them as "mercenaries," "dressed with faithless works and naked, devoid of faith and works of faith; (. . .) dressed with law and devoid of the gospel, dressed with Moses and devoid of Christ."[350]

In view of this defense of justification by faith, one of Valdés' most repetitive "mantras," there are still authors who are reluctant regarding Valdés defending "an unequivocal position of salvation by faith alone."[351] It is very obvious, since the days of Carrasco, that Valdés's teaching constituted a confrontation to the institutional Catholic position.[352] Morreale also recognizes the difference that this constitutes between Valdés and Erasmus.[353]

According to the conflict portrayed by Valdés as he introduced the Epistle to the Romans, there was something to correct in the "faith-by-grace" side: the effect of justification. Since Wiffen it has been said that Valdés' concept of justification by faith was "deeper and more intimate."[354] Morreale also said that Valdés took Augustine's lexicon, even *beneficium Christi,* and "brought the principles of justification through faith and personal inspiration to the extreme."[355] Valdés does not take a meritless justification to disregard personal righteousness; conversely, "true faith," is actually the origin and effective cause of piety. In addition to justification, faith also "engrafts and incorporates" the individual in Christ,[356] so that "the Spirit of Christ indwells our hearts, moving and inspiring all things that he inspired Christ [in the individual]," e.g.,

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[345] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 889. In the glossary that Valdés writes in Romans prologue, he said, "For Faith, Saint Paul understands the trust that man puts in the general pardon that Christ published and that is published representing and in the name of Christ (*Com. Romans,* xv).

[346] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 894.

[347] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 48. Also, "believing, they rejoice of God's inheritance, which it is graciously promised to them, which only those who believe enjoy" (Ibid., 57); "the pious, who through God's gift believe in the Gospel" (Ibid., 25).

[348] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 213. Also, Ibid., 357, 374.

[349] Ibid., 407.

[350] Ibid. Cf. also ibid., 474.

[351] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 121.

[352] Carrasco, *Juan de Valdés,* 111-115. Hence the Protestant interpretation of Valdés.

[353] Morreale, *Letter Spirit,* 180.

[354] Wiffen ed., *Alphabet*, lii; Cf Bataillon, DDB, 119, note 17.

[355] Morreale, *Letter Spirit,* 179-180.

[356] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 56.

humility, meekness, obedience, and charity.[357] Those are "the effects of justification,"[358] particularly, righteousness and holiness.[359] Justification, therefore, "causes the life or vivification of the [individual's] disposition."[360]

> Laws, regulations, precepts, statutes (. . .) are never sufficient to fully heal a man (. . . .) He [Jesus Christ] applies the true medicine, which is the faith with which the individual embraces and appropriates himself of the justice that was executed in the very Christ. In this way, healing him of impiety, iniquity, and sin (. . .) [Jesus Christ] makes him pious, just, and holy.[361]

For Valdés, the effect of justification is so certain that becomes a test of whether the individual has accepted the gospel humanly or through the Father's revelation.[362] Justification, therefore, was not merely "accounted" to the individual, as Haggard states;[363] justification directly affected one's disposition and life.

Confirming the influence of justification on the life of the individual, Valdés stated that any mixture of human works with justification "harmed" the teaching of the gospel, placing man "to live in a perpetual, servile fear and desperation."[364] Conversely, justification was "felt effectually" by the person, "having believed the gospel and appropriated for themselves the justice of God executed in Christ."[365] The acceptance of Christ as "the only means and end of our salvation" actually "ignites, keeps, and increases" divine love in the soul, producing good works.[366]

> Accepting the gospel, (. . .) I feel my conscience coming to peace (. . .) my affections and desires of the flesh going away without any effort or exercise of myself. I feel myself falling in love with God and Christ and eternal things. I feel the love for myself and the things of the world withdrawing, and I feel a great certainty in my own soul concerning my salvation and glorification in Christ and by Christ, in such a way that I live in a perpetual spiritual joy (. . .) This and other most-stupendous effects are caused by the true faith.[367]

This quote echoes the "feelings" mentioned in the *Dialogue*. It also echoes the joy referred to in the *Dialogue* for the individual's obedience. Very significant also in view of Valdés' background, these "most stupendous effects" could be traced to the "operations of the love of God" referred to by Alcaraz. Again, it confirms how Valdés maintained Alcaraz's basic tenets but developed them and grew beyond them, adding the concept of justification from Luther, as it enhanced his own view. This development depicts Valdés' eclecticism.

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[357] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 889.
[358] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 67; *Com. Matthew*, 524.
[359] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 176.
[360] Ibid., 128.
[361] Valdés, *Com. Psalms,* 222-223.
[362] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 524.
[363] As Haggard asserts Valdés never used "accounted" (*Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 1971, 8).
[364] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 833.
[365] Ibid., 906.
[366] Ibid., 885.
[367] Ibid., 888.

Valdés' conviction was so essential that he defined "the gospel" explicitly in terms of justification by faith. In his introductory glossary to his *Commentary on Romans,* he stated:

> Saint Paul understands the gospel as the open announcement[368] of the general forgiveness that is preached throughout the world, affirming that God has forgiven all the sins of all men of the world, executing in Christ the rigor of his justice for them all (. . .) so that those who are moved by the authority of Christ (. . .) might believe that general pardon, and, trusting the word of God, would take themselves as reconciled with God, procuring no other reconciliations.[369]

The "gospel in itself" is "this forgiveness and pardon."[370] Justification by faith, not by works, was that which "the apostles understood and preached, [and] which the very son of God Jesus Christ our Lord preached."[371] Valdés also attached "incorporation" in Christ to the acceptance of this gospel.[372] Expressions like "accepting the grace," "remission of sins," "reconciliation," "the benefit of Christ," "the testimony of Christ," "the testimony of God" are used as synonyms of justification by faith.[373] Interestingly as to his eclecticism, only in his *Commentary on Matthew,* Valdés used the Erasmian expression of "the School of Christ" to identify those that through justification were incorporated in Christ.[374] Again, this is a borrowed phrase with Valdés' own particular definition.

Typically, Valdés' definition of gospel is set against "false religion." Jesus Christ as the Foundation of the building (1 Cor. 3:11) is actually understood as appropriating through faith the justice of God executed in Christ.[375] In *Christian Instruction,* Valdés states that, having taught justification by grace to children, they will be kept from the deception of "false religion;" contrarily, "they will very easily be capable of the true religion, whenever God pleases to call them with spiritual and internal vocation to the grace of the gospel."[376] In clear reference to his immediate environment, there were those who "are like scribes and Pharisees," refusing the "sign of Christ's death (. . .) [i.e.] the satisfaction of his [God's] justice" through which the individual can be "certified of his glorification."[377] Notice, significantly, that the external sign of the cross referred to in Talavera's *Brief Doctrine,* which changed to

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[368] "Street public call," is from Sp. pregón.

[369] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* xiii; We add some quotes to reveal the strength of Valdés' identification between gospel and Justification by faith. Cf. Also "the gospel of Christ . . . the justice of God executed on Christ" (*Com. Romans*, 2); "Accepting the gospel, that is, the happiest notice of the general pardon…" *Considerations,* OC, n. 107, p.739; "The edict of pardon of the king …. the gospel of his Only Begotten Son Jesus Christ" (ibid., n. 108, p.742); *Com. Psalms*, 128; *Com. Romans*, 12, 60-61, 198, 303; *Com. Corinthians,* 32, 54, 101, 281: *Com. Matthew*, 481-482, 533.

[370] Valdés, *Christian Instruction,* 928.

[371] Valdés, *Treatises,*OC, 906; Also *Considerations,* OC, n. 103, p. 726; *Com. Psalms,* 16.

[372] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.106, p.733; *Com. Matthew*, 325.

[373] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.106, p. 738-9; *Com. Romans*, 153; *Com. Corinthians*, 4-5, 30-31.

[374] Valdés, *Com. Matthew,* 6, 72, 73, 183, 185, 187, 188, 191, 195, 221, 533.

[375] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 57-58.

[376] Valdés, *Treatises,* 932.

[377] Valdés, *Com. Matthew,* 248.

love in the *Dialogue*, was now changed to be justification by faith. The "false prophet" "preaches more out of Moses than Christ, regardless of naming Christ more than Moses, and he teaches more law than gospel, because he has more of Moses than of Christ, and more of law than gospel;" these are "ravening wolves," endeavoring to separate the sheep from Christ in order to take them to Moses.[378] Significantly, Valdés states,

> This is something great indeed, that till this day Saint Paul is hated for his epistles, more than any other apostle or evangelist (. . .) even by those who profess to be Christians. Some call him "heretical Doctor," and others say that his doctrine is very dangerous.[379]

He even pondered, if those who hear and do not accept the gospel have a most terrible end: "What [condemnation] will be to those who contradict and persecute the gospel?"[380]

Valdés' definition of "the gospel" also included a subjective, experiential element, that is, the "appropriation" aspect of the gospel. Several times he defined gospel, "not as that which men write or print on paper, but that which God writes and prints in the hearts of those whom he calls and chooses for his kingdom." [381] This experiential aspect of the gospel of justification by faith is a paraphrase and development of what he said in his *Dialogue*.

Valdés' definition and contention of the gospel as justification by faith alone constitutes a theological foundation and distinction of his message. I certainly doubt that, as Domingo de Sta. Teresa says, "In the Council of Trent we would hear very similar phrases to those which are read in Juan de Valdés."[382]

Sovereign Grace and *Liberum Arbitrium*

Consistent with his view of anthropology and meritless justification, Valdés stressed God's agency in salvation to the rejection of *liberum arbitrium*.[383] From the first Considerations Valdés underlined God both calling and bringing "him whom God wants" to the grace of the gospel or into his kingdom.[384] God must "move and soften"

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[378] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 133. It is perhaps an typical Bible terminology; however, Luther's Comments on Romans interestingly reads, "They who interpret the term "Gospel" as something else than "the good news" do not understand the gospel, as those people do who have turned the gospel into a law rather than grace and have made Christ a Moses for us" (Pelikan ed, vol. 25, p. 327); also on Galatians, "Papists . . . who either do not know about the righteousness of Christ . . . should change Christ into Moses and the law change the law into Christ. Further on . . . (Ibid., On Galatians (2.17), Vol. 26, 182) "They have become nothing but legalists and Mosaists, defecting from Christ to Moses and calling the people back from Baptism, faith, and the promises of Christ to the law and works, changing grace into the law and the law into grace (Ibid., On Gal. (2.18), Vol 26, 184).

[379] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 294.

[380] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 180.

[381] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 17-18, 112; *Com. Romans*, 103.

[382] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 187. We would have appreciated if De Sta. Teresa had given some quotes of the Council of Trent in this regard.

[383] I keep the Latin expression, because Valdés used. The use of this Latin expression clearly indicated its theological significance.

[384] E.g. God allowing himself to be seen … (Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 262-263).

the heart of the individual, "opening his eyes to his self-inability."[385] The individual was clearly portrayed as insufficient to see himself, to "reduce himself, and believe," depending on God's intervention.[386]

> Even though it seems an easy and light task, that man would reduce himself to believe (. . . .) it is so difficult, grave, and hard for human disposition, that unless it is through the special gift of God, the individual would never reduce himself to it; (. . .) he can neither understand it nor would ever desire to feel it.[387]

Valdés' writings include clear statements like, "accepting the grace of the gospel is a work particularly of God and not of human energy or goodness."[388]

Arriving to Valdés' later writings, such as *Treatises* or *Commentary on Matthew*, his language became more theological; however, he still included some tenets which are traceable to his background. In *Questions & Answers,* Valdés pondered over God's desire and effective will, inferring that God did not desire the salvation of all; if that were the case, it would also be the effect.[389] This radical view of God's will cannot but recall Valdés' gloss on Erasmus' *Inquisitio*: God "being able to do all he wills."[390] On the other hand, a few lines later, Valdés expressed how God's sovereignty operated to bring people to salvation: "the malice which in them [naturally] pulls them away would not be efficacious to impede the acceptance of the benefit of Christ."[391] All of this phrasing and emphasis, with the exception of God's will, unequivocally coincide with Flaminio's letters discussing this very issue with Cardinal Contarini.

Valdés' *Commentary on Matthew* is even more illustrative concerning God's sovereignty in salvation. He expressed not only his theological perspective but also his personal experience. The crisis that led him into faith resembles Alcaraz's; but most significantly, it reveals the essential influence of such a crisis on his convictions regarding the individual's approach to God. As Valdés interprets Christ's exclamation over Jerusalem and refers to God's resistible versus God's irresistible will, he chooses to explain it as *ordinary* versus *absolute* power of God. This latter distinction was "more certain;" it was according to his "experience," which consisted of the revelation of "the corruption of this natural depravity," resulting in the exaltation of God's goodness and generosity.[392] Valdés expressed that God's offer for him to submit to God's will was impossible through God's *ordinary* power. Conversely, as "Scripture says many times,"

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[385] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.1, 496; also ibid., n. 20 p. 531; ibid., n. 5, p.503; *Com. Romans*, 73; *Com. Corinthians*, 177.

[386] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 70, p. 635-636. Important coincidence which confirms Valdessian authorship of DDC.

[387] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 44.

[388] Ibid., 177.

[389] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 824. Accordingly, he interpreted Christ's prayer (Jn.17) as Christ's desire for "only those who are predestined to eternal life, that they would be capable of the benefit of Christ" (Ibid).

[390] DDC, OC,19.

[391] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 824-825.

[392] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 439-440.

God uses his *absolute* power, which "none can resist," to bring people to Christ. It is not a "rigorous" force but a "loving, sweet, and savory" one.[393] He states of himself:

> I was forced to come to Christ (. . . .) Even if I had resisted, I would not have been able to. Thinking the same concerning everyone who is incorporated in Christ, I think that God uses [his] absolute power with them, forcing and compelling them violently for them to leave the kingdom of the world and enter the kingdom of God (. . .) accepting the grace of the gospel.[394]

According to his definition of experience and considering the contents and emphasis of Valdés' teachings, his experience had a central role in the shaping of his convictions concerning everyone who truly believes. The essential contrast of being outside versus entering the kingdom of God, as well as his entire soteriological scheme, appears to be the fruit of his own experience.

Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to Valdés' convictions on God's sovereignty as mystical arguments, as a mystical necessity.[395] He even notes that "Valdés does not consider[396] the problem of liberty regarding sin or grace;" in fact, Domingo de Sta. Teresa states that "all the rhythm of his spirituality seems to affirm" man's liberty.[397] However, Domingo de Sta. Teresa's statements are difficult to harmonize with Valdés' explicit declarations.

As he did regarding *voluntas signi* and *voluntas beneplaciti*, Valdés enters into theological discussion and uses the Latin terminology of *liberum arbitrium*. Domingo de Sta. Teresa, leaning on Flaminio's letters and expressions rather than Valdés' writings, states that man's *liberum arbitrium* was not extinguished but "sick and impotent to do good;" Flaminio's defense and Valdés' by extension, according to Domingo de Sta. Teresa, was that his opponent, Seripando, spoke of free choice as "braver than it really is."[398] Concerning Flaminio, his position clearly attributed the deepest incapacity to the individual's power to choose. His opponents spoke of him as "annihilating" *liberum arbitrium*. Furthermore, when he wrote to Seripando, describing man's free choice as "braver than it is," he was denying even Seripando's "prevenient grace," which facilitated a consensus of the individual's *arbitrium* with God's prevenient grace. Flaminio rejected his "new opinion"[399] and reiterated that the individual contributed nothing towards salvation, not even with his desire to be saved.[400] In that context, Flaminio rejected Seripando with these words: "Certainly, the testimony of the Holy Scripture and holy doctors is different; daily experience distinctly teach us that our *liberum arbitrium* is sick to the most [degree] towards good, and

[393] Ibid., 439.
[394] Ibid.
[395] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 140.
[396] Sp. Se plantea.
[397] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 180.
[398] Cuccoli, *Flaminio*, 284-285; De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 180.
[399] Cuccoli, *Flaminio*, 285.
[400] Ibid., 280-281.

whoever does not feel this grave sickness has lost his discernment."[401] Flaminio's words, therefore, would rather confirm Valdés' denial of *liberum arbitrium.* Interestingly, Haggard speaks of Valdés as Erasmian and of Erasmus as maintaining the assistance of "a prevenient grace."[402]

Apart from Flaminio, Valdés is clear concerning man's incapacity. The individual's capacity to choose was "fully unable, fully weakened by original sin (. . . .) with his *liberum arbitrium,* man cannot know God."[403] Valdés appealed to Saint Paul:

> According to Saint Paul man's *liberum arbitrium* is unfit, useless[404] to accept the grace of the gospel, in the same way that works are unfit, useless for justification; God's election is useful for justification (. . .) and [likewise] true faith is fit, useful for justification.[405]

Regarding the non-justified Valdés recognized the individual's capacity to either "maintain or increase [his acquired] depravation."[406] In other words, natural man can manage external righteousness, but this capacity has no value except the resulting honor or shame before the world. This concession does not change that, regarding salvation, Valdés denied the individual's *liberum arbitrium*.[407]

Conversely and underlining the change in the justified, as it happened with reason, *liberum arbitrium* was "repaired"[408] in justification. This restoration took place in him "who has already entered in the grace of the gospel, already justified, and already began to regenerate."[409] Those whose *liberum arbitrium* is repaired are also identified as "those regenerated and renewed by the Holy Spirit."[410] Justification, regeneration, incorporation, and other kindred terms, along with the restoration of *liberum arbitrium,* denote a marked beginning and a subsequent continuing process.[411] The strength and energies of the individual's *liberum arbitrium* are useful "after they already love God, and not in order to love God."[412] Underlining this marked beginning, if the regenerated "misused" *liberum arbitrium* and became "negligent and careless," God's gifts would diminish, e.g., faith, love, hope, or mortification, but the individual "would not lose them."[413]

Concerning Domingo de Sta. Teresa's claim concerning the "rhythm" of Valdés spirituality, which "seems to affirm" his approval of free choice, Carrasco coincides with Domingo de Sta. Teresa. Carrasco, from a Protestant perspective, appears again to

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[401] Ibid., 284-285.
[402] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés,* 75.
[403] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 906-7.
[404] Sp. No sirve.
[405] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 215-216.
[406] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 905; *Com. Corinthians,* 165.
[407] Carrasco denies that Valdés completely denied *libero arbitrio* (1880, 115); however, there is no question of Valdés' denial of it as it regarded salvation.
[408] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 910; *Com. Romans,* 165, 216; *Com. Corinthians,* 55.
[409] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 909-910.
[410] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 216-217; *Com. Corinthians,* 55-56.
[411] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 165.
[412] Ibid., 143.
[413] Ibid., 216, 217.

defend Valdés from radical extremes, describing Valdés as allowing "a large portion to the capacity to apply oneself to grace," like Melanchthon.[414] Valdés' words, however, are rather explicit. In view of the apparent contradiction between exhortatory language and man's inability to respond, Valdés writes: "When Scripture pleads, exhorts, and commands, it speaks neither to those who are alien from God and Christ nor to those who are not predestined, but [it speaks] to those who are predestined, know God, and have obtained justification through Christ."[415] Valdés' "rhythm," i.e. his exhortations and spiritual demands, do not affirm man's liberty at all; they rather point to his audience: those who felt God's calling and particularly those who had accepted the gospel already.

Predestination

Due to the interconnectedness of concepts in his thought, our discussion has already included references to Valdés' conviction on predestination. Domingo de Sta. Teresa presents Valdés as "reluctant to enter" into the subject,"[416] laying no pressure on his audience concerning this topic.[417] He suggests that Valdés' position was "similar if not identical with that of Flaminio," wondering if Valdés' was not "fruit of his first contacts in the spiritual ground of Flaminio with Valdés."[418] Domingo de Sta. Teresa, furthermore, concludes that, particularly commenting on Romans 8, Valdés "does not offer us a commentary, but a spiritual perspective."[419]

The dates of Valdés' writings make it very unlikely that he adopted this conviction from Flaminio. Predestination is referred to in Valdés' *Considerations*, *Commentaries on Psalms, Romans, Corinthians, Matthew,* and in his *Treatises*. At the beginning of this Part III we expressed the unlikelihood that *Psalms* would be written at the end of Valdés' life, needing at least a three year span from *Psalms* to *Matthew* (according to Valdés' own words). Furthermore, if Flaminio arrived in 1539 to Naples and some time is added for Valdés to adopt Flaminio's views, we would force all of those previous writings to the last year and a half of his life, which is really unthinkable. Even Haggard, who sees Valdés departing from Erasmus in his later writings, recognizes that "the idea of the elect is found in something of a chrysalis form in the earliest work" of Valdés.[420]

Valdés' view on predestination certainly revolved around a dependence on God; he said, "I am much more pleased that my glorification depends on God and not on me,

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[414] Carrasco, *Juan de Valdés,* 116.

[415] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 909; also said in *Com. Romans*, 165, 170. Flaminio referred that God calls, exhorts . . . invites . . . this invitation is salvation to all the predestined and testimony to the reprobated (Cuccoli, *Flaminio,* 273); Exhortations (to the reprobate) are vain and useless (ibid, 277); It is for testimony and to make them unexcusable (ibid.).

[416] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 142.

[417] Ibid.,196.

[418] Ibid.,142.

[419] Ibid., 195.

[420] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés,* 132.

knowing what I know of God and (. . .) what I know of me."[421] Expressions like these could have led Carrasco to state that Valdés emphasized predestination "because of a deep necessity in his conscience, to feel assured of his justification."[422] As in the case of his conversion crisis, I wonder whether this following description referred to a personal experience or that of a friend:

> A person will go to hear a sermon or any other thing, for curiosity or any other fantasy of his. There, he will hear a word that will penetrate inside his own disposition and will impel him to seek and desire Christ till he finds him, even without knowing the motive he seeks Christ for. Then he realizes that he was seeking him with the purpose that, being Christ's, God would accept him as just. Then he feels his calling indeed and becomes assured in himself of the two things that precede the call, that is (. . .) that God has known and (. . .) predestinated him; and also (. . . .) [concerning] justification and glorification. This assurance is the highest and most excellent thing that a man can obtain in this present life.[423]

While his spiritual experience had a clear influence on Valdés' thought, he also was reputed to know Paul's Epistles with considerable depth since his days with Gracián de Alderete, in Spain.[424] Not discarding an input or affirmation from the relationship with Flaminio and other friends, Valdés' conviction on predestination cannot be reduced to his friend's influence in Naples.

A deeper consideration of Valdés' concept of predestination reveals a certain fluctuation between God's general pardon and yet hardening the non-predestinated. On one hand, he expresses that God's edict of pardon is for all people, or that the treasures of Christ are for all people.[425] On the other hand, not only does he speaks of "those benefits" being only effective in "those persons whom God has brought to the knowledge of Christ,"[426] Valdés appears to defend a limited atonement. He states that God "executed the rigor of his justice upon his only begotten Son Jesus Christ" particularly for those whom he loved with a particular love," differing from the general love for all men.[427] He seems to fluctuate also as he speaks of unbelief. Whereas sometimes he says that "in order to enclose men in unbelief (. . .) it is enough to leave man in that which is natural to him," other times he explicitly says that the people's unbelief, like belief, "both were by God's work and will."[428] The writings previously

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[421] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 146. Predestination, "depends on the sole will of God" (Ibid., 292); "It is effectual to say 'election' because it excludes all possibility of merit" (ibid., 208).

[422] Carrasco, *Juan de Valdés*, 117.

[423] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 145.

[424] This thesis Ch.4, p. 143-144.

[425] Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 889; *Com. Romans*, 71, 163; *Com. Matthew*, 15. The possibility of Justification is offered to all; in fact, he writes that "like sin was general [in Adam] . . . so freely and graciously are all justified . . . . [however], those who believe in it enjoy it, belonging only to them, since they only believe it" (*Com. Romans*, 45).

[426] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 75, p.650.

[427] Ibid., n. 24, p. 539. Also, "Scripture says at times that Christ died for many in reference to the effect [it causes], and it says at other times that he died for all, in reference to the act" (*Com. Matthew*, 383).

[428] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 232, 219.

quoted reveal that it was not an evolution of his thought, but rather a fluctuation due to an unsystematized thought. Nevertheless, there is no doubt concerning the contrast between the predestined and non-predestined, as well as the assurance that the true believer was to find in God's eternal purposes.

Cione wants to see Valdés' view on predestination as stressing the individual's faith and hope, having "undoubtedly psychological roots."[429] Consequently, Cione infers that Valdés "never presented a true and proper pessimistic background, as certain aspects of biblical, Pauline, or Calvinistic religiosity" do.[430] While Cione's statement is most of the time true, some of the previous quotes require discarding "never." Valdés occasionally did maintain those more pessimistic aspects.

If justification by faith supposed a divisive edge in an environment of ceremonies and indulgences, predestination constituted no less a sharp and distinctive conflict. Valdés compares its controversy with that of "grace and free choice,"[431] and "faith and works."[432] According to Valdés' understanding of divine matters, he takes predestination as a "divine secret." [433] On one hand, it is judged by human prudence as "ugly and absurd."[434] To resent it, Valdés said, is a sign of "a wicked disposition and reprobation."[435] Any endeavor for the unregenerate to understand it constitutes a "fantasy:" "Human wisdom will never come to believe (. . .) that God does not do injustice as he predestines some and leave the others, even if it desires and tries to."[436] Very significantly in light of Valdés' Christian environment, he referred to individuals who,

> considering predestination without piety, think of it as injustice from God, and, pretending piety, they do not want to admit it; yet, feeling constrained to it because of the Holy Scripture, they admit it with certain conditions and (. . .) additions, which actually is the same as if they did not accept it.[437]

Conversely, understanding predestination, "feeling and rejoicing in it," and "recognizing God's justice" in it was a sign of a pious disposition. The acceptance that what God does is always "holy, just, and good, worshiping God in those things that they do not understand," is an attitude that corresponds to humility.[438] In this aspect Valdés' reminiscences of Alcaraz can be made evident: while Flaminio referred to predestination as a "stupendous mystery," Valdés referred to it as a "divine secret." For

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[429] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 99.

[430] Ibid., 98. Cione appeals to *Benefici di Christo* to interpret Valdés' teachings; however, that was not written by Valdés.

[431] Interestingly Valdés said "If predestination is understood, grace is understood . . . those who are predestinated are those who rejoice on grace…" (*Treatises,* OC, 905).

[432] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 904.

[433] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.49, p. 592-593; *Com. Romans,* 146.

[434] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 49, p. 593-594 ; *Treatises,* OC, 904. Flaminio would say that predestination does not please human intellect, making God partial and cruel (Cuccoli, *Flaminio,* 272-273).

[435] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 161; *Com. Matthew,* 442.

[436] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 146.

[437] Ibid., 161.

[438] Ibid.

Flaminio, if predestination seems repulsive, "we must captivate the intellect to the Word of the Lord."[439]

Considering Domingo de Sta. Teresa's remarks that Valdés laid no pressure on individuals concerning the subject of predestination, it is necessary to specify that his permissible attitude was not for people in general, but specifically for "the members of Christ."[440] Just previous to Domingo de Sta. Teresa's quotation concerning that they "should not become desperate," Valdés stated that they have a reason to "sorrow and be sad" because they do not rejoice, being uncertain of their predestination. It is not accurate to say that Valdés was "reluctant" to enter into the subject of predestination. Furthermore, a true Christian's uncertainty regarding his predestination is an exception to Valdés' thought, someone "infirm in the faith."[441] The child of God, on account of his experience of God's revelation, is certain that God "has called me and thereby I am assured that he had known and predestined me, and that he has justified me, and that he will glorify me (. . . .) because the promises of God are firm."[442]

Perseverance of the Saints

If there were apparently unsettled areas in Valdés' view on predestination, his conviction on the "perseverance of the Christian"[443] expresses a similar fluctuation. The ideal is that "we," true Christians, "follow him with spiritual affection (. . .) and for spiritual things;" therefore, "God will miraculously provide for all our [spiritual] needs, not wanting that we would perish in the way (. . .) and he will defend us from all things that could separate us from him."[444] Consistent with Valdés' dependence on God, salvation rests on God's faithfulness. Words like "the gates of hell not prevailing against his church" or "none being able to pluck them away from my hand" strengthen the individual to be "well assured with Saint Paul that nothing will separate us from Christ, and, therefore, from Christ's kingdom in the present life or from the kingdom of God in the eternal life."[445]

Depending on God for the perseverance of the Christian is not a passive complacency. Perseverance requires "much favor from the Holy Spirit (. . .) to maintain oneself trusting and hoping for God's promises."[446] While God may allow and be compassionate toward vulnerability, weakness,[447] or fluctuation of faith, God keeps those who are "predestined to eternal life" "with his hand," so that "they never fall" into

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[439] Cuccoli, *Flaminio*, 277-278.

[440] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 221-222.

[441] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 150.

[442] "Are firm" Sp. "se cumplen" (*Considerations*, OC, n.16, p. 524.

[443] Phrase used by Valdés (*Com. Romans*, 153), i.e. "The certification (i.e. assurance) that (Paul) had in the perseverance of Christians." Cf. Also "to be certified of one's perseverance" (Com. Corinthians, 6-7).

[444] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 296, Cf. *Considerations*, OC, n. 117, p.777; *Com. Romans*, 229.

[445] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 305-306. Also - "Depending on God," says Valdés, "there is no reason to doubt, the individual will be and will persevere" (*Com. Romans*, 267).

[446] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 287.

[447] Valdés, Considerations, OC, n. 20, p. 531-2; Also, ibid., n. 96, p. 656; ibid., n.79, 660; *Alphabet*, OC, 408.

covetousness, ambition,[448] pretense of piety,[449] or Saint John's "*peccatum ad mortem*," e.g., blaspheme against the Holy Spirit;"[450] "God himself, knowing us as we were, made us [his] children and will keep us" in that condition.[451]

This ideal of perseverance is expressed also regarding the Christian who has entered God's kingdom. One who "has already entered into the possession of God's kingdom in this life" can be certain that he will enjoy God's glory in the life hereafter, and the guiles of human prudence will be of no avail against him.[452] The distinction of those who "were called to the company of Christ" and later departed from the true Christian lies in the kind of calling they received from God. If the calling is after that kind of which Saint Paul speaks, i.e. feeling peace and knowing God, true Christians can "be certain that they will be kept guiltless till the day of judgment."[453] Valdés states, "It is impossible that those who are not planted by God will not be plucked out from God's kingdom; likewise, it is impossible that those who are his sheep will draw away from him."[454]

These categorical statements, however, break their consistency in some situations. Valdés "marvels very much at people who have accepted the gospel, and received the Holy Spirit through its acceptance, and [yet] have their desires so alive that they excuse [their] past, when they lived without God."[455] These individuals, consequently, depart. Valdés, furthermore, acknowledges the possibility of "being led into rebellion" by human prudence,[456] or returning to be unjust because the person does not take care of himself.[457] If, for instance, someone is rebellious when corrected (Mt.18) or fails to forgive, he can be "separated from the union with God and the incorporation in Christ;" God's general pardon can be actually "revoked."[458]

This possibility of apostasy, however, is not an opening for a meritorious perseverance on the part of the Christian. Insecurity of one's salvation, i.e. being "suspicious of oneself or fearing like Hebrews," is a symptom of imperfect Christians.[459] Some statements, such as "through the Christian living, possession [of God's kingdom] is maintained,"[460] can be misleading if taken as a recommended

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[448] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.20 p. 531.
[449] Ibid., n. 79, p. 656.
[450] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 240. Cf. ibid., 240-242.
[451] Valdés, *Trataditos*, OC, 777; *Considerations*, OC, n. 117; *Com. Matthew*, 195, 296; *Com. Psalms*, 133; *Com. Romans*, 267.
[452] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 20.
[453] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 7-8. Also, "love for Christ" in itself, if it is from God, will be "firm and stable . . . God had given it to him [the individual] and he will keep and maintain it" (*Com. Matthew*, 520); Perseverance is a "property" of charity (*Com. Corinthians*, 145); Faith itself, if it is inspired and revealed, will impel the true Christian to live according to the message of Christ; otherwise, it was a human faith derived from human persuasion (*Com. Matthew*, 136).
[454] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 192.
[455] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 40.
[456] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 13, p.518-519.
[457] Ibid., n. 110, p. 750-751.
[458] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 338, 344.
[459] Valdés, Considerations, OC, n. 16, p. 524 ; ibid., n.110, 751; *Com. Matthew*, 187.
[460] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 193.

tension. Valdés focus and message was on hope and certainty that God's sovereignty would keep the true Christian to eternity. The exhortation to persevere in holiness and Christian courage[461] should be viewed not as a threat but as the ethical quality of Valdés' message.

Valdés' Soteriological Scheme

Up to this point, chapter 6 has presented Valdés' theological foundations. These particularly revolved around man's approach to God, but Valdés' message was not particularly a presentation of new convictions. As in the *Alphabet*, before showing the way of perfection, there were a considerable number of concepts and rules that needed to be discussed. However, the center of Valdés' message revolved around two axes. One is the essential need of the natural person and the transforming change that takes place through his identification with Christ. The second axis is Valdés' internal religion particularly identified with Christian Liberty, as he defined it, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Regarding the individual's essential change, Valdés used categorical distinctions like "being" in Adam versus "being" in Christ, or phrases like "entering the way of perfection," or "entering in God's kingdom." Valdés proposed a new definition of the Christian and the church (as will be discussed later) based upon a spiritual experience of its members. I believe that Giulia's conversation triggered Valdés' teaching because it particularly dealt with the center of his message: how to experience this change and enjoy a happy, victorious, relationship with God as a true Christian. Always present throughout his theological or biblical discussions, this essential need and transformation was the focus of *De Penitentia*. This central focus was always the object and foundation of his repeated contrasts, definitions, and spiritual advice. This essential necessity and transformation can be clearly traced to Alcalá's *Dialogue*. Valdés' Neapolitan writings, therefore, constitute the explanation, with certain development, of his former convictions. Even though the consideration of Valdés' followers exceed the scope of this thesis, it is significant that Carnesecchi referred to having been "introduced in the kingdom of God" through Valdés' teaching.[462] Valdés' contribution to Christian thought, therefore, is his exposition on how a person approaches, enters, and grows in God's kingdom. His discussions portray a spiritual analysis, according to his thought, of the individual coming to peace and love with God and growing in that relationship. The following sections present this soteriological scheme which was central in Valdés' message.

[461] Valdés states "having set God as the mirror in which to see me again and again, and having always his favor, I am certain that I will not fall from this happiness" (Com. Psalms, 81-82, 83). Cf. also *Com. Matthew*, 136-7, 447.

[462] Ortolani, Pietro Carnesecchi p. 125. Cited in Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 148.

Either False or True Christians

Valdés outlined classifications of people in several of his writings, particularly in the *Alphabet, On Psalms, Considerations,* and *Questions and Answers*. These classifications expressed Valdés' thought at the beginning, middle, and consummation of his spiritual teaching in Naples. His criteria to classify individuals varied: their disposition to enter into God's way, their belief, or their self-love.[463] Regarding how people approached God, Valdés' classifications did not portray progressive steps of any spiritual ladder.[464] They depicted different situations of those whom he considered outside true Christianity. Individuals were either outside God's way, in disbelief, and lacked a relationship with God, or, on the other hand, they were saints.[465] People are either "natural" individuals, "alien from Christ"[466] or they are in God's way,[467] loved by God,[468] believing "through inspiration,"[469] or "regenerated."[470] The individual can be in either the "first state," i.e. just that which he is in Adam, or in the "second state," in Christ.[471]

Valdés' classifications included the ungodly, but that category was not his focus. These people refused discarding their own "entertainments;" they lived satisfying their senses. This group seemed to complete his universal classification. This minor attention to sinners or sin differs from Erasmus' *Enchiridion,* which was directed against vice and the flesh. Valdés, in fact, presents the "ungodly" as "erring like beasts" but with God looking at them with mercy.[472] His discussion, conversely, is particularly dedicated to expose those who are within the Christian context, but whose religion is merely human.

In *Psalms'* prologue, Valdés gives a classification and guide for those who desire to initiate themselves in piety. His classification there tends to correct the general concept that eternal life is achieved through piety. Typical of Valdés, instead of being belligerent or addressing the issue with theological arguments, he imposes two conditions in order "to reach true piety (. . .) and therefore be certain of (. . .) immortality and eternal life:" the Spirit's intervention in the person's acceptance of God's particular providence[473] and justification by faith. Valdés confronts the individual with the impossibility "of living virtuously according to what human philosophy teaches (. . .) [trying to] supply (. . .) that which is lacking in their moral life."[474] Faced with this

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[463] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 390-392; *Considerations*, n. 96, 99, 101; *Questions and Answers,* OC, n.6, p. 811-812.

[464] In this he resembled Alcaraz, differing from Porete's, Osuna, or Cazalla.

[465] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 392.

[466] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* 812.

[467] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 392.

[468] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 96, p. 706-707.

[469] Ibid., n. 99.

[470] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* n.6, p. 811-812.

[471] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 42, p. 576-7 ; Cf. Also *Com. Psalms*, 75.

[472] I.e. the Gentiles in the death of Christ, because of ignorance, Christ "Father forgive them for they know not what they do" (*Considerations,* OC, n.105, p. 730-731).Cf. Ibid., n.26, 544-545.

[473] Later to be discussed.

[474] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 3.

impossibility, some "resolve to reject piety and justice (. . .) laboring to persuade themselves that there is no God." Others, on the other hand,

> live with continual affliction and terrible misery in their heart, laboring with fatigue to live virtuously (. . .) and never being certain of having reached either the piety or the justice they pursue, always doubting that which they most desire: reaching immortality and eternal life (. . . .) These (. . .) never come to recover the image and likeness of God (. . .) and never reach (. . .) nor will reach the immortality that they naturally desire.[475]

These individuals are also identified as those who understand divine things "through human instrumentality" or only through "Scriptures." They are "superstitious" and "credulous."[476]

Typical of Valdés, his discussions most often portrayed what he considered as false piety. Valdés referred in *Psalms* to the wicked as denying providence or that God takes care of his own, which depicts a religious context rather than a call for the sinner.[477] In *Consideration* no. 13, more particularly, there is a classification according to the response to the King's offer of free pardon, a frequent illustration of Valdés. The problem is never sinfulness or vice; it is one's self-righteousness and unbelief in the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice. The problem is also one's inability to abandon one's own ceremonial presuppositions.[478] As categories are enumerated and distortions are more oriented to false religion, the third category of this 13th Consideration states:

> They know themselves to be rebels; and while they might have the [king's] pardon as certain, embrace the gospel, read it, and preach it, they cannot reduce their dispositions to enter into God's kingdom, because they trust more in themselves than in God. They desire to be under the government of their own human prudence more than coming to the kingdom of God. These ones intend to obtain pardon for their rebellion through their own efforts, diligence, and merits (. . .) They do not come to God's kingdom. They do not feel its benefit or enjoy God's generosity or Christ's obedience. Their own arrogance and pride leads them to their condition, and, consequently, they always remain in their rebellion.[479]

It is necessary to notice that merit, as opposed to a grace-given justification, is absolutely an obstacle to enter God's kingdom, to be reconciled with God, and to enjoy God's favor or justification.

Those who follow false religion are blinded by their own self-love, and their natural light has turned to be their self-deception.[480] Even within the Christian environment, Valdés describes the natural person as erring "in everything" he does. While the individual loves himself, his honor, and his interest, he thinks that with his

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[475] Ibid., 4.
[476] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.101, p. 718-721.
[477] E.g. Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 48, 61.
[478] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 13, p. 516-518.
[479] Ibid., p. 518.
[480] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 390-1; "err because of self-love" (*Questions and Answers*, OC, 811, 812); they are self.deceived (ibid., 812, 815); also identified as blind (*Considerations*, n. 99, 96).

justice and holiness he will reach eternal life.[481] The false Christian seeks "man's glory and interest, building religion upon that which is useful, either for the present or the future,"[482] from which false pursuit all human religion is born: i.e., "vain ceremonies and diabolical superstitions."[483] These false Christians are further qualified as "raving, carried away" individuals.[484] Those who follow human prudence and reason in religion are "abominated by God," regardless that they are partly despised by the world and partly esteemed by it.[485]

When it comes to drawing closer to God, Valdés' distinction between human and divine religion is categorical. Valdés understands that both religious and human virtue are actually sins if they are done by the natural individual. This rejection of human efforts, however, is perceived as "hard and terrible" by human wisdom , which is unable to endure it.

> Human wisdom wants for Saint Paul to understand "flesh" as Socrates or Plato did, that is, the vice of the flesh. All who follow (. . .) human prudence concur in this opinion, having as a hard thing to condemn all the works of the non-regenerated flesh as sins; according to them, there are some things that unregenerate men, not only do not offend God, but they actually serve him (. . .) such as a father raising his son, [or] providing a son for his father.[486]

Undoubtedly, Valdés' disqualification of the natural person's virtues stress the separation between the natural man and the true Christian.

Valdés' descriptions of human religion appear to be directed to his contemporary environment. Those who follow human wisdom in religion gladly allow the devil's deceptions into "certain disguised ways," giving birth to "excessive ceremonies, (. . .) malicious superstitions, and (. . .) false devotions."[487] These individuals are "children of Adam," "ruling and governing themselves by human wisdom (. . . .); they feel the need to follow ceremonies."[488] "Fasting, sacrifices, prayers, alms, and external works" are performed "for their own interests." Instead of satisfying God's justice, they "offend all the more."[489] Even their concept of God deteriorates, having him "not only as most rigorous debt-collector and judge, but as most cruel."[490] They "in no way" know the benefit of Christ" and are "foreigners to Christ."[491] These characteristics and emphasis express Valdés' dissent with traditional Christianity. Valdés was drawing a distinction between true and false Christianity, not according to baptism but to a God-given spiritual experience.

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[481] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 812.
[482] Clearly echoing Alcaraz's "owners."
[483] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 816. Cf. also *Considerations,* OC, n.26, 545.
[484] Sp. "desvariadas." Valdés, *Alphabet*, 392.
[485] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.96, p. 706-707.
[486] Ibid., n. 26, p. 544.
[487] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 390.
[488] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 3, p.498, 499.
[489] Valdés, *Trataditos,* OC, 917.
[490] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 817.
[491] Ibid, 812.

Beyond the reproach of excessive ceremonies or self-interest, the relevance of these descriptions is that they refer to unduly named Christians, religious individuals, as people who are outside God's kingdom, abominated by God, and alien to Christ. These seek their own way to God, following the devil's deceptions; however, they remain in their rebellion, and will never reach eternal life. Valdés, therefore, disowns a great part of his contemporary Christianity. Some of the expressions used, e.g., blindness, self-interest, clearly echo Alcaraz's teaching concerning those who had not received the Spirit's revelation and were not *Abandoned*. Valdés's teachings, however, seem to have polarized more than Alcaraz, including other elements such as eternity, false religion (not only imperfection), and the *sine qua non* dogma of justification by faith. Nieto, without clearly identifying this categorical change beyond Alcaraz, states that Valdés substituted Alcaraz's "perfection" (which he actually did not, because he continued using it) "for the terms 'justification,' 'to be just,' or 'justified in Christ.'"[492]

The Saint, the Pious, the Perfect

In essential contrast to natural religion and its dissatisfaction, since the *Dialogue*, Valdés referred to "saints."[493] In his mind, the distinction was clear: "If they are Christians, they are saints; and if they are not saints, they are not Christians."[494] For Valdés, "saint" was not only he who had reached an unusual level of spirituality; it had to do with "God's call and election," evident in all those who believed in Christ through the Spirit's revelation.[495] In light of this condition of being a "saint," Valdés diagnosed Giulia's struggle as a symptom of a particular class of individuals:

> Those who desire to know this way of God[496] and prepare their disposition for it (. . .) as they feel in their soul the voice of Christ (. . .) [they] abandon the way they were going, and before taking any other one, they beg God that he will show them the true way. This is the disposition (. . .) [i.e.] to deny oneself and take one's cross, and follow me, imitating me as the individual is able (. . . .), and thus, they instantly enter in the way of denying of one's own will, the way of patience and true humility.[497]

This description remarkably echoes Porete's "death" or crisis concept as it was transformed by Alcaraz, excluding her structure of "steps." It also echoes Alcaraz's "way of humility," dependent on Porete. These words, furthermore, describe the "entrance" or change into the way of perfection.[498] It is important to notice that after

[492] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 323. Nieto does recognize that it was a "rev ision of Alcaraz's thought" a "clear Christocentric reformulation of what, in Alcaraz's ideas was primarily a thecentric presentation" (Ibid, 324).

[493] In Naples, since the *Alphabet* (OC, 392).

[494] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 250. Cf. *Com. Corinthians*, 2.

[495] Valdés, *Com. Romans*,239; also, "Christians are saints, being called and elected by God and dwelling in them the Spirit of God" (ibid., 141-142).

[496] i.e. the way of perfection.

[497] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 391-2. Notice the parallels of "denial of the will" and "true humility" regarding Alcaraz.

[498] This "entrance" will be later discussed in more depth.

"preparing their disposition," the individual "abandons" his former way and experiences an "instantaneous" change of disposition.[499]

Clearly echoing his *Dialogue*, Valdés' Neapolitan writings describe the way of perfection as "loving God over all things and one's neighbor as oneself."[500] However, he defined it further:

> I desire that your intention will be to make Christ a peaceful possessor of your heart, in such a way that he will absolutely rule and govern without any opposition [from self] in all things. When this [happens] (. . .) you will not feel the need of anything (. . .) Christ himself will place and set you in delightful pastures of the knowledge of his divinity. [501]

The resemblance to Alcaraz and Porete concerning full surrender or needing nothing is remarkable. Unlike Alcaraz, however, Christ is the irreplaceable central figure.

As in the *Dialogue*, Valdés presents perfection occasionally in the connotation of a high goal unto which every Christian should grow. More often, however, he claimed and called to an attainable perfection, which in fact distinguished the true Christian. Domingo de Sta. Teresa, for instance, referred to Valdés' solution for Giulia in the *Alphabet* as the "simple and radical" need to decide whether to go after the world or after the flesh, the "life-long combat unresolved in baptism."[502] Domingo de Sta. Teresa links Valdés' guide in the *Alphabet* to the "intimate demands" of the ten commandments, in reference to Valdés' *Dialogue*.[503] Firpo also emphasizes Valdés' experience and knowledge of God only within the context of a progressive illumination of the individual.[504] Conversely, Valdés' guidelines point to a solution, a victorious life, and not a continuing war. [505] That life is referred to as the way of perfection, incorporation, regeneration, piety, union with God, being ruled and governed by God's Spirit, words that will be discussed in the following pages. This attainable perfection is the result of a categorical change in the individual, the solution to the need of the individual's depravity. Domingo de Sta. Teresa recognized this change to a certain extent,[506] but Valdés' teaching extended beyond a personal resolution.

The way of perfection to which Valdés led Giulia was more than a progress, a hope, or an abstract standing before God. Being in that way,

> Your heart is not inclined to love anything outside God; your mouth does not feel sweetness in any other name but God's (. . .). You shall find your disposition very obedient (. . .) submissive (. . .) free from wrath (. . .) vengeance (. . . .) carnal vice (. . .) [but you will find your disposition] chase and (. . .) poor in spirit.[507]

When Giulia expressed her inability to live up to that standard, Valdés stressed,

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[499] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 391-2.
[500] Ibid., 396.
[501] Ibid., 373-4
[502] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 108.
[503] Ibid.,109-11.
[504] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados*, 68, 79, 83, 84.
[505] E.g. Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 449-450; *Considerations*, OC, n. 51, p. 600.
[506] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 108.
[507] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 413-414.

> All of this is possible for whoever attains putting all his confidence in God (. . . .) The weaker you are, the greater will be the grace of God that will make you strong; this will be as long as you truly confess that you are weak and trust in Christ strengthening you.[508]

These words clearly echo Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, but now adapted by Valdés. It could be said that this reliance on Christ was somewhat parallel to Erasmus' view. Valdés' position, however, was different from Erasmus in several aspects. First, God's provision of grace was not only to mitigate the flesh but to deal with the individual's essential need. Secondly, it resembles much more the crisis expressed by Porete's deaths and Alcaraz's crisis than the continuing war of Erasmus.[509] And thirdly, whereas for Erasmus' concept of grace takes the Christian into victory, for Valdés, this victory distinguishes a true Christian.

Distinguished by his identification with Christ

One of the terms with which Valdés identifies a true Christian is "incorporation." Christians are "those who, being called and brought by God to the grace of the gospel, appropriate the justice of Christ to themselves and are incorporated in Christ.[510] This "incorporation" actually brings the individual to "Christian perfection."[511] It is a "marvelous and blessed work," which God does in those who are his children:

> [God,] opening their eyes to the justice of Christ, which justice shows them that which is of themselves, makes them abhor their own righteousness[512] (. . . .) In this way, [God] brings them to stop loving[513] themselves and the world, falling in love with him and with Christ. [The justice of Christ] opens their eyes to the knowledge that God, killing Christ's flesh on the cross, killed also their flesh, and it causes them to hate their own flesh. Being resolved with themselves, it [the justice of Christ] makes them love mortification. And (. . .) opening their eyes to the happiest state of eternal life, (. . .) they love eternal life and despise the present one, rejoicing on loosing it.[514]

Perfection, therefore, even though counting on man's resolution, is a work of God, manifested in a categorical change of affections.

Both the individual's change of his natural standing and his effectual transformation are due to his identification with Christ. This identification appears to emerge from Romans 6. Through a revealed and meritless faith, the individual is "incorporated in the Only Begotten Son of God" and consequently becomes a child of

[508] Ibid., 415.
[509] Discussed already in this thesis, chapter 5, p. 209.
[510] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 1, 496.
[511] Valdés, *Trataditos*, OC, 898.
[512] Cf also, those who do not "feel these abhorrences in him," "have not begun to be Children of God, but are still children of Adam" (*Considerations,* OC, n.91, p. 694).
[513] Sp. "desenamorar" – the opposite to fall in love.
[514] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.91, 693.Cf. also ibid., n.31, p. 553; ibid, n.49, 594.

God.[515] Through faith, the individual becomes a member of Christ, incorporated to his death and resurrection. [516] Through the individual's incorporation, he "ceases being [just a] man."[517] God, furthermore, "is in those who, being incorporated in Christ through faith, are children of God," and "he shows his glory and majesty in them," though in various degrees.[518]

These last references are particularly significant. Notice that becoming a child of God is dependent on a God-given revelation concerning the satisfaction of Christ's atonement, and they are incorporated into Christ through it. And confirming the essential difference between being in Adam and being in Christ, it is clearly stated that regardless of different degrees of obedience or maturity, there is no question concerning the categorical change produced in the individual who comes to believe the gospel of Christ. All this reasoning is constantly contrasting the one who is not a true Christian and the one who is. Interesingly in view of Valdés' background, the statement that "God is in those who…" echoes the accusations against Alcaraz: i.e., that "his heart was God," because he said that God was in his heart.

The individual's "incorporation" in Christ sets the individual in a reconciled condition with God, not depending on one's works. The thought that one is a bad son because he is not good enough is qualified as "human and diabolical" by Valdés. He advices to respond, "Christ is Son of God and I, incorporated in Christ, am a child of God; Christ is a good Son of God, just and holy, and I am a good child of God, just and holy."[519] His identification with Christ, not his deeds, should be the foundation of the believer's certainty. Valdés, furthermore, stated, the "incorporation with which the saints of the gospel are incorporated in Christ, results in that the least of them will be greater than Saint John the Baptist, on account that God considers in every one of them that which he considers in Christ." [520]

One significant aspect of Valdés' concept of "incorporation" is that it echoes Luther's treatise *On Christian Liberty*. This treatise was published around the time when the Court of Charles V was in Germany (Nov. 1520), which makes feasible that some individuals of the Court might have brought it to Alcalá, becoming accessible for Valdés. The treatise portrays the soul "as a bride is united with her bridegroom," Christ.[521] Through faith, "the believing soul can boast of and glory in whatever Christ has as though it were its own." [522] Valdés' faith has an added "illumination" or "revelation." The life of faith, furthermore, has a transforming effect in the individual.

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[515] Ibid., n.91, p. 694. Cf. also, ibid., n.71, p. 638; ibid., n. 101, p. 721.
[516] Ibid., n. 91, p. 694. Also, ibid, n.49, 594.
[517] Ibid., n. 2, p. 497; ibid., n.16, 524.
[518] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 262-263.
[519] Valdés, Com. Matthew, 127-128.
[520] Ibid., 210-211.Concerning J.Baptist "I understand that he was not incorporated in Christ, because Christ had not been yet punished in the cross for our sins, upon which punishment our incorporation depends…. I understand that he neither had the Spirit of Christ, since he was not communicated to men till Christ would not be glorified." Ibid.
[521] Luther, *On Christian Liberty, L.Works*, ed. Pelikan, Vol 3, p. 351.
[522] Ibid.

Valdés' term is not "marriage," or "being one flesh," but "incorporation," or "engrafted." Nevertheless, Valdés' concept has an important conceptual parallel with Luther's writing.

Valdés' concept of incorporation, in addition to an abstract standing before God, included a visible effect in the individual. Boehmer states that "the references to the pure and perfect holiness of our Lord's life (. . .) are in no way imputed to Christians, nor is his merit attributed [to them]; it rather points always to Christ only as an example for Christians."[523] That is not only inaccurate regarding the individual's standing, which Valdés often repeats; Valdés also applied Christ's righteousness to the life:

> I understand that Christ took us, those of us who are his members, from the very point of his conception (. . .) from which point, I understand that we are incorporated in him; and therefore, his innocence, his justice, his piety, and his holiness is ours, because his life, death, resurrection, and glorification is also ours, with which [identification] is greatly manifested the glory of God in those who feel in themselves this comparison.[524]

Furthermore, those incorporated in Christ through faith "reach God's wisdom, since Christ's wisdom being communicated to them (. . .); they attain justice, since Christ's justice being communicated to them (. . .); they are just as Christ is just and reach sanctification, since Christ's holiness being communicated to them."[525] Furthermore, being "incorporated in Christ" is tied up with "being ruled" by God.[526]

Another term akin to "incorporation" is "engrafted." "Engrafted" in Christ means that the person "is cut off from Adam and engrafted in Christ."[527] Consequently, engrafted in Christ's death means that "our flesh is dead with Christ's," and also that his "resurrection and eternal life" causes the Christian to begin "living for God and Christ."[528]

Both "engrafted" and "incorporated" include also the connotation of beginning and growth. Valdés defended that the "singular effect" of incorporation is that people "increasingly recover that which belongs to them (. . .) [that is] piety, justice, and holiness."[529] Those who "feel" this incorporation, "give attention to grow in faith, in order to grow in Christ's incorporation."[530] This progressive aspect of incorporation is clearly less referred to by Valdés. [531] When he does, it is traced to a marked beginning, when the individual received God's given faith. And it is a growth into the individual's

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[523] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 10.
[524] Ibid., 284.
[525] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 28-29, 30.
[526] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.46, p. 584.
[527] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 216.
[528] Ibid., 80-81, p. 83.
[529] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 72, p.642. Cf. also "Those of us who accept the grace of the Gospel, incorporated in Christ, enjoy the righteousness of Christ . . . because we really and effectually died and were buried with Christ" (Com. Matthew, 523).
[530] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 28-29, 30.
[531] E.g.Ibid., 22-23.

new condition, not a progress in pursuit of it, as Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to it. [532] This essential difference from being in Adam or being in Christ, being only generated or re-generated, is not resolved through a long process of spiritual growth. The idea of a mere progressive spiritual growth does not represent Valdés' words and phrases:

> Immediately after a man is called of God to the grace of the gospel and enters into it, he is incorporated into Christ (. . .) and feels himself and finds himself totally changed internally in his impulses and purposes and desires. [He changes] in such a way that he abhors that which he loved before, and he loves that which he abhorred.[533]

This essential change was not "complete," but it marked a beginning, placing the individual in a categorically different condition than being in Adam. Incorporation, regeneration, justification have a clear beginning in the individual.[534]

This dimension of "growing incorporation" does not dilute Valdés' belief in the immediate transformation of the individual as he is incorporated or engrafted into Christ. Valdés states that "it is impossible" for anyone who is "engrafted in Christ" through faith to live in sin."[535] Furthermore, those who "do not feel dead to the body or to the flesh, and alive in the spirit, they may well esteem themselves as alien from Christ and from the effect of Christ's passion."[536] Valdés described true Christians in idealistic terms:

> Always faithful and obedient, believing God's promises, trusting them, and obeying God in all that is known to be God's will. Those who are not so (. . .), or those who do not desire it and try to be like it, are neither part of the Christian people nor do they belong to Christ, regardless how much they take and persuade themselves that they are and do.[537]

If the individual has not that "effect" from his faith in Christ, he has believed only as an "opinion," not "through experience."[538]

On the other hand, typical of Valdés, his ideals are forced to recognize that such a transformation is not equally evident in all who seem to come to faith. Valdés stated that, "some walk by it with more and greater fervor than others; however, as long as neither of them go astray from the way (. . .) they are fine."[539] In the language of "union with God," people may also differ in their union with God, depending on the intensity of their love.[540] In another aspect, Valdés' ideal concept of the Christian and perfection included the possibility to sin. Even though these saints live with continual care not to offend God, they may be "overcome by temptation" and "fall into mortal sin;" however,

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[532] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 172.
[533] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 92, p. 695.
[534] "The man who is inspired by God accepts the covenant of the justification through Jesus Christ our Lord, begins to die to Adam and to live to Christ" (*Considerations*, OC, n. 121, p. 570-571).
[535] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 76.
[536] Ibid., 128.
[537] Ibid., 202.
[538] Ibid., 270.
[539] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 392.
[540] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.73, p. 643

they just need to "turn to God and confess their sin."[541] The perfect may "have some flaws and oversights,[542] which are signs that their dispositions are not mortified in all things."[543] Furthermore, there were also "imperfect Christians, who had forgotten the benefit that they have received from Christ (. . . .) being almost alien from Christ."[544] Notwithstanding, Valdés maintained that, "it is impossible that these will not come little by little to live in a Christian way, following after the duty of Christian regeneration."[545] Therefore, even in Valdés' concession to a lower life, incorporation constitutes an evident, categorical change from being in Adam.

Incorporation is also attached to the individual's "love-union with God." This union is not the goal of an ascending spiritual ladder; it is a reality of true Christians. Valdés' "union with God" is the fruit of the individual's "incorporation in the death of Christ."[546] Different from loving God through human instrumentalities and interests, true Christians "love God because God himself wants to be loved by them; he has allowed them to know and see him." [547] Moreover, "these are united with God, because they love first God than themselves." [548]

The expression "union with God" was variously used in Valdés' background. Porete used it but expressed a theosis which was absent in Valdés. It was also mentioned in Osuna's *Third Alphabet*, but Valdés' expression never included a non-propositional mysticism. Union with God was also expressed in Cazalla's *Light of the Soul* but for Valdés was not at the summit of a spiritual ladder, it was a reality in those who were true Christians.[549] Significant of his Christology and differing from Alcaraz, Valdés referred to those who "have entered this way" of perfection as those who were "united with Christ through faith and love."[550] Haggard suggests that Valdés' union with God "moves parallel to the twofold knowledge conceptualizing in Calvin's thought."[551] Haggard even refers to the rules 7-9 of the *Alphabet* as "more *illuminist*ic and Calvinistic" than Erasmus' Platonism.[552] In addition to the unwarranted dependence of Valdés on Calvin, the expressions and tenor of Valdés' union with God clearly echo his past *Alumbrado* environment, revealing Valdés' particular version of it.

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[541] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 392.

[542] Sp. Descuidos.

[543] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 108, p. 741. " Those who are in the Spirit, even "being negligent . . . when they speak coldly of the things of God" are better "than all the saints of the world together" (Ibid., n. 77, p. 657).

[544] Valdés, *Com. Matthew,* 344.

[545] Ibid, 138.Cf. Also there is the "reparation" of the sickness of men in the Christian regeneration and renewal, making them to fulfill . . . the spiritual duty of Christian regeneration" (*Com. Matthew*, 348); accepting the Gospel of Christ "through divine inspiration" is efficatious in that it incorporates them in him in order to live as he lived . . . those who are not like that are unknown to Christ, and therefore, will not enter in the wedding celebration of eternal life" (Ibid., 464).

[546] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 49, p. 594.

[547] Ibid., n. 73, p. 643.

[548] Ibid.

[549] Ibid., 643-4.

[550] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 392.

[551] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 85.

[552] Ibid., 90.

Distinguished by the Spirit's revelation and work

Another contrast between the natural person and the one walking in the way of perfection (or incorporated in Christ) is marked by the Spirit's intervention. Contrary to those who believe through human agency, the true Christian understands "through revelation and divine inspiration."

> These ones understand through the same Holy Spirit that justice consists of man rejecting and condemning all righteousness that human wisdom teaches, giving attention solely to that which indeed (. . .) was executed in the very Son of God (. . .) embracing and having as certain and true (. . .) that through that justice of God, he considers him [the individual] as just, just as if he himself had lived in the innocence that Christ lived (. . .) These (. . .) follow the teaching of the Holy Spirit, and through it come to true piety (. . . .) Therefore, only those who through revelation and divine inspiration reach the understanding of what piety and justice consists of come to be pious and just, reaching that which they desire, which is immortality and eternal life.[553]

Typical of Valdés, this quote manifests his repetitiveness about "true" understanding, piety, and righteousness. It also underlines the inherent connection, according to Valdés, of spiritual revelation to the dogma of justification by faith. The Spirit's revelation is a sign of God's election, as in the case of Peter's confession.[554] Furthermore, underlining the individual's internal transformation, Valdés states that the Spirit's revelation "makes us blessed (. . .), bringing with itself charity and hope (. . .), purifying the hearts (. . .), pleasing God in all things."[555]

Whereas science builds pride, this spiritual experience has the effect of "humiliating and casting down everything that comes from human wisdom, and exalting and taking as certain everything which is of the Spirit."[556] Pride "is always very far from those who are elected by God to the participation in God's grace and favor."[557] Conversely, the revealed knowledge of God, Christ, and spiritual things "can well assure [its recipients] that they have reached (. . .) piety and (. . .) justification, not through personal genius or discernment or human industry (. . .) but particularly through divine revelation."[558]

The saint's contrast to natural man is also manifest in the presence and guide of the Holy Spirit. The difference between true and merely nominal Christianity is the Holy Spirit in the individual:[559] "Based upon their incorporation in Christ, they [true Christians] are children of God and receive the spirit of children."[560] Being a true

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[553] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 4-5.

[554] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 43, p. 578.

[555] Ibid., n. 10, p. 513.Cf. also Ibid., n. 11, p. 514.

[556] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 3-4.

[557] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 43, p. 579. This is said particularly in the context of God's revelation as a sign of his election.

[558] Ibid.

[559] Ibid., n. 10, p. 512.

[560] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 210-211. Concerning John the Baptist "I understand that he was not incorporated in Christ, because Christ had not been yet punished in the cross for our sins, upon which

Christian is dependent on having the Spirit of Christ, "if anyone does not have him (. . .) he is not of Christ; he is not a Christian."[561] Consequently, "only to them [true Christians] will be granted to enjoy the resurrection," instead of the wrath and misery that will come to the rest of humanity.[562]

For Valdés, furthermore, the Spirit's presence defines the true church. Only those who accept the gospel "by God's gift, by Holy Spirit," are in God's kingdom and in the Christian church.[563] Those who accept the gospel through human agency are excluded. This categorical distinction is Valdés' interpretation of the parables of the wheat and the tares and of the net (Mt 13). Significantly, Valdés excludes what he qualifies as nominal, non-spiritual Christianity from church and salvation.

One of the Holy Spirit's works in the individual, underlining the essential change of incorporation, is "regeneration." Valdés defines it as "a great renewal,"[564] more particularly,

> That internal and external transformation, innovation, and renewal that the Holy Spirit works in those who, believing in Christ and accepting God's justice executed on Christ as theirs, are renewed and transformed in all their appetites and (. . .) affections, in such a way that they pursue neither the execution of their appetites nor the impulse of their affections as they did before regeneration.[565]

As with incorporation, the individual ceased being just a human being: "Those who are regenerated and renewed by the Holy Spirit are more than man, considering themselves as citizens of God's kingdom and of eternal life, considering themselves pilgrims in all the earth." [566] Being regenerated, these individuals "have entered into God's kingdom;" [567] "they become God's own [people]." [568] These constant contrasts, underlining the individual's categorical change, do not favor Firpo's or Nieto's perspective regarding Valdés' "gradual process of regeneration."[569] This incorporation produces the change from being dead in Adam to being alive in Christ. Conversely, when Scripture refers to "the world," it refers to "those who are not regenerated by the Holy Spirit."[570]

One of the characteristics of Valdés' writing is the interconnection or association of ideas. When Paul refers, for instance, to that which the believer is in Christ, Valdés

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punishment our incorporation depends…. I understand that he neither had the Spirit of Christ, since he was not communicated to men till Christ would not be glorified." Ibid.

[561] Valdés, Com. Romans, 126.

[562] Ibid., 137.

[563] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 269-270.

[564] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 810.

[565] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 26, 546.

[566] Ibid., n. 96, p. 706.

[567] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, n.6, p. 811.

[568] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 40 p. 575.

[569] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados*, 151. Also Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 220.

[570] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 19. Cf. "Men come to be Children of God through regeneration. They are born children of wrath, based on God considering them children of Adam. But accepting the Gospel, they die in reference to Adam and are resurrected in reference to Christ: thus they are re-born as Children of God, since God considers them as members of Christ" (Com. Romans, 3-4).

identifies it with being regenerated, becoming a child of God, and being justified: "Those of us who are children of God, regenerated by him, and in him, should not do [evil deeds] (. . .) since we, through regeneration and renewal, have already ceased being people, having ceased to be children of Adam and come to be children of God."[571] These changes take place because "being members of Christ, we are regenerated (. . .) and (. . .) feel the regeneration through the renewal and mutation of our disposition."[572] This "change of nature" took away "the natural inclination to the religion of self-love and recuperated the spiritual inclination that originates in the love of God." [573] Conversely, "those who serve him without having accepted the grace of the gospel have not mutated their nature, do not please God (. . .) [and] serve with human fear."[574]

For Valdés, therefore, regeneration is more than the individual's surrender in order that Christ might be progressively "born and grow in us," as Erasmus wrote.[575] Regeneration in Valdés has a categorical transforming effect. Regenerated people, "without being bound with chains, live modestly and moderately;" without being forced, "they surpass all the men of the world avoiding vice and licentiousness, having put all their affections to death by Jesus Christ our Lord on the cross." [576] Regenerated Christians are those who "serve like obedient children, distorting neither the order nor the will of the Lord, and they serve with their bodies and their dispositions; these are the regenerated men by Holy Spirit, without which regeneration men cannot possibly reduce themselves to this point."[577] The Holy Spirit puts the "perfections" of charity (1 Cor. 13) in whom he dwells. [578] The presence of the Spirit "transforms" the individual, so that he "does not intend to rule himself or follow human wisdom; he humbly follows the Holy Spirit's inspiration, and the advice of the person through whom God has communicated the Holy Spirit to him."[579] Through this regeneration or renewal of the Spirit, the individual serves God "in holiness and justice."[580]

As it was with perfection and incorporation, Valdés concedes to the possibility of falling short of this high ideal. In fact, regeneration does not extirpate "Adam" from the individual, [581] and sin is still possible. However, "he will not err because of malice (. . .) recklessness (. . .) disbelief (. . .) only because of fragility."[582] Valdés concept of the individual "ceasing to be men" is not absolute, but it is essentially different.

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[571] Valdés, Com. Matthew, 119.
[572] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 151.
[573] Valdés, *Questions and Answers*, OC, 816-817.
[574] Ibid.
[575] Referred to before int his thesis (Ch.5). Haggard points out to this parallel (1871, 106).
[576] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 53, p. 605.
[577] Ibid., n. 26, p. 545.
[578] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 78.
[579] Valdés, *Questions and Answers*, OC, 810.
[580] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 75-76; *Com. Romans*, 102.
[581] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 78, p. 660.
[582] Ibid., n. 105, p. 732.

Entrance to the Kingdom

Valdés identified the change or transformation between being in Adam and being incorporated in Christ as "entering God's kingdom." Valdés' twelve steps, outlined in the *Alphabet*, did not merely refer to "a psychological condition," as Domingo de Sta. Teresa states.[583] It pointed to an entrance into God's kingdom. This entrance is a fundamental concept in Valdés,[584] expressed in different forms and attached to particular requirements and results. Even though D. Ricart did not defend this aspect intentionally, he reflected this "entrance" or "total change" when he said, "Valdés does not come to the concepts of self-denial and union in God through states (. . .); he jumps suddenly and fully to them."[585] Likewise, Nieto, who speaks of progressive regeneration, recognizes the "change (. . .) in his whole life" because of God's revelation and "restoration" and "possession of the 'spiritual light.'"[586] Ricart, Nieto, and others like them have not given the relevance that is due to this essential change and transformation. Cione also barely mentioned this change when he stated that Valdés' pessimism "postulates the need of a dialectic process, which is overcome, experiencing that 'crisis' (. . .), exclusively internal, of repentance."[587] Cione's assessment, however, does not consider that repentance is conspicuously absent in Valdés' writings.[588] Cione, furthermore, does not mention this "crisis" again in his assessment of Valdés.

Both in Valdés' language[589] as well as Giulia's perception, the central issue was a decision: "to enter into this Christian way."[590] Valdés advised, "Hear the voice of Christ, for he will set you in the true way, and be sure that after you have entered, you will not feel any more confusion (. . .) on the contrary (. . .) much peace (. . .) [and] gladness."[591] In Valdés' ideal concept, "entering" supposed a complete and immediate change.[592] The "entrance" is quickly noticeable: sooner than the time the struggle took,[593] in other words, in a few days.[594] Valdés' illustrations of Israel coming out of Egypt or John's baptism,[595] confirm that this entrance is not a gradual growth in piety.[596] Entering is also associated with Isaiah's reference to the Hebrews coming out

[583] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 114-5.
[584] There is actually a consideration entitled "The difficulty to enter into God's Kingdom, how to enter, and what does it consist of" (Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 5, p. 502).
[585] Ricart, *Juan de Valdés,* 8.
[586] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 230.
[587] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 87.
[588] The absence of repentance in Valdés is to be later discussed (p. 331).
[589] "Five types of people . . . at the door of a decision to enter in the way" (Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 392).
[590] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 470.
[591] Ibid., 392.
[592] Cf. "My struggle would cease, entering the way of God" (Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 389).
[593] Ibid., 382.
[594] Ibid., 394-95.
[595] Of John's Baptism: "I tell you to recognize yourselves, since this is the way through which you will be able to enter the Kingdom of heaven, which is already near" (Valdés, *Com. Matthew,* 25-26).
[596] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 180.

of Babylon and entering Jerusalem.[597] The individual comes out "of the servitude of the law and of the kingdom of the world," and enters "into the grace of the gospel and the kingdom of God."[598]

The phrasing and effects of one's entrance into God's kingdom portray how this entrance is. Valdés defined the kingdom as consisting of peace of conscience, of Christian liberty, and of the "rule and government" of the Holy Spirit. Traceable to Alcaraz, Valdés stated that those who have this kingdom are "kings in spirit," and "they actually reign."[599] These three aspects of the kingdom obey to three fundamental lines of Valdés thought and spirituality: justification by faith, piety, and submission to the Spirit's leading. God's kingdom, and not "the church," was the spiritual concept which actually encompassed God's people:

> I understand [that God's people] are those to whom the kingdom of God belongs, whose head is the very Son of God. I understand "blessing" as the happiness that those who are in God's kingdom enjoy, [that is] the kingdom that is promised through faith to those who enter (. . .) through Jesus Christ.[600]

In his typical way of interconnecting concepts, Valdés refers to this entrance as attached to becoming God's children: "Through faith, which is a gift from God, he makes people his children, through which filiation we enter into the possession of the kingdom of heaven."[601]

Entering God's kingdom, therefore, becomes synonymous with "possessing the kingdom." This possession begins "in the present life,"[602] but constitutes a certainty that, "even though the soul is separated from the body, the possession in the kingdom of God continues (. . .) unto eternal life."[603] Subjectively, the individual "feels" the gift of his Holy Spirit, i.e. his rule and leading;[604] and upon this certainty, he "enters daringly into God's kingdom."[605]

Confirming "entrance" as a definite point in time and not a progressive, ascetical growth, Valdés assured Giulia that the problem was not its difficulty. The problem to enter was in the individual's disposition: "malice and imperfection."[606] Entering, conversely, was a result of believing. As the individual is "inspired to believe by God, he accepts the covenant of justification through Jesus Christ and begins (. . .) to come

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[597] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 28.
[598] Ibid., 29. Cf. Also Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 65, p. 626.
[599] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, p. 80. Concerning "reigning" cf. Also "Christians, upon the fact that they are members of Christ, they are kings, and they effectually reign" (Com. Corinthians, 80). This is pointedly traceable to a particular expression of Alcaraz while imprisoned by the Inquisition, which truth evidently had previously impacted Valdés: "I suffer for that good Lord to whom serving is reigning." AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols. 23, 24. Cf. Also Ibid, fol. 178r.
[600] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 29.
[601] Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 891-2.
[602] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 27. Cf. also ibid., 28, 29; *Com. Psalms*, 80.
[603] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 32. Cf. *Com. Romans*, 275.
[604] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 127; *Com. Matthew*, 27.
[605] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 14, p. 520.
[606] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 390.

out of the kingdom of the world and enter the kingdom of God." [607] Valdés said "begins," since this experience, as previously stated, could take "a few days;" however, all his phrases that constantly express "completion" contradict the idea of a long, progressive growth.

In reference to its effects, Valdés attached the "government of the Spirit" as an experience which imparted the assurance of the individual's entrance. When the individual enters through faith, "he is ruled and governed by God."[608] People "leave the kingdom of the world and the service to the world," and come "to the kingdom of God and to the service of God, and (. . .) they forsake a life according to the flesh and live according to the Spirit."[609] Evidently, comparing the effects of revelation, incorporation, Spirit's presence, or entrance into the kingdom, these concepts underline the same categorical transformation of the individual.

According to Valdés' dogma, entering the kingdom was not only dependent on the general virtue of faith; it was also dependent on the individual's acceptance of Christ's atonement through the Spirit's revelation. The kingdom, Valdés stated, has "a door," a "secret" which was not discovered by John the Baptist because Christ had not effected man's reconciliation with God on the cross: "the acceptance of Christ's justification (. . .) which is the gospel."[610] The spiritual acceptance of that dogma brought justification and the complete entrance into God's kingdom.[611] Conversely, those who procure justification through their merit sin against Christ, against God, and against themselves, "depriving themselves from justification and, consequently, from God's kingdom."[612] Even "reading the gospel, approving it (. . .) but not trusting in that which is promised," or those who look at divine things with "curiosity" and give themselves to serve God and Christ "in those things which are not required of them," actually keep themselves from entering God's kingdom.[613]

With the call to "enter the kingdom," Valdés was drawing a sharp line between true and nominal Christianity. Those who leaned on merit and rituals or those who had not experienced God's revelation were excluded from eternal life and God's kingdom. He was conscious of his radical implications when he stated that the "Christian issue" was a matter held by "few, and even very few."[614] According to Valdés, humans have

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[607] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 121, p. 570-571 ; "Trusting God, he enters in God's Kingdom" (Com. Psalm, 32); "are entered in God's Kingdom accepting the Justice of God" (Ibid., 66); "to be a child of God, to be in God's Kingdom, to be kings, consists of man fully trusting God" (Ibid, 24); "through faith, justification, the Kingdom of God . . . is promised" (Ibid., 12); "accepting as one's own God's justice . . . the three tyrants coming out of the kingdom of the world and entering into the Kingdom of God" (*Considerations,* OC, n. 65, p.626).

[608] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 32.

[609] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 108, p. 742.

[610] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 56.

[611] "Having been justified . . . and having been entered or introduced in God's Kingdom, from which the first man was expelled. . . . . since I have believed and accepted the proclamation of the general pardon and I have been introduced in God's Kingdom" (Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 14, p. 521).

[612] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 21, p. 532.

[613] Ibid., n.38, p. 570.

[614] Valdés, *Com. Cor*, 143. Also Valdés states that "much greater is the number of false Christians than that of true ones" (*Com. Matthew*, 48-49).

wanted to be the ones who call and introduce individuals into the "Christian matter," and this has produced its "greatest ruin," "destroying and perverting"[615] Christianity.[616] God's will is that "very few are those who accept the grace of the gospel;" his predestination "is a difficult matter, but it is just."[617]

Preparation: Applying Oneself to Piety

Even though the individual's entrance was not fruit of a spiritual ladder, there was a preparation for it. While, according to Valdés, the natural man contributes nothing to God's revelation and entrance to his kingdom, there is a human responsibility and a personal preparation.[618] As Domingo de Sta. Teresa rightly asserts, Valdés' writings "describe diverse acts that precede justification, denying however any meritorious value or disposition."[619] This preparation is understood as the evidence of "God himself calling" the individual, which ends up with his entrance when he follows through, accepting God's justice executed on Christ."[620] As could be expected, that preparation must count on dogmatic information: "the knowledge of the evangelical preaching ."[621]

Valdés verbalized this preparation as a person "applying himself to piety." This preparation has its place in Valdés' soteriological scheme, explicitly outlined in the introduction to his Commentaries. These introductions state that in order to get to the example of Christ, a person needs to be first led to "true piety." Secondly, he needs to be led through Paul's epistles into "true justification," and only then, thirdly, he would be able to learn from Christ in the Gospels.[622] Accordingly, *Psalms* presents David's disposition and the contrasts between those who trust and distrust God, between the pious and the wicked. Furthermore, Valdés discusses traits, such as poverty of spirit, fear of God, praying, and living in the presence of God, which are characteristic of the pious.[623] These expositions build a conceptual framework through which a person can see whether he is a true pious person or whether he is not. Conscious that he does not have true piety, the individual is to yearn for those virtues. The subsequent Commentaries on Romans and Corinthians guide the person to justification by faith and regeneration. Afterwards and finally, the teachings of Christ would be appropriately interpreted through the prism of a meritless salvation, as a "duty" for those who are in the kingdom.

According to the purpose of his *Commentary on Psalms*, Valdés, for instance, applies Psalm 11 to the individual who struggles to be justified by his own works.

[615] Sp. estragar.
[616] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 143.
[617] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 174.
[618] Nieto defends that "natural knowledge of God (…) always void of true knowledge (…) never (…) conceived as a natural preparation for the true knowledge of God. God needs no preparation for his revelatory act" (*Juan de Valdés*, 209). This, however, does not fit with Valdés' message, particularly in regards to applying oneself to piety.
[619] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 184.
[620] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 65, p. 626.
[621] Ibid., n.38, p. 570.
[622] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 6.
[623] Ibid., 7.

Valdés states that once Moses dies in one's mind in regards to our approach to God (i.e. the law), Christ remains as a "peaceful possession, being absolute King and Lord of our hearts."[624] Even in *Psalms*, Valdés also differentiates the wicked from the pious as those "who are sons of Adam and those who are true Christians (. . .) [i.e.] those who are begotten of God, whom God has made pious and just." [625] These theological interpretations present "divine concepts and spiritual feelings" against which the reader is to "examine his heart, in order to understand whether he is in piety or impiety."[626]

In the *Alphabet*, Valdés teaches Giulia about this preparation stage in the language of the effect of the law versus that of the gospel. This does not express external versus internal religion, as Haggard suggests, but rather what Valdés already translated in his *Dialogue* from Luther's prologue to the ten commandments. Not recognizing Valdés' translation of Luther, Nieto speaks of Valdés' "originality" in regards to the "terminology and motifs of the law-gospel dialectic."[627] However, apart from the analysis of *Dialogue*, even Domingo de Sta. Teresa emphasized the link between Valdés' preparatory rules of *Alphabet* with the ten commandments as expressed in the *Dialogue*. This connection, which is evident, manifests the influence that Luther's *Commentary* had on Valdés, something that Domingo de Sta. Teresa was not aware of. [628] From Valdés' *Commentary on Romans* [629] to his *Instruction for Children*, Valdés reiterated this "office of the law:" God's purpose with the law was "to show his people their natural depravation (. . .) so that they would discard their own righteousness and would render (or 'abandon'[630]) themselves to the righteousness that he had given in Christ."[631]

"Evangelical preaching," [632] in reference to that which Giulia had heard from Ochino, exerts the office of the law when the soul is not ready, and hers was not. [633] The law, says Valdés, has the office "to show and even to augment sin."[634] Without the law, writes Valdés, "sin would not be known (. . .) we would not humble ourselves (. . .) we would not seek grace (. . .) we would not be justified (. . .) we would not save our souls."[635] This is, as Valdés writes, "the difference which I do between the law and the gospel:"[636] The law teaches us what to do, and the gospel gives spirit with which to be

[624] Ibid., 63-64.
[625] Ibid., 76.
[626] Ibid., 206.
[627] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 198 ft.7., 201.
[628] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 110.
[629] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 42, 43.
[630] Sp. "remitirse".
[631] Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 927.
[632] Notice Valdés' technical use of "evangelical".
[633] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 386.
[634] Ibid., 386.
[635] Ibid., 387.
[636] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 6.

able to fulfill it. The law makes the wound, and the gospel heals it, and finally the law mortifies, and the gospel vivifies.[637]

In regards to Valdés' originality, what is certainly different from Luther is that the individual's confrontation with the law did not aim only to justify but also to incorporate and regenerate, that is, to perfection. The individual's natural inability to fulfill God's justice brought him to humiliation before God. His humiliation was foundational and proportional to the measure of the individual's subsequent "perfection" and "union with God."[638] If this "humiliation" is traced from Alcaraz's "way of humility," which he adopted from Porete's annihilated soul, it portrays Valdés' adoption of this basic tenet. Later, however, he developed it away from Alcaraz, with a radical Christology and with the theological articulation of Luther. This transformation depicts Valdés' eclecticism.

Valdés accepted the office of the law as the person approached entering the kingdom; however, as a moral demand to live by, he rejected it. Those who resist a meritless justification and remain looking at the law "will never have peace in their consciences, always finding why and what to fear."[639] Accordingly, Valdés interprets texts like "Do not think that I have come to abolish the law…" (Mt. 5:17) as not applicable for the Christian, since Christ had not died yet. After the cross, "the law was abrogated."[640] Conversely, "the effect" of accepting "the grace of the gospel" is that

> The Christian Spirit is efficacious in them. All respect for the law ceases. They live well according to the demands of the law (. . .) but their intent is not to fulfill the law (. . .) but to follow the government of the Holy Spirit that dwells in them, which because of regeneration and renewal inclines them to live (. . .) as children of God, imitating the first and only-begotten Son of God.[641]

According to Valdés, therefore, true Christianity is distinguished by Christ's vicarious atonement and its effect, fulfilling the righteousness of God through the leading of the Spirit. Otherwise, the individual has only the name of Christian.[642]

At the natural question concerning one's participation regarding a non-merit justification, Valdés explicitly writes one consideration: "In which things should anyone employ himself, that is, for those intending and desiring to enter and be in God's kingdom, and what does man contribute of himself?"[643] Valdés assumes that for the individual to believe, to love, or to trust, everything has to come as a "particular and special favor of God."[644] Moreover, it "belongs to every man to desire and seek piety, justice, and holiness; but he should ask God for it, since everything has to come from

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[637] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 387. Cf. Also *Considerations,* OC, n. 80 p. 665. Cf. Ibid., n.5, p. 504; Com. Matthew, 206.

[638] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 407. Also, "The law made men weak, sick, and of little courage, and the Gospel makes them strong, courageous, and hardworking" (*Com. Matthew,* 349).

[639] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 32.

[640] Ibid., 73-76.

[641] Ibid., 75-76.

[642] Ibid., 424.

[643] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 18, p. 526f.

[644] Ibid., (repeated in p, 526 and 527).

him and through him."[645] Moreover, Valdés states that the individual who employs himself in this preparation should accordingly "exercise with all care and diligence" the correction of affections and appetites (i.e. internal and external sinful inclinations). The person, "over all things and particularly," should be careful to avoid any desire for recognition,[646] echoing Alcaraz's emphasis against self-interest.

While this preparation is not meritorious, it is helpful for the individual's disposition. This means that, "whenever God pleases to give him piety, justice, and holiness, these things might fall happily and prosperously in his disposition, as the water falls in the good ground when it is hoed, stones are removed, and it is weeded." This preparation does not "force God;" however, "the Holy Spirit profits more in that disposition which he finds free and disentangled from affections and appetites."[647]

The study of Scriptures and other writings has also a place in the individual's preparation. Even though the writings "in no way could [by themselves] bring the person to the knowledge of God," they will set the individual "in the way to [receive] that knowledge."[648] This quotation, taken from Valdés' last writings, is more moderate than his guide to Giulia, which suggested leaving aside all human resources. Eventually, however, it is only Christ who can bring individuals to the Father, underlined by favorite quotes like Jn. 14:6 or Mt. 12.

The Experience of Entering the Kingdom

The entrance to God's kingdom, even though it is "generally offered to all men,"[649] is an individual, God-given, spiritual experience. It does not depend on human instrumentality, regardless how much some "persuade themselves that they know" or "pride themselves of teaching others."[650] Parallel to the apostles' experience, it is Christ's "internal voice," alien to "consulting human wisdom or waiting on other persuasions apart from that one."[651] Even in light of one's preparation, no matter "how much we read and hear the issue of the gospel, we do not understand it until the Holy Spirit comes into us and makes us capable of it, bringing to our memory what we have read and heard of it."[652]

In this entrance, prayer has an important role. This is significant, because for any other purpose, prayer should not have any intensity or urgency, according to Valdés. Regarding entering the kingdom, parallel to Peter's experience in his confession, Valdés advises the person,

> [To take] continual prayer as his main occupation, pleading fervently and with all affection to God that he will open the eyes of his disposition, so

[645] Ibid., 527.
[646] Ibid.
[647] Ibid., 528.
[648] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles*, OC, 838.
[649] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 94.
[650] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 141.
[651] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 57.
[652] Ibid., 191.Cf. Ibid., 141.

> that the individual might come to this knowledge; and if he has begun to open, that he will open it all the more every hour.[653]

This prayer should be expressed "with much faith and importunity."[654] What a combination of confidence and urgency! This tension anticipates Valdés' positive, accessible solution instead of a hard-to-reach, progressive ideal. In fact, he refers to the individual as "boldly coming to enter" into the kingdom of heaven.[655] This prayer depicts a crisis but may also involve a period of time. In fact, Valdés states that "to hasten is a sign of impatience, since faith is attached to hope."[656] As the answer to that prayer, God introduces the individual in his kingdom.[657] This prayer and critical experience vividly resembles Alcaraz's experience, and could have been Valdés' as well.

Inspired faith, a *sine qua non* to enter God's kingdom, has particular characteristics. Alien from human nature, this faith is to be asked for.[658] It is described as "setting one's eyes on Christ crucified with a lively and efficacious thought, considering with entire faith that Christ satisfies and pays for it," i.e. for God's justice.[659] As it was with incorporation or regeneration, inspired faith has also its effects:

> When inspired and revealed, it produces these four main effects in those who believe: They fall in love with God and with all things that are of God (. . .); it gives them peace of conscience through [the assurance of] God's reconciliation; it inspires them to do good generally to all men and particularly to those who believe like them; and it mortifies and mitigates their desire to sin.[660]

Otherwise, "it is not Christian faith."[661] The experience of this faith means that "being born sons of wrath (. . .) we are reborn as sons of God."[662]

Valdés uses some synonyms that enlighten this concept of "entrance." In Consideration no.5, Valdés refers to the individual considering his natural impossibility but, through God's favor, "rendering himself to his will."[663] This concept clearly echoes Alcaraz's *Abandonment*. Also, Valdés refers to "entrance" as God "converting" the individual, and consequently, "printing in his disposition those gifts which are properly of the Holy Spirit."[664]

Regardless of Valdés' repeated emphasis on God as the source of all salvation and virtue and as a part of the "entrance" experience, he refers on several occasions to

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[653] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 107, p. 739.
[654] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 251.
[655] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 23.
[656] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 181.
[657] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 269.
[658] Valdés, *Christian Instruction,* OC, 928,929.
[659] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 451.
[660] Valdés, *Christian Instruction,* OC, 929.
[661] Ibid.
[662] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 131.
[663] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 5, p. 503.
[664] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 171.

the person's "resolution." This "resolution" in reality speaks again of the individual's responsibility. Those who "apply themselves to piety," desiring to enter into God's kingdom, manifest their sincerity through their resolution to discard the world, "putting an end to their own glory and honor."[665]

One significant trait of Valdés' concept of entrance is the absence of repentance. When he refers to the apostles preaching, he speaks of "this happiest news (. . .) God having punished all our sins in Christ (. . .) *we should count ourselves as* reconciled with God."[666] Even in reference to John the Baptist, though he mentions "repentance" together with and after "recognition," Valdés understands "fruits worthy of recognition" as "men who have recognized their own way of living."[667] Repentance is clearly avoided. This could be due to his emphasis on faith and assurance, avoiding an undue, prolonged attitude of crisis. It also could be evidence of resentment toward the excessive outward expressions of the times of the *Alumbrados*.

The Change of Having Entered

The reference to God's kingdom regarding its moral or spiritual qualities does not constitute any distinctive trait of Valdés. Erasmus, in his *Sermon of the Child Jesus*, speaks of a progressive regeneration. Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to Valdés' justification and regeneration as a process.[668] Otto also refers to justification as "only a process, a development."[669] I do not deny a subsequent process in Valdés' concept of the kingdom, but I affirm the categorical change of the initial experience. This research is showing how Valdés emphasized and reiterated the essential contrast between the pious and the non-pious, as well as the categorical change of someone stepping from one state to the other.

Valdés, for instance, refers to those who through regeneration "have entered in the kingdom of God."[670] The experience is also described as "passing from death to life," the "spiritual resurrection" which takes place as man is regenerated, or "the mortification of the old man" and vivification of the new one.[671] One of Valdés' repeated expressions concerning true Christians reads,

> They have come out of the kingdom of the world (. . . .) [they] feel the sweetness and tenderness of Christ's kingdom, feeling the virtue and efficacy of Christ in themselves, the rule and government of the Holy Spirit, and feeling masters and lords over their sensual appetites and their desires for the world's honor and ambition. Having made a resolution to disregard themselves and the world, on the basis of their incorporation with Christ, they find their flesh as dead, and they find the world's

[665] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 65, p. 626.
[666] Valdés, *Christian Instruction,* OC, 928. Italics mine.
[667] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 34.
[668] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 164-165, 167, 181.
[669] Otto, *Juan de Valdés,* 95.
[670] Valdés, *Treatises,* 811.
[671] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 428-429.

> respect as dead within themselves, being assured of their resurrection and immortality and eternal life.[672]

The definite change is confirmed, for instance, as Valdés refers to the possibility of the person who has once entered God's kingdom falling or tripping over. He stated, "The whole matter consists of coming out from the world's way *once* and entering in God's way."[673] Once that step is taken, ideally, the individual does not lose his standing before God. Like in the Gospels, through regeneration the disciples received the Holy Spirit, took possession of the kingdom of heaven, and "as they grew in Christ, they were becoming entire men in Christ."[674]

The essential character of the entrance is also confirmed by the particular designations used by Valdés. Those who "belong to God's kingdom" are considered "the household of faith, and (. . .) saints because of God's election."[675] Upon acceptance or not acceptance of the gospel people are in possession either of God's kingdom or of Satan's kingdom.[676] God "brings a man out of the world's kingdom, delivering him from the devil's tyranny, and brings him to God's kingdom, setting him in Christian liberty."[677] Commenting on Psalm 2, Valdés states that whomever God calls for his kingdom, he does the same as he did for David, "the day 'today' (. . .) is the day in which he feels his vocation, election, and justification."[678] These expressions underline the categorical change of entering the kingdom.

The Effects of Entering

Parallel to the individual's justification, incorporation, regeneration, and inspired faith, the individual's entrance into God's kingdom is also confirmed by its essential changing effects. These effects, again, constitute criteria to distinguish the true Christian from "those who have just the name of Christianity."[679] Valdés, for instance, often reiterates that, "to those who are[680] entered into God's kingdom (. . .) God makes them feel his presence, and to them he allows to see his presence as through a mirror."[681] God brings submission to their souls, "makes them wiser, makes their hearts glad, enlightens their eyes, keeps them perpetually in the fear of God as sons, and shows them how all of God's judgments are just, holy, and true.[682] Conversely, as is common in Valdés'

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[672] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 65, p. 627.
[673] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 407. Italics mine.
[674] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 330.
[675] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 81.
[676] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 146.
[677] Ibid., 170.
[678] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 2.
[679] Effects, effectual are terms often used by Valdés, which underline the actual change of the individual in his disposition and consequent experience. E.g. *Com. Matthew*, 304; *Com. Corinthians*, 16; *Com. Romans,* 87, 97-98, 100-101.
[680] I have retained "are" entered because in Spanish Valdés writes "son entrados" instead of "han entrado," and that linguistic difference also confirms that he is referring to a change that includes a stability in its consequences.
[681] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 51, p. 600.
[682] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 18, 112; also OC 518. These live in happiest joy and contentment . . . They stay and persevere in this condition."

thought, there will a more tolerant perspective for those who do not reach that ideal. In any case, however, his emphasis is on the essential change produced when the person enters.

One of the changes of "coming to the kingdom" is the grant of forgiveness. This forgiveness extends to the future, that is, to "all that we offend and sin when we are overcome by that depravation with which we are born."[683] He who has entered, therefore, comes to feel "the peace of conscience and other fruits, as those who are spiritual ones."[684] Morreale speaks of this Valdessian "peace of conscience" as the Hebrew and scriptural conception of "perfect inward happiness."[685] God delivers those who enter in his kingdom "from eternal death," "promising them resurrection."[686] These are tokens of a satisfying, victorious spiritual life, and God "gives many other touches and favors to them, taking them as his sons."[687] Both of these "most efficacious and omnipotent effects," i.e. peace of conscience and mortification of one's desires and appetites,[688] manifest "the power of the cross" or "the efficacy of the cross of Christ," which Saint Paul refers to in 1 Corinthians 1. Those who lack these effects should "count themselves as aliens from Christ."[689]

The individual's relationship with Christ, being in his kingdom, is described with the image of a human body: "As virtue and efficacy descend from the head to the members of the body, being ruled and governed by the head, likewise, virtue and efficacy descends from Christ down to those who are in Christ's kingdom."[690] Derived from the individual's identification with Christ, and in relationship with Romans 6, a synonymous expression to entering God's kingdom is the experience of internal mortification and vivification.[691] This mortification is also described by Valdés as progressive, but with a marked beginning when the individual is incorporated into Christ. Significantly, during the subsequent process of mortification, underlying the individual's initial entrance to the kingdom, "the things upon which he errs are not imputed to him."[692]

Descending from that ideal, radical change of entering into the kingdom, Valdés recognizes a diversity of "complexions" or intensities among those who "are in God's kingdom."[693] He recognizes the possibility of a growing discernment and sanctification instead of a clear, full transformation.[694] Significantly, the *Alphabet* parallels one of the

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[683] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 177.
[684] Alf, 394-5. We need to remember here the "spiritual man" of the *Dialogue.*
[685] Morreale, *Gnosis Valdés*, 94.
[686] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 13, p. 518.
[687] Ibid, p. 519.
[688] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 16.
[689] Ibid., 16. Repeated almost verbatim in Com. Romans, 99: "he who is empty of these feelings is also empty of Christ, being a Christian, not through faith, but through opinión, not through God's election but through the world's election, being called by men and not by God or by Jesus Christ our Lord."
[690] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 65, p. 626-7.
[691] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 97-98.Cf. Ibid., 87, 100-101.
[692] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 84, p. 673.
[693] Ibid., n. 5, p. 505.
[694] Ibid., n. 74, p. 648.

accusations against María Cazalla: "Are all those who do not live with the purity (. . .) cleanliness and (. . .) care that you have said condemned?"[695] Valdés clarifies that among those who have entered into God's way, if they strive for it, recognizing and confessing their inadequacy, they will be forgiven. But Valdés concludes, "the whole Christian matter consists of coming *once* out of the way of the world and enter into the way of God; after entering, in spite of falling and rising (. . .) our situation is fine."[696] In like manner, Valdés speaks of "infirm" Christians: those who have accepted the grace of the gospel but are unable to discard all superstitions, i.e. ceremonies.[697] In reference to Giulia's curiosity, for instance, Valdés states, "I would certainly desire that (. . .) like in Ephesus (. . .) people would burn their books; but if you do not find yourself with this impetus of spirit, for now, I will be glad that you leave all those curious books in a corner."[698]

These concessions, however, do not blur Valdés' defense and ideal. Otto's claim regarding Valdés' justification as "only a process" takes Romans 7 as "the starting point" of the new life; however, in reality the focus and starting point for Valdés is Romans 6, particularly the identification and incorporation of the individual into Christ. Romans 7 is a condition which Valdés has to allow but is not his ideal. Valdés defends the essential transformation of entering the kingdom according to the promises of God, which constitute the object of the individual's faith.[699] To know that "God can do everything (. . .) and, therefore, [that] they as God's children can do everything," "matters very much" to Jesus' disciples: "If this truth were well imprinted in the disposition of those who, feeling the incorporation into Christ, know that are children of God, having as true that all things are possible to us, we would not doubt" these "things of the soul."[700] Those who are not certain of this conviction,

> Testify of themselves that they do not believe that God (. . .) [or that] Christ can do everything (. . .) [They testify] that they do not count themselves as incorporated into Christ (. . .) They do not have the spirit of Christ, and, effectually, they are not Christians.[701]

Valdés' thought, much in compliance with the idealism of the *Alumbrados'* context, emphasized a very high view of "entering the kingdom," only condescending to those who sympathized with or professed his convictions but failed to live up to those ideals.

Valdés' Twelve Steps and "Entering the Kingdom"

Even though this research has already discussed the basis, terms, preparation, and entrance to the kingdom in view of Valdés' writings, it is pertinent to consider Valdés' twelve steps in the *Alphabet.* As it has been already mentioned, even though the

[695] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 405.
[696] Ibid., 406-407. Cf. Also *Considerations,* OC, n. 110, p.750.
[697] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 169.
[698] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 420.
[699] Sp. Prometimientos.
[700] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 365.
[701] Ibid.

term "steps" and its number could appear to suggest a "spiritual ladder," that is not the case. They constitute a guide "to enter God's way" or "the way of perfection." In light of Valdés' background, these steps could be related to both Osuna's *Alphabet* as well as Juan de Cazalla's *Light of the Soul*. Even though these works have the same general theme (perfect love of God, the spiritual experience of perfection), the theological foundation and content of the *Alphabet'*s guidelines suggest Valdés' awakened assertiveness in Naples. There he brought his own particular advice for the need that Giulia personified, which was applicable to all individuals: the feeling of God's calling and the emerging struggle with self.

The goal and objective of these steps is expressed in the last four steps: the knowledge of and love for God (9th), for Christ (10th), and the confirmation in faith (11th), and hope (12th). Domingo de Sta. Teresa states that, "all the steps (. . .) were essentially directed to set the soul in a psychological state in which the person would launch himself to love God."[702] Valdés' words, however, depict a more specific and ambitious goal: "These rules (…) you would use (…) as a Christian alphabet through which you might come to Christian perfection."[703]

The first four steps reflect a deep and categorical turning point. Giulia needed to "truly recognize that till now you have been walking outside the way, even though you thought you were walking in the good way."[704] There was nothing to salvage from former schemes or procedures. Her decision was nothing short than being regenerated, entering into Christian perfection. There was a required, positive determination: to find Christ. The last step reflecting this decision portrays the moral level of Valdés' teaching: Celebrating the Christian Sabbath.[705] That is to cease from both internal and external sins "which deprives you of the grace of God."[706]

Steps five through eight are dedicated to recognize and know the world and self as evil; and consequently, that knowledge will displace any affection to them. Giulia is to see that the world is,

> false, only appearance, deceitful, never fulfilling that which it promises, vain, founded upon ephemeral and transitory things, filled with enemies of God, positively leading astray from the way of truth (. . .) variable, that is, it never stays in a same opinion.[707]

A daily consideration of the world in this light "will bring contempt for (. . .) honors, dignities, conditions, lordships, and wealth;" and in its place, she was to desire winning Christ. Her need to know herself particularly focused on discerning her "most malicious" inclination inherited from original sin as well as the "feeling and thoughts of

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[702] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 114-115.
[703] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 437.
[704] Ibid., 418.
[705] This particular perspective on "celebrating the Sabbath" is actually a strong link with DDC, confirming Valdés' authorship.
[706] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 419. "Decision," "resolution" in other writings: *Considerations,* OC, n. 27, p. 456-457; Cf. *Com. Matthew*, 266-267; *Com. Psalms*, 217.
[707] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 420.

the human heart," which are "always evil."[708] Valdés pointed also to her knowledge of apparent good works not done for God's love but for self-love, something very Alcaracian.[709] These considerations toward both the world and self, recognizing their importance, are only preparatory: "Later, shortly afterwards, the Holy Spirit might come to dwell in you."[710]

These eight first steps, therefore, are the preparation for the experience of knowing God through Christ (steps 9-10). Considering the extent, focus, and emphasis given to the knowledge of God, this is the focal point and goal of Valdes' steps. "Knowing God through Christ" is "the whole of that which being Christian consists."[711] This twelve-step guide, therefore, confirms Valdés' scheme and emphases, particularly as it has to do with his anthropology and his experience of entering the kingdom. The steps do not express a "spiritual ladder" as in Porete, Osuna, or Cazalla. Either as Valdés contribution to that *Alumbrado* environment or as a compliant form to advise Giulia, the steps portray the essential need of the individual and the change that entering into the way of perfection, into God's kingdom, incorporation, or regeneration brings.

Summary on Valdés' Theology Proper and Soteriology

At the center of our conclusions on Valdés' thought stand the essential need of the natural person and its solution, constituting one of the two main axes of Valdés' message. His repeated contrasts, his pessimistic anthropology, and the categorical change that he attributes to the individual entering the kingdom of God constitute an overwhelming proof of his focus. As he said, "the beginning, middle, and end of Christian preaching should be to preach the kingdom of God and compel and force men to enter in it, rejecting the kingdom of the world with all that belongs to it."[712] The numerous aspects of that change, such as inspired faith, incorporation, regeneration, and entering into God's kingdom, as well as their required effects, such as knowledge of God, identification with Christ, "ceasing" to be just human persons, the rule and government of God, and change of disposition stress the major transformation depicted by Valdés. While it is true that there is a progression and growth beyond that change, it cannot be designated as "just a beginning" of one's Christian walk.[713] Firpo also underlines this progressive aspect: the "Christian issue" being "the gradual experience of faith."[714] However, that does not do justice to Valdés' contrasts and emphasis. Conversely, Andrés' appreciation of the *Abandonment* was correct in one aspect, that is, that they taught a way to actually reach perfection apart from the ascetic rigors of religious exercises. That is what Valdés taught: a life of perfection or a love-union with God. It was not an easy shortcut to it, like Andrés defends, neither a misunderstanding

[708] Ibid., 422.
[709] Ibid., 423.
[710] Ibid., 424.
[711] Ibid., 424-426
[712] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 5, p. 504.
[713] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 173
[714] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados,* 79, 84.

of *Recollection*, but their teaching had to do with how to achieve a life of perfection, which revolved around a critical, faith inspired experience.

Concerning the nature of Valdés' discussions, there can be little doubt concerning their theological nature. Valdés' expositions mainly focus on soteriology, and particularly on the experience of man; however, that was Valdés' chosen definition of "true theology," present since his *Dialogue*. His discussions include theological terms like *liberum arbitrium, voluntas signi* versus *voluntas beneplaciti*, or predestination, which far from being accessory revolve around the dogma of justification by grace through faith. The experiential aspect of Valdés' message does not deny its theological content.[715] His focus on soteriology may disqualify his thought from being a doctrinal "system," but it certainly had a foundational, theological soteriological dogma and scheme. I do not think that Valdés could be considered amidst the "radical spiritualism" of so-called *Alumbrado* mystics.[716] However, comparing Valdés' thought with Abelard or Anselm becomes somewhat artificial. Valdés was a layman with no formal, theological education.[717]

Regarding Valdés' theology on God, even though he used standard, orthodox formulas, his freer considerations on Christ's weaknesses, or on the anathorous and at times impersonal use of the Spirit, could be traced to his *Converso* legacy. Considering some traits of Isabel de la Cruz or Alcaraz, Valdés' *Converso* lineage and conversion environment, if there were some hints of internal struggle in Valdés, these never constituted a part of his message. His focus was on how a depraved individual could live a satisfactory life of love-union with God.

Valdés undoubtedly emphasized the appropriation of God's knowledge through a sovereign revelation to man in the context of a crisis experience. The conversion of Alcaraz and his own experience become illustrative of the prevalence of the subjective aspect in his concept of the knowledge of God. This cannot be used to minimize his respect for the sacred text in favor of a radical spirituality; in that case, his Commentaries with his biblical translation, exposition, and frequent linguistic references would constitute a perplexity. He is certainly not a biblicist, like Estrada claims, but neither can a perspective that undermines Scripture be defended on Valdés, the first author to write Bible Commentaries in the Spanish language. He emphasized and focused on the appropriation of the knowledge of God; and with that primary attention, he set Scripture as secondary, but still reliable.

As in this theme of Scripture in relationship to the knowledge of God, Valdés' message did not arrive to a settled systematization. In his discussions, some issues seem to fluctuate or at times to contradict. The issue of God's offer of pardon to all versus his statements concerning a limited atonement, his ideal defense of the perseverance of the

[715] I do not favor De Sta. Teresa's statement concerning, "Valdés, from the first book in Spain till the last in Italy, is a spiritual (writer) . . . . (he) offers us most of all a spirituality" (*Juan de Valdés,* 1935, 231).

[716] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados,* 67-124.

[717] Nieto (*Valdés an ordained Priest?*, 1970*)* and D. Ricart (*Diálogo y Salterio,* 1964, 9) confirm his condition of layman.

saints versus his warnings and exceptions, and his defense of the individual's transformation as he enters the kingdom versus his concessions to less glorious examples revealed the vision and ideal of Valdés' message alongside occasional concessions which at times left some apparent contradictions unresolved.

Regarding his background, Valdés' theology shows an intentional eclecticism. His strong links to Alcaraz's *Abandonment* need to be considered alongside Valdés' differences with him, such as his radical Christology or his eternal dimension. The same can be said of his Lutheran affinities and his defense of an accessible perfection for the Christian. The same should be said of his Erasmian influence regarding his Christology, and his clear differences concerning anthropology and soteriology. Regarding Erasmus, furthermore, it is very significant to note Valdés' antagonism to philosophy when it refers to the Spirit-revealed knowledge of God, but, on the other hand, his moderation and use of it when the person's depravity is "repaired." When analyzed, Valdés' convictions show stability since the *Dialogue.* Regardless of some slight changes of emphasis and development, Valdés' thought appears eclectically formed but stable, expressing his own convictions on the restoration of the individual's relationship with God.

One of the cardinal elements of Valdés' discussions is his essential re-definition of true Christians and true Christianity. Valdés' writings portray him not only as a reformer but also as a dissident view from his contemporary Christianity, at least in thought. His clear justification by faith as a definition of the gospel, the distinction of true Christians upon a spiritual experience, the denial of *liberum arbitrium*, and the defense of a sovereign predestination, discarding human works and wisdom, manifest an alternative proposal that his contemporary Christianity condemned. Valdés' friends and writings became the object of condemnation shortly after his death. It remains to consider two other important areas of Valdés' teaching: his piety and his religious praxis. These will continue to reveal his convictions and his relationship with his background and environment.

Chapter 7

Valdes' View of Piety

In Valdés' writings, there is a word that designates one's behavior and attitude in the context of religion: piety. Discarding the Spanish use of "piety" as a synonym of mercy,[1] Valdés used piety with three meanings: the proper religious life of the individual as he approaches the entrance to the kingdom, religious life particularly associated with patience and meekness, and a general religious attitude and exercise. First of all, there is a piety applied to the individual approaching the kingdom, i.e. the case of Giulia: "Man exercises himself in piety as he seeks the kingdom of God and his righteousness."[2] Amidst Giulia's struggles, Valdés led her to Psalms in order to develop piety, that is, to conform her disposition to David's.[3] This "dedicating oneself to piety" consisted of acquiring the proper concepts regarding who is a pious person and who is not, distinguishing true piety from false, and awakening one's desires for the knowledge of God. Piety, in this context, is clearly preparatory and distinguished from justification.

Secondly, when piety is used in reference to the true Christian's disposition, the term acquires a specific meaning. When "Christian piety" or "true piety" is spoken of, it is founded upon justification,[4] emerges from it, and depends on it.[5] "Piety," in this sense, appears in Valdés' classifications of people, distinguishing several erroneous possibilities from the true one. Wicked ones are those who do not believe. Superstitious ones are credulous, i.e. those who "being not pious, make profession of piety and believe to be pious."[6] On the other hand, pious ones are "those who, having accepted the general pardon offered by the gospel through the Holy Spirit, have the intent to confirm themselves in it and live in this present life a life that is comparable to that one which they will live in the life hereafter."[7] Whoever does not conform to this description is neither pious nor does any pious exercise. Non-pious persons cannot even realize that what they are doing is not pious; contrarily, the pious individual has a clear consciousness that he is exercising in that which truly belongs to piety.[8]

As with religion in general, the distinction between the pious and the non-pious lies in the individual's essential condition and pursuit, not in the works that he does. Works totally differ if they come from the natural person or the one who is incorporated, i.e. "the pious."[9] Commenting on new wine and old bottles, Valdés stated

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[1] E.g. Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 35, p. 560.
[2] Ibid., n.91, p. 693; ibid., n. 111, p. 780; ibid., n.118, p.780.
[3] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, p. 6. Cf. *Considerations*, OC, n. 111, 756.
[4] "This most holy truth (Justification by faith) is the foundation of all Christian piety" (Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 889.
[5] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 118, p.780.
[6] Ibid., n. 101, p. 718-719.
[7] Ibid.; Cf. also n. 37, p. 568.
[8] Ibid., n. 9, p.511.
[9] Ibid., p. 510.

that new bottles refer to disciples of Christ, i.e. those of "us" who "are regenerated and renewed by the Holy Spirit," and "old bottles are all those who are outside this regeneration and renewal, pretending piety."[10] In reference to motivation and piety, works are distinguished by whether they serve one's own interest, either material or eternal, or the glory of God, which is only possible when the individual is incorporated in Christ.[11]

The contrast portrayed by Valdés, once again, reveals his message and audience. His message portrayed a difference particularly from the institutional profession of Christianity and not from vice or lawlessness. His message was directed to Christianity, suggesting different criteria through which evaluate and discern true Christianity from false religion. As with theology, Valdés sets himself against "false prophets," who show themselves as sheep but are wolves.

> Having intruded themselves in Christian piety, endeavoring to reach the Spirit of God and become spirituals through their exercises and energies, (. . .) [they] always stay in their wicked dispositions. Even though they disguise and pretend piety, as much as it can be feigned with superstitions and many other ceremonies (. . . .) they are a most harmful pestilence to those who dedicate themselves to piety, (. . .) only endeavoring to do as much harm to piety as they can.[12]

The need, therefore, is not just that the individual needs to be sure that his attitude in religion goes beyond the mere external ritual; that would be Erasmian. Valdés' concept of true piety and its relationship to the religion of ceremonies is more antagonistic.

Particularly, Valdés' aversion is toward the "dangerous error" of "pretending piety." He compares the milder chastisement for Paul's persecuting and killing Christians with the graver punishment for pretending piety, like Saul's or Uzza's case in the Old Testament. In fact, God could allow his chosen ones to err in other things, like David with Bathsheba, but God keeps them from feigning piety.[13]

Stressing the need of discernment, Valdés exhorts those who profess religion to be sure that they are not gratifying their self-love. It is not enough to be disgusted with one's human wisdom; furthermore, the individual must despise false religion and be induced to true piety by the Holy Spirit.[14] Four signs reveal a true motivation. One is much affection to spiritual things, that is, to "those things which are proper of the Spirit (. . .) [i.e.,] the lesson of Holy Scripture, ponderings over holy things, continual prayer in the Spirit, which includes being satisfied (. . .) with all that God does." A second sign is the abhorrence of all men's conversations, lessons, and books in which there is "no part of the Holy Spirit." A third one is, "to approve the things of the Holy Spirit, [i.e.]

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[10] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 165.
[11] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 9, p. 511.Cf. *Com. Psalms,* 33.
[12] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 47, p. 584-585.
[13] Ibid., n. 79, p. 661. Cf. "It is a sign of wickedness to feign, simulate, and walk falsely with our neighbors" (*Com. Psalms*, 155); "Those who, having not Holy Spirit, set themselves to imitate the things of those who have had and have the Holy Spirit, expose themselves to much danger" (*Com. Corinthians*, 165).
[14] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 47, p. 585.

concepts, understandings, and feelings that the person obtains through the Spirit," differing from one's self-disposition or self-capacity. And the fourth sign is the mortification of one's affections and appetites.[15] Several ingredients appear to echo Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, i.e. the stress on relying on God's providence, the leading of the Spirit, and self-denial. As Valdés' view of piety is further analyzed, the characteristics attached to these traits will further reveal their relationship with the times of the *Alumbrados* and particularly with Alcaraz.

Piety, actually, is a divine grant, a privilege given by God. Piety leads the individual to trust in God, to love him and depend on him, to trust in Christ, to love him and preach him.[16] This trust in Christ, requisite for a God-given piety, must be understood according to Valdés' dogmatic connotation of Christ's vicarious sacrifice; piety emerges from the presupposition of justification by faith.[17] As it relates to inspired knowledge, as Morreale has stated, for Valdés, "Knowledge is the beginning of piety."[18]

In view of Alcaraz, Antonio de Baeza's translation of Gerson's *On the Discernment of Spirits*, and the *Alumbrado* conflict, Valdés' portrait of piety reveals his theological development from those spiritual guides. Alcaraz's distinction between the imperfect and the *Abandoned* Christian becomes a gulf between false and true Christians in Valdés. This development underlines and confirms Valdés' focus on the essential need and change of the individual, neither just a spiritual emphasis nor a stress on internal religion.

General Values and Goals of Valdessian Spirituality

In light of Valdessian research, it is not necessary to mention that Valdés focuses on man's disposition, i.e. the spiritual side of man, instead of his religious performances.[19] Furthermore, beyond the mere focus on virtue, Valdés' basic aim focuses on recuperating as much as possible the image of God lost in Adam, which he describes as "justice, mercy, piety, goodness, wisdom, truthfulness, and faithfulness."[20] This goal, however, is not for everyone but for the regenerated.

Valdés vindicates internal religion as that which Christ's holiness consisted of, i.e. humility, meekness, patience, selflessness, denial of one's will, obedience to God, and charity. These virtues in Christ are presented as rejected as unjust by the world.[21] To the just, conversely, these are the things to which **"**the Holy Spirit moves us, and these will shine in those who are perfectly incorporated in Christ, and these fruits show the glory of God and (. . .) Jesus Christ."[22] These characteristics, in fact, constitute the

[15] Ibid., n. 47, p. 585-587.
[16] Ibid., n. 9, p. 511.
[17] "Piety comes from the knowledge of God and from Justification, which is through the knowledge of Christ" (Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 282).
[18] Morreale, *Valdés Gnosis*, 93.
[19] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 137; *Com. Matthew*, 370.
[20] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 35, p. 560.
[21] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 30. Cf. *Com. Corinthians*, 147.
[22] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 100, p. 718.

character of the regenerated. In reference to the Beatitudes, Valdés stated, "These eight qualities, which are so interconnected among them, are all of them in every one who enters the kingdom of heaven."[23] As to "the holiness of the body," Valdés defines it as "executing the Holy Spirit's movements and inspirations with the members of the body."[24]

Another significant aspect in light of Valdés' background is the moral level of his spirituality. Instead of pursuing an easier way or a relaxation on ethics, Valdés' spirituality laid significant stress on self-examination. The diligent reading and studying of "the book of self"[25] is to reveal

> my trust and distrust, my faith and unbelief, my hope and carelessness, my charity and animosity (. . . .) my humility and arrogance, my meekness and impatience, my circumspection and insolence, my simplicity and curiosity, my resolution or respect to the world, my resolution with myself or my self-love. [26]

Valdés' goal, traceable to Alcaraz, was not superficial as Andrés asserts concerning the *Abandonment*; Valdés' pursued the falling in love with God and Christ,[27] "anxious and desirous to comprehend and reach that perfection in which he was comprehended in Christ." [28]

Valdés' spirituality was one of high aspirations and growth. Recognizing the inability of human flesh to reach the perfection lived by Christ,

> those who know themselves and feel as incorporated in the death and resurrection of Christ must fix their eyes in this high perfection, seek to obtain it, and effectually pursue it (. . .) The Holy Spirit will move and does move those whom Christ is communicated.[29]

Even though the perfect is identified as the one who has entered the kingdom, Valdés also refers to a growth of the one who has entered the kingdom: "man reaches piety, justice, and holiness (. . .) through the imitation of Christ; on the basis that imitating Christ, he is recovering the image and likeness of God in his disposition."[30] The individual is exhorted to mortify his affections and appetites and pursue the likeness of Christ and God, so that he might reach "a great portion of the Holy Spirit and feel the presence of God continually in himself, enabling himself to see it sometimes."[31] This ideal, however, is not an impossible reality for Valdés: "I have it as certain, that if you begin to fall in love with God, you will pass in holiness above many saints who are in

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[23] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 68-69.
[24] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 139.
[25] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.121, p. 786.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., p.789.
[29] Ibid., n. 90, p. 689.
[30] Ibid., n. 17, p. 526. This process, however, is referred also as "comprehending Christian perfection, in which the individual is comprehended through the incorporation with which he is incorporated in Christ" (Ibid., n. 31, p.553); cf. also (*Com. Matthew*, 499).
[31] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 31, p. 553.

heaven." [32] Echoing Erasmus, Valdés stated that as the Christian progresses in sanctification, the steps "become easier."[33]

Valdés also exhorts his reader to grow in knowledge. The true Christian "cannot be content to know Christ or to be just; he must go ahead and desire to see the presence of God, begging God with continual prayer that he will show (his presence) more openly and clearly, till we see it in the eternal life as it really is."[34]

A general trait of Valdés' spirituality is his positive and victorious outlook. His positive experience of religion is grounded on and explained with theological, biblical, and religious arguments. According to the *Alphabet* and first considerations, to know God is man's true happiness, and man's happiness on account of God's work in him adds glory to God and Christ. [35] Valdés' victorious outlook is evident in his identification of true Christianity with "happiness." Commenting on Psalm 23, Valdés theologically interprets David's "certainty and happiness" as fruit of his "confidence in God, feeling himself being ruled and governed by God." He writes, furthermore, that,

> This happiness cannot be tasted nor understood except by those who experience it; and during the time of the gospel, it is experienced by those who, appropriating themselves of the justice of God executed in Jesus Christ (. . .), come boldly and enter into God's kingdom (. . .) considering, not what they have offended, but that Christ is the Son of God and that in him was executed the justice of God (. . . .) Those who do not believe in this have no part in this justice; and, therefore, they neither enjoy nor feel the happiness that one enjoys and feels being in God's kingdom.[36]

Even if this could have any connection with Franciscan spirituality, as Cione suggests,[37] Valdés gives a totally different definition and connotation. Theologically and biblically, Valdés makes a distinction between the law and the gospel: "After God sent his only-begotten Son (. . .) men are not under the law any longer but under the gospel, alien from severity and rigor."[38] At Valdés' words of consecration, Giulia protested on the moral obligations of the law as smelling "of tyranny." [39] On the contrary, Valdés identified severity as a symptom of "self-love and a disposition of subjection to the law, to superstitions and ceremonies, as (. . .) Hebrews."[40] Conversely, "true Christians, members of Jesus Christ," those who "belong to the gospel (. . .) are neither severe nor rigorous against vices," but merciful. [41] As seen previously, Valdés is harder on false

[32] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 389.
[33] Ibid., 439. Cf. Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 172.
[34] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles*, OC, 838-839.
[35] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 1, p. 496; Cf. also Com. Psalms, 36; *Considerations*, OC, n.2, p. 496.
[36] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 129.
[37] Cione, *Juan de Valdés*, 81.
[38] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 60, p. 619.
[39] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 407.
[40] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 60, 619.
[41] Ibid.

religion than on the wicked, identifying his message as dissident against his contemporary Christianity rather than merely calling the world to God.

Valdés' positive outlook to piety is also evident in the true Christian's life. Advising Giulia to enter God's way, Valdés told her to walk in it "not as a slave, but as free (. . .) with love and not with fear (. . .) not (. . .) superstitiously (. . .) but (. . .) with an attitude of freedom."[42] Valdés qualifies fear as "dangerous:"

> The men who without Christian spirit read the Holy Scriptures (. . .) canonize fear, not considering that fear was so proper and attached to those saints who were under the law as love is to the saints of the gospel (. . . .) Whoever goes through the way of fear, which cannot be any longer divine but human, even though they desire to color it, labeling it as filial fear, will have the same opinion as the bad servant has of his lord (. . . .) It will be most certain that one carat of love will be in them more efficacious to make them live the spiritual life than a hundred [carats] of fear.[43]

Valdés' positive emphasis on love clashes with the stress on the confessional, indulgences, and purgatory of his contemporary Christianity.

Valdés defended an optimistic spirituality. To Giulia's self-examination, "after being (made) whole,"[44] Valdés advised to spend fifteen minutes examining her human inclinations (in Adam), but "ten hours knowing and considering" herself as a daughter of God through Christian regeneration."[45] The true Christian serves God not out of fear but because of "love and confidence."[46] Even regarding sanctification, contrary to threats or strong exhortations, Valdés wrote, "Whenever God desires to make his children abhor an evil thing (. . .) he gives them knowledge of a good one (. . .) [so that] fond of the new one, they will abhor the evil one much sooner than if he gave them knowledge of that evil thing."[47] It is through the knowledge of "those things which are eternal and true" that God brings hatred toward those things which are "corporal, temporal, and false."[48] It is important to notice that Valdés was not pursuing an easier Christianity; he understood his conviction to be more effective.

Valdés positive outlook of religion is particularly evident in one's adversity. The thought of God sending adversity to punish one's defects or sins is qualified by Valdés as of the devil.[49] He exhorted Giulia "to be strong and firm" in the conviction that God sends adversity for good and useful purposes.[50] Valdés mentions chastisement for God's

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[42] Valdés, *Alphabet*, 468. Notice its connection with DDC
[43] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 469-470; repeated in Ibid., 509.
[44] Reference to entering into God's way.
[45] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 114, 765.
[46] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 24.
[47] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 91, p. 694.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Valdés, *Questions and Answers*, OC, 862
[50] Ibid. Also, he who is incorporated in Christ should always apprehend this certainty, "that God loves you and desires good things for you; and this not because you love him, but because he has made you his daughter" or son (*Considerations*, OC, n. 3, p. 398-399; ibid., n.114, p. 765).

own people only exceptionally;[51] that was particularly for the time of the law.[52] After the cross, "God does not chastise the saints of the gospel with temporal punishments; he overlooks[53] that which they offend and sin."[54] Temporal discomforts are to disenchant the true Christian of the world, increasing his love for God. [55]

Valdés' positive outlook is also manifest through his emphasis on the individual's assurance of his eternal life with God. He states that "to fear the day of judgment is an indication of impiety and unfaithfulness; conversely, to wait for the day of judgment is an indication of piety and justification."[56] True Christians "claim with satisfaction that they await the day of judgement, in which the glory of God will be manifested to the world."[57] Having been justified, there should be no doubt; whoever believes the justification through the blood of Christ [for himself], will also believe the glorification [for himself] through the resurrection of the same Christ."[58]

Even though true Christians are few, Valdés upholds a positive view of Christianity. He takes Jesus' parable of the leaven to teach that "the preaching of the kingdom of heaven, which in the eyes of the world is small and vile, is of such an efficacy that it is enough to justify, mortify, vivify, and glorify the whole number of those who are God's people, predestinated to eternal life."[59] Because of Christ's death and benefit, the devil has begun to be cowed because he has been overcome.[60] Christ announced his omnipotence in Mt. 28, so that "while we are in the School of Christ,[61] while he is with us, and we with him, (. . . .) we can do everything."[62] This reference to Satan as being overcome was also written by Erasmus.[63]

One of Valdés' fundamental traits as defended in this thesis is his eclecticism. That refers to his use of terms, phrases, and even teachings from particular individuals or writings while maintaining explicit differences with them as well. This research has suggested that his *Converso* lineage and its religious internal struggles could have been an important influence for that apparent restlessness. In addition to that, there are some general characteristics of Valdés' spirituality which become very relevant to his eclecticism: his conciliatory personality, his rejection of theological partisanships, and his pacifism. These elements describe a personality which may well correspond to the gentleness, kind speech, tolerance, and personal nearness which made him "admirably

[51] When God's people distrust his omnipotence or providence, they "provoke him to chastise them almost against his will" (Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 76, p. 652); "It is good for the pious ones to recognize sicknesses as God's chastisement" (*Com. Psalms*, 42).
[52] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 176, 224.
[53] sp.disimula
[54] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 176.
[55] Cf. Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 214.
[56] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 6.
[57] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 63.
[58] Ibid., 66.
[59] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 262-3
[60] Ibid., 43.
[61] Interesting term in Erasmus, cf. *Enchiridion*, 332; *Sermon Child Jesus*, 69.
[62] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 532-33.
[63] Erasmus, *Enchiridion,* 151. Cf. also, ibid., 124, 125.

appropriate to produce a favorable impression" among noblemen and women in Naples.[64]

While Valdés is radical concerning anthropology or his emphasis on grace, his personality and message was very much compliant to what he considered as secondary. That is especially evident in his *Alphabet* in regards to Giulia.[65] His compliant or conciliatory tendency is also evident in his aversion from both contentions and partialities. Commenting on the Corinthian divisions, Valdés rejected contention even when it was "for the Christian truth" or for the "true intelligence" of Scriptures. Contention and envy, even disguised with piety, indicated a non-Christian, "human walk."[66] Among Christians, Valdés wrote, "disorder, confusion, and disunity" is "brutal and (. . .) inappropriate."[67] And even towards enemies, "It is safer to speak evil of no one."[68] While Valdés could point to some who mixed human and spiritual wisdom, becoming "almost as fools," he stated that, "It is not right to revile anyone."[69] Even the necessary report of an evil conduct was to be spoken with "much modesty and meekness, in such a way that the hearers will recognize that the Christian neither enjoys his denunciation nor becomes passionate in it."[70] Conversely, to judge someone else's life is typical of "the saints of the world;" even though some "imperfect" saints may do it, it is because "they still retain reminiscences of the saints of the world."[71]

Valdés' attitude toward contention sheds some light on his use-but-distance from Luther, who from his brother's early reports appeared so much attached to contention and envy. Valdés stated that being instrumental for others to come to the Christian "issue" is not a justified ground for partiality.[72] Regardless garbs of "religion and piety," partisanships are "malicious, (. . .) a mortal enemy to Christian piety, which is altogether love, charity, union, and conformity."[73] It is, therefore, "a great shame that you might boast of being of another than Christ, taking another last name than Christian."[74] In light of Luther's debate with Erasmus over the individual's *arbitrium*, Valdés' words become most enlightening: "You are those who revile (. . .) the brethren, Christians, something truly shameful and unworthy of Christian people, absolutely alien from Christian people."[75]

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[64] Thomas McCrie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Blackwood, 1833), 134.

[65] Cf. Giulia says, "I see that you express yourself as accomodating to my weakness, so that I do not become desperate" (Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 446); see also the Alphabet's introductory letter (ibid., 372ff).

[66] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 53.

[67] Ibid., 270.

[68] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 96.

[69] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 82. Cf. *Com. Romans*, 254, 266; *Com. Matthew* 66, 81.

[70] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 96.

[71] Ibid., 122.

[72] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 52-53. Valdés stated that "partialities . . . are clearly evident in our times, and more so among those who make a stronger claim of spirituality" (ibid., 53).

[73] Ibid., 53. "The Christian issue is all about union, but you have changed into disunity and dissension, making bands and partialities" (ibid., 9).

[74] Ibid., 68.

[75] Ibid., 110.

Valdés' compliant personality, therefore, needs to be accounted for regarding his friends and foes, his followers and opposers. He begs rather than commands;[76] he calls some individuals "father" "to comply with them and because of custom, but not with the heart."[77] This is not a Nicodemite's cowardice or pragmatism; it is a conviction of unity and a compliant personality. In addition to his relation-distance from Luther, this explains his references to the institutional church without them constituting an endorsement of the Roman Church, like Wagner and others defend.

Valdés' conciliatory personality was not only moral but also theological. Commenting on the Sadducees, Valdés writes what he understands through their example, that is,

> How much every man has to guard himself from taking a particular opinion; it is always like this, that once the individual has taken it, he forces himself to defend it, and as he wants to defend it, what happened to these Sadducees happens to them, [i.e.] that they defended their opinion with such [Sadducees'] arguments.[78]

These words also suggest the question concerning Valdés' feelings toward Flaminio's discussions with Contarini and Seripando, particularly as Flaminio spoke of "we," "our opinion," and "our adversaries."[79] This does not deny the theological interest of Valdés and his friends; it adds to the possible divergence that they could have held about certain issues. The circle could have been not that uniform, and Valdés not so representative of them.

Faith and Love

One of the characteristics of Valdés' expositions is the way he interconnects different areas of religious life as distinctive criteria to differentiate true Christianity. Since Bataillon, the characteristic union that Valdés maintained among faith, hope, and love has been identified as a connection between the *Dialogue* and his Neapolitan writings.[80] Valdés speaks of them as "always joined together," "intertwined," "never the one without the other," or "unable to maintain or sustain one without the other."[81] On the other hand, however, this interconnection is not something exclusive of the three theological virtues in Valdés. This thesis has previously referred to Valdés' commenting on the Beatitudes, which he considered "so interconnected among them," being "all of them in every one who enters the kingdom of heaven."[82] Valdés also connected mortification and humility with faith and love.[83] This interconnectedness is also manifest considering the different "signs" that distinguished true Christians, e.g., one's

[76] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 238.
[77] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 426-7
[78] Ibid., 413-414.
[79] Cuccoli, *Flaminio*, 282.
[80] Bataillon ed., DDB, 252; De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 177-8. De Sta. Teresa notes how in both DDC and the *Alphabet* Valdés uses the label "living faith" (ibid.).
[81] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 251. Cf. Ibid., 2369, 241; *Com. Matthew*, 419.
[82] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 68-69.
[83] Ibid., 135. Faith linked to humility (Ibid., 293).

attitude towards providence or sickness, being led by the Spirit, the understanding of justification, etc. Instead of considering Valdés only uniting faith, love, and charity, therefore, his pursuit of unity should be extended to his whole thought and perspective. Valdés pursues a holistic approach to the understanding and experience of true Christianity.

Concerning the definition of faith, hope, and love, Valdés' thought reveals its stability since the *Dialogue*. Faith is focused on "the words of God and (. . .) the promises of God" and also attached to "accepting the covenant" of justification through Christ's atonement.[84] Hope is focused on things pertaining to the future and eternity, awaiting and suffering with meekness. And love is the attitude with which faith and hope is exercised. As Domingo de Sta. Teresa points out,[85] Valdés' Neapolitan expression is parallel to his discussion in the *Dialogue*.[86] Our discussion will not include hope by itself, since that virtue is not discussed at any considerable extent by Valdés.

Faith

Valdés concisely described faith as a "living and efficacious thought" set on Christ crucified."[87] This faith in Christ will pave the way to know by experience "the fruits of charity," like patience or selflessness, casting out fear.[88] Valdés' definitions reveal three essential elements within the Valdessian concept of faith: the personal exercise of faith, the inexorable content of faith, and the knowledge-experience of faith.

These three elements of faith and their centrality in Valdés' thought explain the foundational character he gives to it. Domingo de Sta. Teresa points out that Valdés "appears to question the primacy that St. Paul attributes to charity."[89] Valdés refers to faith and love as the root and the fruit of a tree, faith being the root.[90] In reference to Christian behavior, furthermore, Valdés understands that more attention needs to be given to faith than to charity. In view of Peter's dissimulation and correction by Paul, if one has to choose between offending faith and charity, one has to protect faith first, "since faith is the foundation of the Christian."[91] Once again, Valdés' experience seems to be eventually imposed on Scripture, and inspired, justifying faith becomes foundational. It is rather surprising that Haggard, desiring to unsettle Valdés' central conviction of justification by faith and faith being the foundation of all other virtues, states that when Valdés wrote *Considerations*, he "had not reached his concept of faith and love."[92] Haggard certainly overemphasizes love in order to bend a justifying faith,

[84] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 12-13, 135.
[85] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*,177-178.
[86] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 413. Cf. DDC, 78f.
[87] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 409. Cf. also, ibid., 451.
[88] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 70, p. 635-637.
[89] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 179.
[90] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 238-239.
[91] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 273-274.
[92] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés*, 122, 124.

but the stability of Valdés in his *Dialogue* and throughout his Neapolitan writings do not warrant that development.

As a considerable contribution of Valdés' message to Christianity,[93] this research proposed Valdés' spiritual analysis of the individual approaching, entering, and growing in God's kingdom. Accordingly, Valdés portrays the individual coming to faith. Initially, the individual begins in unbelief: "he cannot trust God; [he can trust] only what he knows and sees."[94] As the individual "applies himself to piety," that is, approaches God's kingdom, Satan or evil spirits may disquiet and bother him with doubts.[95] At that point, those who are approaching faith through God's intervention are distinguished from those who come to faith only through human agencies.[96] It is necessary at that point to renounce all natural light, human wisdom and reason, a renunciation which is only possible if God gives it.[97] At that point, every person who "feels the voice of the gospel, the intimation of the general amnesty and pardon, must elevate and maintain his disposition elevated to God, asking him to give him faith with which to accept the general pardon that is presented to him."[98] This is a meritless and intense prayer, requesting "the Holy Spirit to be as a sun (. . . .) [the individual] remaining attentive as long as God takes to send his Spirit (. . .), with no mixture of superstition."[99] These expressions portray the "preparation" stage which was discussed previously as it has to do particularly with inspired faith.

Even though Valdés stresses the sovereign aspect of faith, it is evident that there is a human side or expression of it, which has to do with the individual's exercise and content of faith. The exercise of faith is expressed as "working to reduce and subjugate" one's understanding,[100] "embracing,"[101] or as previously mentioned, "setting a living and efficacious thought" on Christ crucified. Faith is a commitment of the individual to God, where the individual puts his trust in God's promises as if they were particularly effectually fulfilled.[102]

The central discussion and content of faith, which is the very definition of the gospel, is justification by faith, something which was personally stated by Valdés since his *Dialogue*.[103] His Neapolitan writings only confirmed, strengthened, and incessantly reiterated this Valdessian foundation.[104] When Valdés discussed the individual's

[93] I.e. the issue of man's approaching, entering and growing into God's Kingdom, a radiography of the heart as the individual approaches and enters.
[94] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 5, p. 502.
[95] Ibid., n. 101, p. 720.
[96] Ibid., n. 11, p. 514-515.
[97] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 900.
[98] Valdés, *Instruction Children,* OC, 928-929.
[99] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 46, p.584.
[100] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 412.
[101] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 3, p. 500; ibid., n. 102, p. 723.
[102] Ibid., n.70, p. 635.
[103] Carrasco also associates "the faith . . . through which we become participants of the benefits of Christ" with "the total confidence on his promises, as the Gospel proclaims" (1880, 110).
[104] E.g. Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 101, p. 719; *Instruction Children,* OC, 929.

difficulty to believe, doubts about God's love because of adversities,[105] and doubts about personal faith,[106] the bottom line, the central resource, and the pivotal point was faith in God having executed his justice on Christ on the Cross for the individual's benefit. Distinguishing what Valdés called "human faith of false Christians" from "Christian faith," he wrote:

> Human faith makes false Christians believe the story of Christ, believing [in it] as an opinion, through human agency, and as information, but they do not believe the promise in Christ. They do not believe that in Christ they have been punished, and that they are reconciled with God (. . . .) The Christian faith makes true Christians believe, not only the story of Christ, but also the promise of God in Christ and through Christ, accepting the grace that the gospel offers them, counting themselves as just and as reconciled with God in Christ and through Christ. And they apply themselves to imitate Christ, desirous to comprehend that perfection in which they are comprehended through their incorporation in Christ[107]

Christ and the satisfaction of the cross constitute "the foundation of Christianity itself, [that is,] of the Christian issue."[108] God's knowledge, love, and hope flow from that faith in Christ, as well as other things, such as "taking thought on what to eat,"[109] dependence on other people,[110] or the understanding of providence, or mortification. As I stated previously and is evident here, interconnectedness is a general characteristic of Valdés' thought, and justification by faith is its reiterated foundation. In light of Valdés' use of Luther in his *Dialogue*, it is significant what he said to Giulia: "You will be Christian inasmuch as you will know [how] to trust in Christ, since to be a Christian person means to be just, and none can be just but through faith, for the just lives by faith."[111]

Faith, Knowledge of God, and Kindred Terms

Valdés' concept of faith eminently stresses the dimension of its God-given revelation and knowledge. Significantly, Valdés' discussions and emphasis on faith are not focused on eternal destiny but on personal experience in this life; subsequently, that experience constitutes a certainty for eternity. All human exercises and prayers are defective, only becoming true knowledge of God when inspiration or revelation by the Spirit takes place. According to Valdés' tendency to universal and interconnected principles, he wrote, "Everything that is done, known, and understood in this life is

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[105] Regarding doubts on personal sustenance linked to faith in Christ's satisfaction cf. Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 14, p. 520.

[106] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 103, p. 724-726.

[107] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 465-466.

[108] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 102, p. 721. Also, the Christian faith is "the acceptance of this grace of the Gospel, of this remission of sins . . . reconciliation with God through the justice of God executed in Christ" (*Instruction Children,* OC, 929).

[109] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 411.

[110] Ibid., 412.

[111] Ibid.

either through natural instinct, experience, and science, or through divine inspiration and revelation.[112] Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to Valdés' difference between dead and living faith,[113] but the variety of Valdés' terms portrays a much richer picture. On the other hand, Nieto focuses his research on "knowledge and experience," but this God-given element, distinctive of Valdés, needs to be depicted with its mystical overtones and within Valdés' soteriological scheme and God's kingdom.

Living faith, as Valdés identifies it, is not only a matter of personal commitment but also of revelation. Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to living faith as "full confidence in the fulfillment of divine promises," as against a mere "intellectual conviction."[114] Beyond a personal self-persuasion, however, Valdés refers to "that faith which lives in the soul, gained not with self-energies or with human devices, but through the grace of God, with supernatural light."[115] Faith, therefore, was something closely attached to Valdés' concept of the knowledge of God, which could be attained deficiently through man's agency, or effectually "through God's special favor, when God, to him who is in his kingdom, makes him feel and see his presence."[116]

True faith, therefore, includes a conscious subjective element, which is expressed with different terms and connotations. Two of those expressions and connotations are "tasting and feeling." In the *Alphabet*, which fully resembles the *Dialogue*, the need is to go from understanding to "tasting and feeling." [117] Through divine inspiration, "those who truly believe that God has punished in Christ the sins of all men," feel a peace of conscience and hence have "knowledge of this remission,"[118] something which contains "heterodox" implications, as Firpo properly states.[119] There is a particular happiness coming from having "seen the presence of God," which is impossible to communicate to those who have not "tasted it."[120] Those who have "tasted and seen the presence of God" are certain of their resurrection, different even from those who might find assurance only in Scripture. In that latter case, however, without "tasting and seeing," the person "does not yet understand well what the benefit (. . .) through Jesus Christ consists of."[121]

Another parallel word to tasting and feeling is "assurance,"[122] or "confirmation." Once again, it is really surprising that Nieto, who defends an Alcaracian view of Valdés would speak of "this assurance and conviction of the work of regeneration as the clarification of the mind,"[123] depriving Valdés' teachings of his emphasis on the Spirit's intervention and subjective experience. Conversely, Valdés states that "the matter of

[112] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 102, p. 67, p. 629.
[113] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 177.
[114] Ibid., 114, 177.
[115] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 411.
[116] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 70.
[117] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 409. Also, "Charity is fruit of faith." Ibid.
[118] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 46-47.
[119] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados,* 96.
[120] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 117.
[121] Ibid., 85.
[122] Sp. Certificación
[123] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés,* 252.

being in the kingdom of God does not consist of an opinion or an external appearance but of an internal certainty and feeling."[124] The individual can "be assured of his calling" as being from God when he "feels" his justification by faith.[125] Regarding feeling, there is a "tasting and feeling" that Valdés considered as a sign of immaturity or even carnality, i.e. some divine impulses, desires, tears, and insights. These things, however, are enjoyed by "everybody who [just] comes to be incorporated" into Christ. These feelings, moreover, "assure the individual that he is incorporated in Christ," and this assurance is important.[126]

The subjective consciousness of faith is a central aspect of Valdés' spirituality. Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to this as a "psychological climate" in Valdés, because the Christian's "selfless love finds its base in the fact that Christ has won all that he could claim, particularly justification and glorification."[127] Domingo de Sta. Teresa also says that, according to Valdés, "the soul should exercise itself in faith-trust and hope, through which it attracts the grace of God, and walk in optimism."[128] However, the reference to any profession of faith "attracting" the grace of God is clearly questionable in Valdés. He always stressed, underlined, and reiterated the sovereign prerogative of grace. On the other hand, beyond the fundamental and effectual character of the certainty of God's gracious intervention, Valdés' assurance acquired a central, theological, and soteriological significance with a much greater transcendence than a mere "optimism." This assurance cannot be understood or communicated except by and to "those who feel it, feeling within themselves the peace with God, the liberation from the law, the union with God, which is through love (. . .) all very similar to that which a loving and obedient son has for his father."[129] Assurance has an effect on the individual's "resolution:" "to discard the world and himself and on the mortification with which that resolution is maintained."[130] Assurance proceeds from the Holy Spirit, assuring the individual both that he is a child of God and will be heir of God's inheritance."[131] The divine origin of assurance brings "a most great satisfaction," considering that the individual has come to piety, not through his own imagination, but through God's calling."[132]

Valdés also considers the effectual transformation of the individual as an assurance of true faith. One's ability to discern between what he was in Adam and what is in Christ, or the capacity to feel God's absence after knowing his presence within himself, certifies "his election, his calling, and his predestination."[133] Assurance is a necessity for man, whose heart is "so unbelieving regarding God's love for him and so

[124] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 130.
[125] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 28, p. 548.
[126] Ibid., n.100, p. 717-718.
[127] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 193
[128] Ibid., 114-115.
[129] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 132.
[130] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 28, p. 458.
[131] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 132; Also, *Considerations,* OC, n. 28, p. 549.
[132] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 31.
[133] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 42, p. 577. Cf. also, *Com. Matthew*, 226.

hard to love God."[134] God's children, "seeing in themselves that they have recovered Christ's image in their disposition, are certain that they will acquire Christ's image also in their bodies" in the resurrection.[135] The abhorrence of "corporal, human, worldly things," even if it is not in a complete refusal, is an "experience of mortification, confirming that the person is in the Christian truth."[136]

Assurance is not only an objective ingredient of inspired faith; it is a subjective necessity; it is the source and cause to love God. In fact, Valdés states that "almost the whole Christian issue" consists of understanding assurance.[137] A person who doubts cannot love God, since "they are uncertain of having obtained eternal life through Christ;"[138] consequently, he would be unable to do anything out of love for God.[139] Contrarily, Valdés states, "If a man believes the gospel, regardless of how great a sinner he could be, it is impossible that he would doubt the grace of God or fear to be punished for his sins."[140] Valdés explicitly opposes and counts as "outside God's kingdom" those who sanction doubting and fearing.

This personal and subjective certainty is evidently traceable to the times of the *Alumbrados*, something which not everybody around Valdés shared. On one hand, it seems to echo the accusation against Alcaraz, concerning the possibility of the individual's certainty to be in grace or not.[141] In Naples, on the other hand, Valdés noted that others preferred to say that this confirmation was external, "through external gifts" and tokens from God rather than internal. Even though he said that he would not quarrel about it,[142] this difference confirms that Valdés' circle and friends in Naples shared a common interest and fervency, though not necessarily the same convictions. This "assurance" could well be a particular Valdessian contribution to the circle.

In addition to knowledge, feeling, tasting, and assurance, there is another word attached to faith: Experience. Valdés stated that "man is never satisfied, firm, and constant in the Christian faith, till he has in himself some experience of that which he believes."[143] When there is experience, no man is capable to move the individual from his faith. One's mortification and vivification, for instance, constitute "a most efficacious experience with which our faith is confirmed, since only those who believe and know themselves to be just in Christ have mortification and vivification."[144] Experience is also referred to in Valdés' treatise "*Della Giustificazione per la fede e delle buone opere*." He stated,

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[134] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 108.
[135] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 306.
[136] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.103, p. 725.
[137] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 895.
[138] Ibid., 899.
[139] Ibid., 902-903.
[140] Ibid., 900.
[141] Inquisición, AHN, *Trial Alcaraz,* fol, 31r, 56r, 126r, et al.
[142] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 5; Cons, *Considerations,* OC, n.102, p. 722.
[143] Ibid., 721.
[144] Ibid., 722.

> When [faith] is sowed by the Holy Spirit, it grows and produces a marvelous fruit so that we might know through experience that there is nothing in this world more precious or desirable; and it is truthfully said that the Christian issue does not consist of science but of experience.[145]

Valdés portrayed experience as the natural consequence of inspired faith, clearly described as such in *Considerations*.[146]

The variety of terms attached to God's given faith and its connection with God's revelation is a cardinal characteristic of Valdés' spirituality. This was already discussed, regarding Valdés' understanding of man's knowledge of God.[147] This variety of terms, as he himself confessed, revealed Valdés' struggle to define the actual spiritual experience and transformation of the individual as he was incorporated into Christ, considering all its different connotations and consequences. One difficulty in both Nieto and Otto in their discussion of Valdés' thought is that their starting point, "knowledge or experience," gets entangled as they consider inspired faith, illumination, and other terms which clearly intersect and coincide with experience. Those different terms in Valdés endeavor to portray the personal subjective event, God immediately opening or furthering the spiritual dimension of God's knowledge in man, including its different aspects: faith, revelation, inspiration, illumination, possession, which constitute experience.[148] Considering Valdés' own experience, and the weight of experience on his convictions, it may well be that Valdés' discussions sought a theological and pastoral way to explain what he personally experienced.

In addition to the foundational aspect of faith and its attachment to justification, Valdés also emphasized the efficacy of faith in a broader sense. He stated that "faith is so efficacious that it obtains everything it wants from God."[149] In fact, in reference to the Syrophoenician woman, Valdés comments that her true faith, which was always attached to humility, "forced" Christ to heal her daughter.[150] Interestingly, Valdés interpreted her faith and her prayers as "inspired and not taught," imposing again his convictions as a hermeneutical principle.

Authenticity and Casuistry of Faith

The frequency and emphasis with which faith is discussed reflects the importance of faith in Valdés' thought. Whereas Alcaraz was accused of a particular claim concerning the teaching of the love of God, Valdés, still connected with the love of God, focuses on faith. And more than unbelief versus belief, Valdés distinguishes human faith from inspired faith. His distinctions reveal both his personal emphasis and his conflict toward his contemporary Christianity.

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[145] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 888.
[146] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 99, p. 716-17.
[147] Chapter 6, section "Theological foundations."
[148] Otto recognizes this interconnectedness (*Juan de Valdés,* 1989, 92); however he still endeavors to distinguish and correlate knowledge and experience as "the consumation of living faith."
[149] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 281.
[150] Ibid., 294.

One of Valdés' emphases is the deficiency of faith through human instrumentality or persuasion. It is a faith that amounts only to "opinion," like people do "in human things."[151] Interestingly, this taught faith cannot overcome the internal struggle that precedes believing in the gospel. Furthermore, human faith never grows, is prone to doubt,[152] and decreases when tempted.[153] Contrarily and idealistically, revealed faith has no struggle, it is "solid and firm;" and when tempted by men or one's imaginations, it grows.[154]

Particularly in relationship to his own environment, Valdés referred to human faith as the cause of fear which produces superstitions and "many other false things." [155] These superstitions and false things are undoubtedly connected to those ceremonies and ritualism that the *Converso Alumbrados* resented and could sympathize with Erasmus' tenets. Significantly, however, Valdés goes further than discarding ceremonies and ritualism; he actually states that such a faith, which is human, "mixed with false and feigned things," is not Christian.[156]

Valdés particularly confronts human faith with the impossibility to accept its foundational content: the vicarious death of Christ.[157] The issue is not to believe "that God is most omnipotent and just, [or] that Christ is most innocent and pure from all sin, (. . .) that Christ suffered because of the will of God;" this can be "easily" accepted through the reading of Scripture. That faith is still human and deficient, according to Valdés. It is also humanly possible, but insufficient, to believe "that Christ satisfied [the guilt] of original sin (. . .) [i.e.] that they are forgiven of that which they realize no personal guilt."[158] The problem particularly is regarding that which "Holy Scripture affirms," "that Christ satisfied God for the sins that everyone of them commits."[159] In other words, these who have a human and deficient faith "resolve with themselves to restrict the benefit of Christ only to original sin (. . .) as if Christ said, 'I have satisfied for the sins of all of you, but as long as you satisfy for your own.'" Valdés considered that limitation as an insult to Christ; "[they] do not know Christ."[160] Significantly in relationship with his environment, Valdés reasoned the difficulty to believe in Christ's full atonement on the grounds that "it can bring some harm" upon those who believe it.[161]

Another aspect of true faith, as Domingo de Sta. Teresa well observes, is that true faith must inexorably be accompanied with works.[162] These woks, however, have

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[151] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 67, p. 630.
[152] Ibid., n.102, p. 722.
[153] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 292.
[154] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 29, p. 549 ; ibid., n. 67, p. 630 ; ibid., n.102, p. 722; *Com. Matthew*, 292.
[155] Ibid., n. 101, p. 719; n.10, p.513.
[156] Ibid. n. 10, p. 513.
[157] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 244.
[158] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 99, p. 715.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Sp. "Les puede resultar algún daño" (Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 14, p. 519).
[162] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 186-187.

not to do with ceremonies or deeds of mercy by themselves. Valdés explicitly states, "I identify works of faith with those which give testimony of faith, being unable to feign them, such as meekness, humility, obedience, and Christian charity, which never exist unless there is true Christian faith."[163] This definition perfectly complies with Valdés' internal spirituality and understanding of meritless works, and it has nothing in favor of double justification. Furthermore, its coincidence with his *Dialogue* is remarkable, once again, vindicating his authorship of it.[164]

A significant aspect of the Valdessian concept of faith is that, even though it is sovereignly given, it is more evident and even recommended when it comes after struggling with it. A faith that has not encountered difficulty is under suspicion of being merely human, coming from superstition. It can be easily deceived. It can "retain many errors as the primitive church experienced with those who converted from Judaism."[165] Struggling to believe, conversely, is associated with the intervention of the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit casting out false things and strengthening the true ones. The faith that comes after struggling only believes "that which the Holy Spirit teaches him;" and therefore, "is free from all false opinion."[166] This conviction of Valdés, which might appear bias, heightens the critical experience of entering the kingdom, and, once again, it could be an indication of the weight of Valdés' own "conversion" experience on his thought.

Describing the person who is approaching the entrance to God's kingdom, Valdés refers to the "imperfect," a term which echoes Alcaraz's teaching. God seems to give faith in different measures,[167] and there is a marked difference between the faith of imperfect Christians and a "living and entire" inspiration or revelation. Only when this "revelation, inspiration, and internal feeling" is "living and entire," the person is actually a child of God, and faith brings charity and hope with it.[168] Imperfect Christians always need more proofs about their virtue or strength of faith. [169] They seek "the certainty of love, praising it and approving it;" however, "they are not yet ready to feel fully the strength and efficaciousness of the gospel."[170] To him who doubts, properly of him who is approaching the entrance to God's kingdom, Valdés advices continual prayer, "asking God that he would give him faith, and that he [God] would increase it till it be sufficient for the acceptance of the gospel, which delivers the individual from

[163] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 145. "he who is certain and firm on that God has prepared a place for him in the life hereafter endeavors to live in this present life with the purity, justice, and holiness, with which he will live in eternity, and whoever has not this endeavor gives testimony of himself that he has not certification" of his faith (ibid., 380).

[164] DDC, OC, 36.

[165] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 10, p. 513 ; ibid., n.29, p. 549.

[166] Ibid., n. 10, p. 513.

[167] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 244.

[168] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 29, p. 549.

[169] Ibid., n. 116, p. 770.

[170] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 895.

fear and doubt."[171] These difficulties, therefore, belong to those who have not yet entered the kingdom.

Other times, according to Valdés, true Christians are portrayed as vulnerable to "infirmities" of faith. On one hand Valdés refers to the sin of distrusting God's promises and the temptation to doubt. Distrusting God's promises is taken as tempting God.[172] More particularly, distrust is related to God's promises, omnipotence, and providence,[173] distinctive issues of him who is incorporated into Christ. However, in his last writing, doubt is also taken as a sign of "weakness and infirmity" in those who have experienced true faith.

> Those who doubt should not be taken as infidels, even though doubt might refer to the things of faith. They should be taken as weak and sick, and they should heartily ask God for him to make them feel deeply the benefit of Christ within their disposition, so that as faith increases, they might abandon weakness and infirmity, and consequently doubt.[174]

Once again, the ideal message of Valdés concerning inspired faith has to occasionally concede to a lower experience of faith.

Significantly, whereas inspired faith appeared to cast out all doubts, these infirmities can even be positively considered in those who have entered the kingdom. In this aspect, Valdés appears to fall into inconsistencies, which could only be understood as fluctuations in complex subjects or fruit of his compliant personality as we previously referred to. Regarding the true Christian, it is even "suspicious" when someone never doubts.[175] If the true Christian's "piety and justification were not a work of Holy Spirit, the individual would not be solicited to such imaginations [of doubt]."[176] Valdés points to saints of times past and their crisis of faith as examples that the true Christian's weakness proceeds from his hard struggle.[177] In those who have received the Spirit, as they live according to the Spirit, "when they seek faith with more determination, they find more difficult to believe, trust, and love."[178] They are fighting against their own self. The inclination to distrust and unbelief "is not felt except by those who by God's favor intend to forsake it."[179]

Valdés expressed a similar argument in relationship to two other issues: death and shame of the gospel. Regarding the first one, death tries the faith of true Christians. Among those who are alien from piety, some people fear death while others don't, according to their "daring" arguments. Conversely, among the pious people, some fear death "because they are neither totally confirmed in piety nor (. . .) assured of the justice

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[171] Ibid., 903.
[172] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 96, p. 654 ; *Com. Matthew*, 48.
[173] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 76, p. 655; ibid., n. 116, p. 767f.
[174] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 531.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 43. p. 579 ; ibid., n. 103, p. 724.
[177] Ibid., n. 35, p. 561.
[178] Ibid., n. 77, p. 658.
[179] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 277-278.

through which one obtains life eternal."[180] Other pious ones fear it merely because of natural instinct. But thirdly, some fear death because they are conscious that it is a punishment for Adam's sin. This fear to suffer punishment is a sign of "piety, justice, and holiness."[181] Since his *Commentary on Psalms* (c. 1537), Valdés wrote, "the more spiritual a person is, the more he will take death as an enemy;" and typical of Valdés' identification of Christ with the true Christian, he adds, "Christ certainly felt this enmity (. . .) he had such an anguish and agony that he sweated drops of blood."[182]

Regarding the "shame of the gospel,"[183] Valdés used also a similar, subjective argument. This "shame" is not felt by those who do not live according to the gospel or by those who do not preach it purely. These who live and purely preach it are the ones who know that the gospel is a shameful thing; however, they despise the world's esteem and preach it.[184] In other words, "to feel the shame of the gospel is perfection; to be ashamed of the gospel is imperfection; and to despise the gospel is impiety."[185]

Love in its Different Aspects

The love of God, according to Valdés, is more than just a goal for every Christian. Domingo de Sta. Teresa describes Valdés' concept of love as "the moral energy through which faith develops itself in works of holiness."[186] On the other hand, Domingo de Sta. Teresa thinks that "pure love" begins in the *Alphabet* and "admits growing" away from self-interest until the people "become children." He specifies that Valdés "does not seem to absolutely condemn mercenary love, but considers it as imperfect, expressing the need to outgrow it." [187] Conversely, the love of God particularly expressed in Valdés' *Commentary on Matthew* regarding the great commandment, can be clearly traced back to his *Dialogue* in its central role for the Christian. Furthermore, Valdés' concept of love is another gift from God attached to the individual's experience as he enters God's kingdom and grows in it. It is interconnected with that knowledge and faith which the Spirit inspires in those who accept Valdés' concept of the gospel. Again, Domingo de Sta. Teresa's description perhaps obviates the categorical change of the individual and the connotation of love in that change. The love-language of Valdés includes expressions like "union with God," "dwelling in God and God dwelling in the individual's heart," and even "deification," which links Valdés' emphasis with his days among the *Alumbrados*, Alcaraz, and indirectly with Porete.

Similar to the environment of the *Alumbrados*, and more particularly to Alcaraz's words, Valdés' concept of love is described in terms of affection and in

[180] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 45, p. 581.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 287.
[183] I.e. the shame which the individual may feel as he preaches the gospel.
[184] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 10.
[185] Ibid., 180.
[186] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 178.
[187] Ibid., 192.

contrast with self-interest. Charity is described as a "loving affection,"[188] a "fondness with affections,"[189] i.e. "the fondness[190] with which man believes, trusts, and waits. To further define it, Valdés did not contrast it to hatred but to self-love. The formulation is very similar to Valdés' background, e.g., Cazalla's *Lumbre del Alma*: the human heart "is of such a nature that "it either loves God and all things through God or it loves self and all things through self."[191] Consequently,

> The main thing that God wants from man is love, wanting that love be without any trace of self interest, [but] most clean and perfect. And it is so when man sets all his love and fondness in God, holding nothing in his heart, in his soul, and in his mind except God, only delighting in him, having him always printed in his memory, and never withdrawing him from it [i.e. his mind].[192]

Love is intense, fully committed, and only because of God himself, reacting against the focus on God's recompenses.[193] This high ideal and radical commitment is also clearly traceable to the *Alumbrado* environment. Valdés also said that "God's habitation is every pious Christian's heart, where God manifests the glory of his divinity,"[194] which echoes the accusation against Alcaraz regarding "God being his heart."[195]

Valdés' particular addition to Alcaraz is that love is described in terms of justification by faith and entrance in the kingdom. Love can only be in the individual through the intervention of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit that "the individual receives and obtains when he believes."[196] Interestingly, the "greatest impediment" to love God is not that individuals love the world or sin; it is explicitly the people's consciousness of having offended God.[197] This is overcome when the individual receives the spiritual knowledge that "God put on Christ the sins of all men, punishing all of them in him," and offering a general pardon to all men.[198] Once the person has believed through God's intervention and has received the Spirit, the fervency of his love will depend on his spiritual growth and the power of the Spirit in him.[199] The true Christian's love will depend on his knowledge of God: "if knowledge is perfect, love will be entire and perfect, and union will be entire and perfect."[200] I understand that Domingo de Sta. Teresa's appreciation, therefore, is not fully accurate, since it displaces Valdés' emphasis, i.e. the categorical change of inspired knowledge and regeneration.

In Valdés' thought, the love of God constituted another distinction between those who are in Adam and those who are in Christ. Valdés was clear: "man cannot love

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[188] Also in reference to the exercise of the individual's faith (Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 328).
[189] Sp. Entrañable afición (Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 73, p. 644.
[190] Sp. afición.
[191] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 396.
[192] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 416.
[193] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 238; *Com. Matthew*, 417.
[194] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 28.
[195] Inquisition, AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fol. 31r.
[196] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 238.
[197] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 416.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 238.
[200] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 73, p. 643.

God (. . .) if he is not regenerated through Holy Spirit, because, as he naturally loves himself as his first love, he comes to love God through himself, insulting God notoriously."[201] Like in other aspects, we should notice that Valdés is not contrasting the true Christian to the wicked but to him who loves God on a human level, polarizing it to the point of considering it a notorious insult to God. Conversely, the "true way" to love God, according to Valdés, is "to accept the grace of the gospel and afterwards love, serve, and work because God deserves to be loved."[202] Once the person has accepted "the grace of the gospel," he acquires "the duty to persuade himself to love God, and with this persuasion [he should] begin to walk towards him, pleading to God that he will send his Holy Spirit to be his guide." The beginning, Valdés states explicitly, "is through the experience (. . . .) through faith and knowledge."[203] Like incorporation or faith, growing love takes place in a new and high plateau, being a child of God. Once the individual begins to know, love, and be united with God, he should never consider himself "deprived of that knowledge (. . .) love, and union."[204] It is not, therefore, a mere growth from self-interest unto pure love; it has a marked and categorical beginning.

Significantly, according to Valdés' positive spirituality, the desire to love God emerges not from threats or exhortations. It emerges from the spiritual knowledge and certainty of the love with which God has loved the individual.[205] Love for God, emerging from Christ's sacrifice for the person's benefit, is the ground of true obedience, and not the contemplation or examination of sins.[206] Love constitutes the individual's holiness and not his works or asceticism: "I count as certain, that if you began to fall in love for God, you would surpass in holiness many saints who are in heaven."[207] Parallel to the *Dialogue*, to love God above all things and the neighbor like oneself is what perfection consists of.[208] When someone loves God, the individual naturally fulfills the law without paying attention to it.[209] In view of Valdés' background, the reading of Talavera's *Brief Doctrine*, or the ritualistic minuteness of the trial against Alcaraz, manifest this perspective of love as certainly alternative. In view of Spanish Erasmianism, even though Valdés coincided with its internal, non-ceremonial emphasis, Valdés' God-given, spiritual emphasis extends beyond the expressions of men like Alonso de Virués, and much more his Erasmian circle of friends in Alcalá, e.g., Juan de Vergara.

[201] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 417.
[202] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 418.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 73, p. 644.
[205] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 151.
[206] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 395.
[207] Ibid., 389.
[208] Ibid., 396. Cf. DDC, 57-58.
[209] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 262.

Love as Union with God

Clearly emerging from the search for a genuine spirituality that existed around the *Alumbrado* conflict, in addition to "experience" or "love of God," Valdés used the concept of "union with God," and even "deification." These words could be linked with Porete through Alcaraz, but, in any case, Valdés provides his own definition, spirituality, and emphasis. That is particularly evident with expressions such as "union with God" and "deification;" they could indicate a particular source, like Porete, but they need to be analyzed through Valdés' own writings.

Union with God is an attached consequence of inspired faith and revealed knowledge.[210] As with faith or knowledge, there are those who love God only through human instrumentality, and these are not united with God. Conversely, "those who love God, because God himself wants to be loved by them, are "another kind of men."[211] According to Valdés' interconnection of virtues, whoever has faith, hope, and charity is united with God, "believing, hoping, and loving."**[212]**

Union with God is identified with being made "a same spirit with God;" however, that has nothing to do with God's spiritual essence but with affinity, commitment, and relationship. Valdés writes, "He who draws close to God and unites himself with him, makes himself a same spirit with God, inasmuch as God dwells in him and he dwells in God."[213] Valdés defends God dwelling in the individual as something he accepts through faith from Scripture[214] and something that "can be felt."[215] Different from an abstract, far conviction, this union is "true and efficacious between man and God," "always remembering God" and having him constantly in one's mind.[216]

Parallel with faith and incorporation, Valdés speaks of several effects of the individual's union with God. These become criteria to evaluate the truthfulness of a supposed union with God. Echoing Alcaraz and, indirectly, Porete, the effect of union with God is the acceptance of God's particular providence,[217] the commitment to the will of God, discarding one's own will,[218] and the affinity with those who are in the same union.[219] To see these effects in oneself can be taken as a "sign" or "assurance" of being united with God. Conversely, those who are not content with God's providence are not "in any way united with God or love" him.[220]

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[210] "Union with God" is particularly discussed in *Consideration* n. 73.

[211] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 72, p. 643. Remember "ceased to be men" regarding incorporation and regeneration.

[212] Ibid., n. 70, p. 637.

[213] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 117.

[214] In ref. to Juan, "aquel que ama a Dios, mora en Dios y Dios mora en él." I Jn.

[215] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 73, p. 646.

[216] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 143.

[217] Ibid., 143, 152 (in reference to "all things work together for good …" Ro 8).

[218] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 73, p. 646.

[219] Ibid., n. 73, p. 646.

[220] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 152.

As an example of a somewhat radical offshoot of Valdés' thought, he refers to another effect of union with God: "Man resolves himself not to be loved except through the love of God, feeling annoyance for any love that is professed for what he is of himself."[221] This particular emphasis underlines Valdés' anthropology and dependence on God. Furthermore, even though union with God is "effectual," "not even with this [effect]" can the individual take for granted that he dwells in God;" it belongs to him, as a person who seeks piety, to seek a deeper knowledge and, consequently, a deeper love, all through God's generosity.[222]

Regarding deification, Valdés clearly uses the term as synonymous with union with God in terms of affection and affinity. First of all, "deified" should be understood on the basis that he is "incorporated in Christ." Secondly, echoing Alcaraz and Porete, Valdés' deification includes an increasing sense of self-unworthiness; the more an individual is united with God, "in other words, deified, the more he counts himself (. . .) low and vile and despised."[223] This aspect of love-union and "deification" in Valdés is highly significant. On the surface, it could resemble the humility of Luther's statement of the individual being *simul iustus et peccator.* However, reading Porete and Alcaraz, it becomes clear that Valdés' humility is to be understood with the connotation of that perfection that was debated among the *Alumbrados* and not with Luther's perspective.

Loving other Christians and Self

In conformity to his *Converso* lineage, fraternal love is a fundamental element of Valdés' spirituality. It was underlined in his *Dialogue*; and in Valdés' Neapolitan writings, this "sign" of Christians is restated (which was a difference from Talavera's or Cisneros's initial instructions): "True Christians are distinguished from all men on the basis that they love one another with a love which is very different from other loves, in such a way that love is a sign of the Christian." [224]

Valdés' concept of love is directed to all; however, it acquires a very significant emphasis when directed to other true Christians. To love all men, regardless of their "state, law, or condition (. . .) even though they be enemies," corresponds to the "manners" of God's children.[225] On the other hand, "the brother has to be set before the neighbor."[226] This is particularly significant due to Valdés' definition of church and true Christian. The Christian duty, a technical phrase of Valdés, consists of loving "those who are Christians" in the way Christ loved us, postponing self-"interests, comforts, and satisfactions" for fellow Christians,[227] i.e. "for those who love God."[228] His arguments become rather theological: "We should only have to do it to those who are disciples of

[221] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 73, p. 646.
[222] Ibid., p. 646-647.
[223] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 275.
[224] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 929. Also, *Alphabet,* OC, 372-373; *Questions and Answers,* OC, 810.
[225] Valdés, *Com. Matthew,* 92.
[226] Valdés, *Alphabet,* 477 in reference to Galatians 6 "*autem ad domesticos fidei*."
[227] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 260-261.
[228] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 24, p. 541.

Christ, in such a way that we are not moved by the duty of human generation, but by that of Christian regeneration."[229] According to his understanding of "ceasing being just a man," Valdés writes,

> The true Christian, who has been regenerated in Christ, has ceased being a child of Adam and he is a child of God (. . .) and focuses all his love and (. . .) fondness, which he previously had towards his parents, brothers, and relatives, on those whom he knows to be in the same regeneration (. . .) because the link of Christian regeneration is stronger than that of human generation.[230]

This is even a criterion for whether one has "entered in the Christian regeneration" or not. Valdés stresses the relationship among the regenerated to the point that unwillingness to forgive one's brothers and sisters means that "forgiveness is revoked [by God] to them (. . .) giving testimony of themselves that they do not think of themselves as forgiven, that they do not believe the general pardon of Christ."[231]

As it was significant in his *Dialogue* regarding honoring parents and their material needs, it is significant that Valdés refers specifically to loving brothers and sisters regarding their material needs. Love needs to include "service" in the things of "this present life,"[232] in "external and corporal things, humbling oneself to any vile service."[233] Betraying perhaps the noble status of his audience, Valdés directly expresses that Christ's parables in Mt. 25 are directed "to persuade those who have riches of this world, that they might serve and provide for the needs of those who are his members, persuading themselves, as it truthfully is, that they are not serving themselves but him in them."[234] Through this preference and emphasis, Valdés, once again, underlines the distinction between those who are true Christians and those who are not.

In view of his background and particularly of Erasmus, as it was in his *Dialogue*, Valdés explicitly expresses his disagreement with *charitas bene ordinate incipit a se ipso* in his Neapolitan writings. He labeled this saying as "human wisdom" and contrary to "taking upon oneself one's his own cross."[235] Valdés argued that Paul's love, desiring to be anathema for the sake of his own countryman, "did not began with himself but was ordered according to the Holy Spirit; it began in God and desired that which (. . .) would be more glorifying to God and would (. . .) magnify more the glory of God."[236] "Love beginning with oneself," Valdés stated, was "popularly taken as divine" but was totally human.[237]

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[229] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 202.
[230] Ibid., 251. Also strengthened in ibid., 472.
[231] Ibid., 346.
[232] Ibid., 477.
[233] Ibid., 428.
[234] Ibid., 472.
[235] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 64, p. 625.
[236] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 156.
[237] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 92-93.

Mortification and Vivification

Along with faith and love, mortification and vivification are two cardinal concepts of Valdés' spirituality. Domingo de Sta. Teresa appropriately identifies mortification with the denial of the will more than behavior. He underlines Valdés' strong and continued asceticism of the will, which lasts throughout human life.[238] Parallel to faith and love, mortification clearly echoes Alcaraz's *Abandonment* and a mixture of Porete's deaths. Regarding vivification, its traces are different, since it flows particularly from the individual's identification with Christ, which is Pauline, but more akin to Erasmus and Luther.

Defining Mortification and Vivification

Even though Valdés' concept of mortification is applied to the entire individual's life, he still marked a categorical difference between those who are incorporated in Christ and those who are not. Mortification has a primary focus on human depravity, more particularly, on those affections and appetites which are out of control because of original sin.[239] Mortification, therefore, is the rendering of both immaterial desires (e.g., honor of the world, love of self) and physical desires as if they were dead. Carrasco is not very accurate when he differentiates Valdés' focus on the spirit versus "the Catholic tendency that locates evil in the flesh rather than the spirit."[240] As Carrasco recognizes, Valdés also referred to the physical "appetites" as enemies of the Christian. On the other hand, as Bataillon has indicated, there were different religious currents emphasizing the spiritual side of religious life. Therefore, Carrasco's parameters of Catholic versus Reformed are clearly inadequate to describe Valdés also in this regard.

Complying with Valdés' dependence on God, true mortification takes place through the agency of the Holy Spirit; "he is the one who mortifies" and not any human wisdom or effort.[241] Again against the backdrop of his religious environment, Valdés stated that even though human wisdom does "approve and teach" it, "there has never been nor will be any man who will reach it without Christian Spirit (. . .) [i.e.] without being incorporated."[242] Those who on their own initiative seek to stop loving the world and love God "work in vain;"[243] they suffer "difficulties, annoyances, and travails (. . .) never reaching what they intend,"[244] never reaching "full satisfaction."[245] If they achieve the mortification of one desire, another one revives;[246] the person "becomes

[238] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 116.
[239] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 445.
[240] Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan*, 120.
[241] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 56, 611. Cf. Also, ibid., n. 21, p. 534; ibid., n. 61, p. 689.
[242] Ibid., n. 47,. p. 587.
[243] Ibid., n. 23, p. 537.
[244] Ibid., p. 536.
[245] Ibid., n. 91, p. 691.
[246] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 10.

vicious and licentious, because appetites revive [in him] and become unbridled."[247] Conversely, when the Holy Spirit mortifies one's affections, his physical appetites are mortified as a consequence.[248] The individual loves without vulnerability and, therefore, casts out all fear.[249] The Spirit works along with the individual's incorporation, which "makes natural and acquired depravity die."[250] As the individual "is dead on the cross with Christ," he comes to abhor the world and himself, and this is the sign by which "man can know that he is a child of God."[251] This work of sanctification, therefore, comes as a result of justification; however, more than being "in agreement with the Reformed doctrine," as Carrasco defends,[252] Valdés rather called on Augustine as his antecedent.

Even though Valdés' foremost attention revolved around internal mortification, he occasionally seemed to defend a small degree of asceticism. Valdés exhorted "to mortify your external senses," in order "to vivify the internal ones."[253] If the individual suffers any discomfort or any shame, he is to rejoice, estimating himself as dead to the world and alive unto God.[254] However, internal mortification was most important. Echoing what Maria de Cazalla had learnt from Isabel de la Cruz, Valdés taught that sexual marriage relationships could mean no impediment for prayer or fasting as long as it was only physical, neither affecting "one's disposition" nor being the object of his affection.[255]

As it is with one's preparation before entering God's kingdom, personal initiative is not totally discarded in mortification. As long as they do not seek to influence God with their own efforts, those who "apply themselves to detach themselves from the world, rejecting its favors," will receive God's favors faster and more effectually, and will sooner "obtain the love of God entirely."[256]

Connected and subsequent to mortification, vivification is "the effect through which our incorporation in Christ's resurrection is known in this present life." It is also executed by the Holy Spirit, "regenerating us and causing us to love God and everything that belongs to God, and to love Christ and everything that belongs to Christ."[257] Compared with mortification, vivification was not derived from Alcaraz's teachings, as mortification was. Vivification appears more traceable to Saint Paul's writings, parallel though not dependent on Oropesa's teachings. Paulicism and internal virtue was greatly valued by *Conversos,* and this disposition might have been strengthened as Valdés encountered Erasmus' writings, Spanish Erasmianism, and also Luther.

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[247] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 31, p. 553.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid., n. 23, p. 536-537.
[250] Ibid., n. 84, p. 673-674.
[251] Ibid., n. 92, p. 694-695.
[252] Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan,* 121.
[253] Valdés, *Alphabet,* OC, 443.
[254] Valdés, *Com. Psalms,* 113.
[255] I Cor , 122.
[256] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 23, p. 537. Also corroboratd in ibid., n. 58, p. 616.
[257] Ibid., n. 83, p. 672.

Mortification for the Christian

Even though there is a categorical difference between whoever is in Adam and the one who is incorporated into Christ, as Domingo de Sta. Teresa quoted Valdés, mortification "lasts throughout all human life;" there will always be "something to mortify in oneself." [258] Mortification deals with the individual's "affections and appetites," gradually apprehending "that Christian perfection in which he is comprehended by his incorporation," which happened as he believed.[259] Contrary to those who are in the flesh, who "have their affections and appetites alive" in themselves, Valdés refers to the individual in the Spirit as him who has those affections and appetites "in part mortified" and is "continually mortifying them."[260] Significantly in view of Valdés' individual focus, he sums up Christian edification as consisting of "mortification and vivification."[261]

Valdés' concept of mortification presented a somewhat theological development in his writings. Initially, Valdés referred to mortification as "imperfect death" and vivification as "imperfect resurrection."[262] He looked into eternity as the time when the true Christian will experience a total absence of death and total experience of life. In *Questions and Answers*, however, Valdés considered an initial mortification as "mitigation," [263] while "mortification" constituted a virtue belonging to a more mature godliness. Mitigation denoted the rendering of one's affections and appetites as "dormant;" the individual was lord over them and they supposed no annoyance to him. Mitigation was brought by "the great transformation caused through Christian regeneration." Mortification, on the other hand, denoted the "death and defeat" of those affections and appetites through "Christian renovation." This more mature mortification was achieved after the individual had been "many times assailed but came out victoriously."[264]

Particularly regarding the incorporated Christian, there is a balance in mortification between his own responsibility and the Spirit's provision. The Christian needs to maintain his detachment from the world, which he had since he received the Spirit's inspired faith.[265] This includes his refusal to desire "more comfort for his body or more physical wellbeing than that which God is pleased to give him."[266] And if he feels tempted to comforts, it is not because he is not "resolved" to discard the world; it is that "he has not mortified his appetites" and needs to submit to God's particular providence regarding the circumstances of his life.[267]

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[258] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 445.
[259] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 57, p. 612. Also, "When the individual is incorporated in Christ through faith . . . he dies as well" (*Com. Psalms,* 11).
[260] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 125-126.
[261] Ibid., 280.
[262] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 157.
[263] Sp. "amortiguación."
[264] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 809-810.
[265] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 27, p. 456.
[266] Ibid., p. 456-457.
[267] Ibid., p. 457.

Another distinguishing trait of Valdés' spirituality is his positive motivation for mortification. Explicitly, threatening or fear is not the way; contrarily, assurance, certification of faith brings "mortification of all affections and … appetites" of the flesh.[268] Direct confrontation, like the exercise of generosity to combat covetousness, or fasting to combat gluttony, is useless. Valdés states that the mortification of sexual desires is reached in marriage sooner than in celibacy. Taking away the opportunity does not mortify desire; when the occasion returns, desire revives.[269] Conversely, the Christian should dominate his desires.[270] As a radical expression, he wrote, "If shame before the world or being a bad example before spiritual people would not refrain me, I would sometime go wild satisfying my appetites, having certain that in that way, I would mortify my desires quicker, and my desires dying, my appetites would die as well."[271] This outburst of Valdés seems to affect his ethical standards; however, these will be discussed later in this thesis.

Mortification, therefore, is not a matter of rigor or ascetic efforts, even though there is a moderation in that regards, as we previously noticed. For Valdés, "corporal transformation is vain when it is not grounded on the regeneration and renovation of one's disposition, in which men have no part, only God does."[272] The resources for mortification are found in the certainty of God's benefits for the individual. The memory of being called by God to eternal life causes the individual "to abhor all things that could impede this calling, and comes to seek and love all things that can keep him and grow.[273] As the individual feels himself forgiven by God, for instance, he is "lovingly constrained to forgive."[274] The memory of Christ crucified,[275] the certainty that God has punished one's sins in Christ, causes this "most singular effect in me: it mortifies the desires to sin (. . . .) it causes me to be fond of God and Christ in the greatest way."[276] The realization of God's benefits to man is a gift from God that humbles the individual.[277] God's gracious work in the individual, therefore, causes that fondness and love that "will make mortification easy and light."[278] Significantly, differing from Erasmus, instead of the exercise of virtue resulting in an easier Christian walk, the consciousness of God's gracious work is what makes mortification easier in Valdés.

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[268] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 175.
[269] Ibid., 136.
[270] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 447-448, 453.
[271] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 31, p. 554.
[272] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 241.
[273] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 56, p. 610-11.
[274] Com. Mt., 108.
[275] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 448.
[276] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 142.
[277] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 4. Mortification coming from knowledge of God: "The Holy Spirit calls mortification itself as wisdom . . . because it is so that all wisdom . . . is from knowing God and knowing Christ" (ibid., 64-65).
[278] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 441.

Mortification, the Will, and Self-love

As reverberations from Alcaraz's teachings, Valdés emphasized the mortification of the will and of self-love. This denial of the will basically included self-denial and humility. The Christian should maintain a close examination of everything he does, taking heed lest he deceives himself. There seems to be a constant watch for one's will; "the more you oppose your will, the more you mortify it."[279] This self-examination, however, did not confront the individual with an unreachable goal or manifest a depressing attitude. One can be positively conscious of his own mortification, feeling temptation but conquering it.[280]

Self-denial is particularly applied to religion, contrasting the saints of the world to the saints of God. External expressions of spirituality "may include pretense;" if that could be the case, refraining from them is "a great evidence of piety."[281] The "music with which God wants to be praised in the time of the gospel" is rather internal worship in spirit and truth.[282] Outwardly, Christians should conduct themselves "concealing their spiritual dignity (. . .) even though their intent is most different" than the rest of men.[283] The saints of the world "intend to publish their perfections."[284] They may have the appearance of humility, but it is only "hypocrisy"[285] of people "who are without Christian spirit and, therefore, without regeneration."[286] To seek a spiritual appearance should be "most abased and most buried" in Christians, it is "most contrary to the Christian and spiritual life."[287] These remarks clearly echo Alcaraz's austere spirituality in distinction to ostentatious, outward expressions.

Self-will had to be broken regarding any external religious exercise. Religion is vain as long as "the will is whole (i.e. not mortified)."[288] Without self-denial, "our fasting is not good;" contrarily, "the old man is alive", the flesh "lives and reigns in us," we hold "self-love" and hold the "idols of pride and arrogance." Without self denial, therefore, "in no way can we go (or get) to Christ."[289] Human will is our "domestic enemy," which often covers its sinfulness with "virtue and holiness."[290] These discussions clearly betray the legacy of Porete through Alcaraz's teachings, now developed and explained by Valdés.

Valdés' mortification of the will, even in religious things, naturally expresses itself in humility, fleeing both any outward ostentation of spirituality and a self-sufficiency. Clearly echoing Alcaraz's "way of humility," Valdés states, "Humility in

[279] Ibid., 441-442. Also ibid., 449.
[280] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 44, p. 579.
[281] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 252.
[282] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 182.
[283] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 52-53.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid., 99.
[286] Ibid., 100. Cf. *Com. Psalms*, 240.
[287] *Com. Matthew*, 99.
[288] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 440.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid., 441.

one's disposition is the most profitable thing for the Christian; contrarily, (. . .) ambition[291] (. . .) is the most malicious thing and that which excludes most the individual from Christ, making him a member of Satan all the more."[292] Humility is a central characteristic of Christ to be imitated.[293] Along with meekness and innocence, it is considered as a sign of "great mortification."[294] And, through the individual's incorporation in Christ, humility is an inexorable sign of regeneration.[295]

Valdés' stress on humility is again revealed as he understands Christ or Saint Paul. Through Christ's words, i.e. "I am meek and lowly of heart," Valdés understands that Christ was not only externally underestimated by people, but he "counts himself and esteems himself in his own being as a very low man, and very vile, and very much despised."[296] Likewise Valdés speaks of Saint Paul as "being united with God, and being incorporated in Christ, deified"[297] as he considered himself as an "untimely birth." (I Cor. 15:8). This paradox of the "lowest and vilest" referred to of those who are "more spiritual and perfect (. . .) more meek and humble,"[298] seem to echo Porete's soul brought to nothing, which having nothing has everything.[299] Valdés' fluctuation between certainty and self-abasement should be understood in this light. Valdés, reiterating the individual "feeling his election and calling," stated that the person is "closer, more entirely and perfect in regeneration (in reference to its growing aspect) as he considers himself to be farther from it."[300] This should be read over against "those who esteem themselves highly, glorying themselves in their works, [who] are neither called nor chosen of God (. . . .); God's calling and election extirpate all reminiscence of vain glory from the heart."[301]

Illustrating Valdés' indirect connection with Porete through Alcaraz, Valdés uses the term "annihilation." He exhorts the Christian to "despise and humiliate ourselves (. . .) so that through humility we might show the existing difference between the saints of the world and the saints of God."[302] God will exalt him who "according to his example [Christ's] (. . .) humbles himself and casts himself down to the ground, despising and annihilating himself, rejoicing to be despised and annihilated by men till he loses that vain arrogance which is attached to all men because of their natural depravity."[303] The term annihilation, once again, is borrowed by Valdés; however, more

[291] "Fondness of ambition" becomes a technical which refers to "every desire, thought, and diligence that man uses to heighten his condition, honor, reputation, and to keep himself in that which he has obtained" (Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 52, p. 603).
[292] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 52, p. 603.
[293] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 5.
[294] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 131; *Considerations,* OC, n. 52 p. 603.
[295] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 235.
[296] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 275.
[297] Notice that Valdés' "deification" is not "theosis" like Porete. In Valdés it refers to an internal disposition and attitude, not to God's nature.
[298] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 229.
[299] Porete, *Mirror,* ch. 34, p. 97.
[300] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 26, p. 546. Cf. *Alphabet*, OC, 373.
[301] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 218.Cf. Ibid., 243.
[302] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 428.
[303] Ibid., 428-429. Cf. Ibid., 228.

than the connotation of a soul brought to the cessation of the will, Valdés uses it in its rejection of vanity and worldly honor. These connotations could be considered as related to one another; however, there is a difference which illustrates the transformation of this concept from Porete through Alcaraz to Valdés, illustrating also Valdés' eclecticism.

God's Government in the Immediate: Christian Liberty and God's Particular Providence

Another central element of Valdés' spirituality, clearly traced to Alcaraz and the times of the *Alumbrados,* is God's government in the immediate life of the individual. Two elements are underlined in Valdés' view of the individual's activities and circumstances of life: the government and moving of the Spirit as opposed to religious regulations, and the meek acceptance of God's particular providence.

Valdés' Concept of Christian Liberty

Valdés' definition of *Christian liberty* is expressed in terms of the impulses through which the Spirit leads the individual. Domingo de Sta. Teresa speaks of Valdés' Christian liberty particularly in opposition to ceremonialism, referring to the *Alphabet*'s recommendation of not taking its guidelines "superstitiously and scrupulously, but with the disposition of freedom (. . .) without abiding by pre-determined hours or places."[304] Bataillon, furthermore, sees a "positive" connotation in Valdés, associating it with Luther; that is, Christian liberty is understood as "the immediate result of the agreement between God and the soul (. . .) [as] part (. . .) of the religious experience."[305] Selke also sees Valdés depending on Luther in regards to Christian liberty, particularly considering liberty in reference to one's conscience, free in spirit, not recognizing any other authority but God.[306] Firpo also connects the Christian's liberty with Luther and Alcaraz's ceremonies and "shackles."[307] However, as we have previously discussed, Isabel and Alcaraz's concepts clearly echo Porete's *Mirror,* which clearly anteceded and differed from Luther. Alcaraz's liberty from ceremonies was grounded on an internal perfection, with the added element of the general reluctance to them as somewhat unassimilated *Conversos*. Valdés evidently adopted some theological considerations from Luther regarding his concept of Christian liberty, i.e. its connection to the distinction between law and gospel; however, Valdés' connotation was a submission to the Spirit's impulses and an abandonment to the will of God, akin to Alcaraz and very different from Luther's freedom of conscience.

[304] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 115.
[305] Bataillon, DDB, 114.
[306] Selke, *Proceso Ortiz,* 317. Selke refers to *Alphabet*, OC, 170.
[307] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados,* 94-95.

One characteristic noted by Márquez is Valdés' theological reasoning, which differs from the rest of the so-called *Alumbrados*.[308] Regarding Christian liberty, Valdés added a particular theological argumentation. Whereas Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz defended Christian liberty as dispensing with regulations because of an internal maturity, Valdés defended Christian liberty on account of his understanding of the Old and New Testament: "Christian liberty consists of the abrogation of the law, which was totally abrogated by the coming of the Holy Spirit."[309] The government of the law kept the people in servitude, with threats and promises; conversely, the Spirit's government may occasionally coincide with the law or the duty of those who are regenerated, but the Spirit governs through his impulses in the individual's disposition.

Though Valdés' teaching is mostly positive, it is typically contrasted with that which he considers false religion. Accordingly, he outlines three kinds of individuals in light of Christian liberty. Among all who have the name of Christians, some are unaware of this liberty, "being in everything and for everything most superstitious, forcing and tying themselves[310] (. . .) living in miserable and hard servitude."[311] A second category includes those who hardly perceive Christian liberty, because they see it "through human spirit." These, "take all yoke off themselves and live licentiously," usually becoming "wicked and most vicious."[312] These also become "superstitious, and miserable." Typical of Valdés' classifications, these two categories are not progressive; they merely outline the negative possibilities. The third category, conversely, includes those who

> feel Christian liberty through the Holy Spirit (. . .) knowing that Christian liberty consists of (. . .) [i.e. the fact that] the Christian will not be punished for his evil nor will he be recompensed [with salvation] for his good living (. . . .) [These are] governed by Holy Spirit (. . .) know themselves free and exempt from the law (. . .) and on the other hand, find and recognize themselves as debtors of imitating Christ in their lives and customs, and because of this, they say with Saint Paul "*non omnia expediunt*."[313]

Valdés, therefore, distanced himself from a mere rejection of regulations; he protested against mere libertinism. His Christian liberty was that which rejoiced at being "in submission or under obligation,"[314] illustrated by a slave who serves his master out of love and not interest,[315] knowing the master's love for him. Through God's knowledge the individual is "more submissive and obedient, not as slaves but as freemen, not as

[308] I do not share his perspective of Valdés as "Theologian of the *Alumbrados*," because the *Alumbrados* did not constitute a movement, and, therefore, Valdés could not represent it. However, a different consideration would be to refer to Valdés as a theologian in view of the individuals who participated in the *Alumbrado* conflict, not representing them.

[309] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 36, p. 563.

[310] "Atados", this was Alcaraz's main protest, ceremonies as "shackles" or "bounds".

[311] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 36, 563.

[312] Ibid.

[313] Ibid., 563-564.

[314] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 256, 260.

[315] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 471-473.

mercenaries but as sons; of this consists Christian liberty."[316] Christian liberty, furthermore, focused on internal submission. Differing from the Corinthian disorders, Valdés estimated that "now, it is necessary to correct internal vice in Christian people, for they (. . .) keep themselves from external vices but allow to be conquered by internal ones."[317]

Christian liberty, in addition to being circumscribed to those who are regenerated, implied also a freedom from human authorities, which became particularly typical of Isabel de la Cruz: "being Children of God, they are ruled and governed by the Spirit of God," and other human governments become secondary.[318] This unmediated submission to God had also to do with doctrine: "the man who believes as he should needs neither doctrine nor external government, since he has faith within himself; and with it, he has the Holy Spirit, who teaches, rules, and governs him."[319] This liberty of conscience is what Bataillon and Selke link with Luther; but regarding Valdés, he had other influences that anteceded Luther. Particularly regarding the so-called *Alumbrados*, it is significant that whereas María and Juan de Cazalla seemed to claim liberty from ceremonies proportionally to perfection, Valdés expressed liberty for those who had the Spirit, i.e. true Christians, and in terms of willing and joyful submission.

Of course, undermining regulations and human governments could bring scandal to the "imperfect," a clearly Alcaracian appreciation. The imperfect may be tempted to misjudge the Christian faith or to imitate the perfect without proper discernment.[320] The contrast, however, remains. Within the realm of Christian religion, human wisdom condemns what children of God do, because it judges true Christians as incomprehensible, "condemning them and insulting them."[321]

Valdés' concept of Christian liberty has clear traces of Alcaraz's *Abandonment*. Cione, presenting a more Erasmian Valdés, refers to Valdés as "far from sustaining the absolute abandonment to the will of God."[322] Domingo de Sta. Teresa, conversely, without identifying it as Alcaracian, claims that Valdés "imposes an intense trait of abandonment" on God's government.[323] Whereas human wisdom considers those who have no ambition as vile and base, the Holy Spirit rejects ambition and wants for people "to totally forsake it, to renounce it."[324] Regarding both human and pious pursuits, the individual was to express to God his good desires but leaving to God their fulfillment.[325]

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[316] Ibid., 473. Cf. Understanding, knowing, and exercising Christian liberty "makes the individual live without fear before God, with holiness and justice all the time of his life; and afterwards, God will set him in glory with Jesus Christ in the eternal life" (*Considerations*, OC, n. 36, p. 564).

[317] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, xvii-xviii.

[318] *Com. Ps*., 185. Also, *Com. Romans*, xvi.; *Com. Psalms*, 88; *Com. Corinthians*, 157; *Alphabet*, OC, 474. Cf. Inquisition, AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols. 112, 113r, 114v, 115r, 115v.

[319] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 187-188. Cf. Ibid., 122; *Com. Mt.*, 214. *Com. Ps.*, 70.

[320] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 96, p. 652.

[321] Ibid., n. 62, p. 621. Also, *Com. Psalms*, 45.

[322] Cione, *Juan de Valdés*, 81. Significantly, Cione states later "It could appear dangerous this absolute abandonement of the will to God" (ibid., 91).

[323] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 167, 175.

[324] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 3, p. 499.

[325] Ibid., n. 7, p. 507.

This rendering of self or abandonment reaches some radical implications. At Giulia's desire for all people to know the benefit of Christ and all who oppose it to be confounded, Valdés responds with a rather strong reproach. Considering Giulia as someone who has recently entered in the kingdom, a novice, he qualifies her attitude as "human carnality" and "desire for vindication," pretending to tell God to love men and to have more zeal for God than God himself. The spiritually mature attitude, conversely, is to rely on predestination. If God does not do otherwise, it is because he does not desire it; God is able to do all he wills.[326] In addition to the matter of rendering oneself to God, this is an example of how predestination fitted so naturally in Alcaraz's *Abandonment.*

Valdés' reliance, remission, or abandonment to God's will include very practical implications: discarding those things which are in themselves evil, planning "always emerge from uselessness and fragility," even regarding good things. When the Holy Spirit inspires, "we do not care about planning; we are ready to do them." [327] Furthermore, "our particular deliberations or decisions over one time or another are contrary to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit;" the Christian should rather "maintain himself in the liberty that Christ has given him."[328] When the thought comes into the mind, the individual should commit its completion to God, "with this resolution man condemns the judgment of prudence, human reason, renounces his *liberum arbitrium*, and enters in God's kingdom, rendering himself to the rule and government of God."[329] Again, it is significant how these expressions echo Alcaraz's teachings mixed with theological terms, indicating how Alcaraz's teachings prepared Valdés to receive and build his more developed and theological thought.

Clearly traceable to the times of the *Alumbrados* and Antonio de Baeza translating Gerson's *On the Discernment of Spirits*,[330] the practical outworking of the Spirit's government stressed the importance to discern the movements or impulses of the Spirit. These movements of the Spirit constituted the basis of Christian liberty.[331]

First of all and following Valdés' contrasts, to be moved by the Spirit of God is an essential distinction of those who are truly children of God.[332] Valdés equates being ruled and governed to being moved by the Spirit:

> Those who feel within themselves the movements of the Holy Spirit, can take themselves as children of God, attributing their filiation to the acceptance of the grace of the gospel, and attributing the movements of the Holy Spirit to the filiation, and attributing both to the faith, and

[326] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 824-825.
[327] Ibid., 820-822.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 25, p. 542.
[330] Gerson,*The Probing of Spirits.*
[331] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 25, 542f.
[332] He translates Ro 8…. "All who are moved by the Spirit of God . . . are Children of God" (Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 129).

> recognizing faith as a special and favorable gift of God through Jesus Christ.[333]

Contrarily, the sinner "does not come to render himself to the will of God; he does not renounce the government and rulership of human prudence."[334]

Given that the government and impulses of the Spirit are characteristic of his spirituality, Valdés referred to different guidelines to discern when a certain impulse is from the evil one or from the rebellion of affections and appetites; secondly, from a "good spirit," i.e. human wisdom or self; and thirdly, from the Holy Spirit. These guidelines are present in *Considerations*, his Bible Commentaries, *Doctrinal Epistles*, and *Little Treatises*. Valdés defends that "one of the highest degrees of perfection to which a person can come to in this present life is to understand the spirit with which he is moved to or refrained from doing something."[335] This discernment "can never be understood except through experience."[336] Significantly, this experience emphasizes more its recurrent, accumulative understanding than a mystic dimension. It is the recurrent experience perceived through the Spirit that, alongside self-examination, brings more understanding "than the continual lesson of any other book."[337] The general admonition is "to examine well,"[338] "to pay much attention, being careful not to be self-deceived."[339]

Not only the wicked but also the pious may follow his own spirit or the evil spirit.[340] In fact, once again, placing himself on the borders of traditional Christology, Valdés defended that Christ himself said "let this cup pass off me" out of his own spirit.[341] In *Considerations*, Valdés proposed a "normal language" with which God speaks to the pious. It consists of three ingredients that constitute a "quite reliable indication" that something is God-led: God puts in their will that which he wants them to do, the impulse becomes a necessity, and thirdly God provides the circumstances for the impulse to be "very easily" executed.[342] Very significantly, in view of accusations against Alcaraz claiming to know the hearts of men, Valdés refers to Christ knowing the hearts of men, from which knowledge "there is a little portion communicated to those who have the spirit of Christ."[343]

The Spirit's leading, particularly differing from human initiatives, also follow Valdés' inexorable foundation, i.e. justification by faith. Self-impulses may have the "appearance of holy and good things;" however, if they have the intention to justify oneself, "they are evil and abominable before God, because they come from an evil and

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[333] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 130. *Considerations*, OC, n. 25, 543.
[334] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 5, p. 503.
[335] Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 914 .
[336] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 474.
[337] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles*, OC, 845.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 182. Also, *Treatises*, OC, 914-915.
[340] Valdés, *Treatises*, OC, 913.
[341] Ibid., 914.
[342] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 25, p. 542. Regarding God propitiating the circumstances as a test of his will Cons 7 p. 506-508.
[343] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 150.

rebellious disposition against God."[344] Other impulses, which may seem to come from the Spirit, are to be taken from the flesh because they lead to imitate Hebrew saints or aim to self-love.[345]

As in other areas, Valdés appears to step down from the ideal assurance which spiritual revelation gives. Perhaps this concession comes from his conciliatory personality. The fact is that regardless of his guidelines, "every pious person should be very modest and temperate when he approves and condemns the things that please or displease God." [346] God's judgment is very different from human appreciations; furthermore, individuals may have more or less spirit, which is not always noticeable externally. If anyone fixes his concepts, seeking not a "clearer and more evident knowledge," even if he be pious, he will end up in error.[347]

God's Particular Providence

Inseparably attached to the person rendering himself to God's will, the individual is to accept God's providence with meekness. Meekness towards God's providence is present in Christianity in general; Valdés' distinction, however, is that the acceptance of what he emphasizes as "particular" providence actually constitutes a distinction of true Christians. Valdés gives very little value to the acceptance of God's will in its general form. Typically in reference to the religious realm, "philosophers and men's opinions, in whom the Spirit of God does not dwell, admit God's providence when they desire to show themselves pious." [348] God's general or "mediated" providence has to do with his government of the universe, through which God's creatures perform his will.[349] This general providence brings circumstances that may favor or "many times" harm and sadden people. This is also referred to as "secondary causes,"[350] due to the mediation of creatures through which circumstances come to man. Death, original sin, and "all evils and travails under which our human nature is made subject" are also part of this "mediated" or "general" will of God that came through Adam's sin.[351]

Valdés' stress, on the other hand, was on what he called "immediate" or "particular" providence or will of God. According to Scriptures and the opinion of men "in whom the Spirit of God dwells," God's particular will is executed by God himself and through his Spirit; it was directed to the pious and always for good.[352] The pious ones, on whom God's particular favor is, "are those "among all men" who are just, who "know the Son of God, Jesus Christ,"[353] i.e. the "regenerated," [354] the elect,[355] the

[344] Valdés, *Treatises,* OC, 913.
[345] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 182-183.
[346] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 74, p. 648-649.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 846.
[349] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 40, 572.
[350] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 525, *Considerations,* OC, n. 49, p.525.
[351] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 49, p.595 ; Ibid., n.40, p. 572-573.
[352] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 158.
[353] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 49, p. 597.

incorporated into Christ.[356] This will of God is manifested through "all the external favors that God does to his own, which others also enjoy who are not his own," even though these latter ones do not know it. An example of God's particular will was to send Christ to die on the cross. This particular providence is the origin of everything that "God works in and for his own." That includes "the creation of the world (. . .) of man, the repair of human generation through Christ, the calling to the participation of (. . .) justification, in addition to other spiritual feelings and knowledge."[357] Unlike "general" or "mediated," the adjective "immediate" refers to the fact that "it does not follow the common and general order" of things.[358]

Valdés defended God's particular providence in front of the limitations that human wisdom suggests, particularly in the Christian realm. Human wisdom claims to exalt God when it discards particular circumstances from his providence; contrarily, the pious individual magnifies the glory of God because he recognizes God's care of "our things."[359] Human wisdom claims that God particularly favors those who merit it, whereas "the Holy Spirit teaches that God cares about those who truly trust in him, without requiring any other justice or holiness."[360] In this contrast there is no possible mixture; some people endeavor to maintain both "the teaching of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of human wisdom,"[361] but the reason is that they cannot fully trust God, procuring works which end up in "diverse superstitions, (. . .) ceremonies and (. . .) different rules and manners of life."[362] These, therefore, fluctuate between impatience and meekness or between pride and humility. Valdés identifies them as those who are neither hot nor cold (Rev. 3).

The acceptance of God's particular providence is eventually related to justification by faith and the contrast between children of God and children of Adam. Children of God, having accepted the justice of God executed in Christ, have "much certainty that in this life there is neither any evil thing that can come to them nor any promised happiness lacking in the life hereafter."[363] The glad acceptance of one's circumstances as God's favorable, immediate will is also associated with having inspired faith, having received the Holy Spirit,[364] exalting God, thinking well of his works, and worshiping him in spirit and in truth.[365]

The pious understanding of God's particular providence has significant implications. Commenting on "your will be done," Valdés states, "The continual groaning of him who feels (. . .) the benefit of Christ, should be a desire and petition to

[354] Ibid., n. 49, p. 595.
[355] Ibid., n. 40, p. 574.
[356] Ibid., p. 575.
[357] Ibid., p. 272.
[358] Ibid.
[359] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles*, OC, 846.
[360] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 43-44.Cf. ibid., 27-28.
[361] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles*, OC, 848.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 24, p. 541.
[364] Ibid., n. 27, p. 547-548.
[365] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 159.

be free from submission to the mediated will of God [i.e. the consequences of Adam's sin] and be set in submission to the immediate will of God." [366] Children of Adam cannot understand God's will and workings; consequently, they take God as rigorous, living in discontentment.[367] Children of God, on the contrary, "recognizing the will of God, reduce themselves to conform with it (. . .), finding contentment and satisfaction in their dispositions, even though the flesh might feel pain and affliction." [368] True Christians, "magnifying the glory of God, mortifying themselves, and growing in charity, come to confess that God does all things, some through his mediated will and others with his immediate will." [369] They "always rejoice," knowing that their circumstances "always redound to their good."[370] This acceptance and certainty causes the Christian to be "most temperate and modest, and most merciful, diligent, and generous towards their neighbors.[371]

Stressing his emphasis on God's particular providence, Valdés, typically of his contrasts, recurred to the polarization between suffering and joy. Advising Giulia concerning her sickness, he told her, "The more your flesh withers, the more your spirit will be energized (. . . .) Let the flesh suffer, be harmed, afflicted, disturbed, fearful; the more it suffers these passions, the more let your spirit be glad, content, and joyful, feeling in itself the will of God."[372] Regarding sickness, Valdés extended this radical reliance on how the true Christian approached medicines and doctors, "waiting on you [God] to be my doctor. [373] Refusing to seek help from "creatures" constituted a Christian's confession regarding God giving him "existence, virtue, and life," and taking "a special care of those who have him as God and depend on him."[374]

False Piety

Equally parallel to the contrast between the child of Adam and the child of God, an important portion of Valdés' teaching is dedicated to distinguish false from true Christianity. His condemnations, his negative labels, descriptions, and destiny are clearly directed to his contemporary institutional Christianity. Hamilton states that, "in contrast to the teaching of many other contemporary thinkers, there was hardly any trace in the writings of Valdés of controversy with the Church of Rome."[375] Even though the

[366] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 40, p. 573.
[367] Ibid., n. 21, p. 533; ibid., n. 62, p. 620-621; *Com. Romans,* 8-9.
[368] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 91, p. 692.
[369] Ibid., n. 49, p. 597.
[370] Ibid., n. 40, p. 572.
[371] Ibid., n. 27, p. 548. Also, those who have Holy Spirit … "always follow the will of God, depend on God, and submit themselves to be ruled and governed by God, on the basis of which, in adversity, they are most patient . . . and in prosperity they are most kind, recognizing God's generosity and providence" (*Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 847).
[372] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles,* OC, 858-859.
[373] Valdés, *Com. Psalms,* 226-227.
[374] Ibid., 186-187. Also "The joy that we feel in our hearts as we remember God and the confidence that we have in his holy name certify us that our souls wait only upon God, and that we have our relief only in him" (Ibid., 187). Cf. also ibid., 193.
[375] Alastair, *Juan de Valdés*, 107.

parameters of Catholic versus Protestant, or Orthodoxy versus heresy, are inadequate to define Valdés' thought, it is very difficult to consider Valdés' hammering contrasts without identifying the object of his rejection, which was his contemporary, traditional Christianity. Valdés' contention also constitutes an integral part of the description of his piety, an aspect which is difficult to harmonize with Firpo's view of Valdés as a model for ecumenism.[376]

Valdés' thought was expressed and built with contrasts, totally rejecting what he identified as false or wrong. This was evident since his *Dialogue*, portraying Antronio's false Christianity and the Archbishop as the true, spiritual Christian. In his Neapolitan writings, Valdés distinguished true Christians from false ones, and false opinions and doctrines from what he defined as the gospel.[377] He also distinguished true Christians from those who were just "called Christians."[378] Valdés distinguished saints of God from saints of the world.[379] In particular reference to these two he speaks of fine gems versus false stones.[380] Sometimes he added "the wise of the world" to the saints of the world, as his contemporary equivalent to New Testament Scribes and Pharisees.[381] In addition to people, Valdés also distinguished true from false religion. [382] He distinguished "going to Moses" versus "going to Christ."[383] These expressions certainly have his contemporary addressees.

The condemnable condition of false Christians and equivalent labels left no doubt: "False Christians will be cast out to hell, and the true ones will be glorified."[384] There could be a difference between those who only have the name of Christianity and those whose connotation include some leadership, i.e. "saints of the world;" however, both receive parallel characteristics and destiny: they do not belong to the "Christian and spiritual church."[385] Valdés referred to false Christians as being worse than Judas, since they persevere "persecuting the Christian truth and life" till the end of their days; worse, however, they do not recognize their error like Judas did.[386] Valdés stated, furthermore, if "unmerciful," so-called Christians are treated with rigor and hell-judgment by Christ (Mt. 25), "What can those who have persecuted the members of Christ await?"[387] Have these comments no reference to the Inquisition in Spain? Valdés,

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[376] Massimo Firpo, "Juan de Valdés e L'Evangelismo Italiano," In *Erasmianismo en España. Ponencias del Coloquio Celebrado en la Biblioteca de Menendez Palayo del 10 al 14 de Junio de 1985*, ed. Manuel Revuelta Sañudo and Ciriaco Morón Arroyo, Santander: Sociedad Menendez Pelayo, 1986. pp. 393-416. p.412-413.

[377] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 264-265, 446.

[378] Ibid., 446.

[379] Ibid., 283, 287, 396, 399, 435.

[380] Ibid., 301.

[381] Ibid.,300-301, 425.

[382] Ibid., 504-505.

[383] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 104.

[384] *Com. Mt.*, 264, 459, 474

[385] Ibid., 432.

[386] Ibid., 504.

[387] Ibid., 474.

furthermore, identified both "men of the world and saints of the world" as "Satan's angels."[388]

Valdés' definition of false Christians included their convictions, conduct, religious practice, and hostility against true Christians. As to their doctrine, "the most harmful thing in our Scribes and Pharisees is [their] doctrine," and "even more harmful than those" of New Testament times.[389] The saints of God need to be always "alert, watching, observing, and preventing, lest a trace of the doctrine of the saints of the world [or persuasions of men of the world] might in any way enter" into their minds.[390] The conversation of those "who do not have the Spirit," "turns away those who are going to Christ, leading them to Moses while they think that they are going to Christ, of which I wish there were not so much experience in the world."[391] The Scripture reading by the saints of the world is disqualified as "interpreting Scripture according to their own (. . .) opinions and not according to that which those who wrote them intended (. . .) [consequently] they close the kingdom of heaven before men."[392]

Valdés disqualifies the religious exercise of the saints of the world, whom he associates with Pharisees. They seek to be esteemed as holy, "hiding their villainies and publishing their false goodness."[393] Valdés attributes Christ's words of condemnation to them (Mt. 23). Very significant in light of his *Converso* lineage, Valdés describes these saints of the world as pursuing with intensity the conversion of Jews, Moors, or Turks; however, these converts turn "more diabolical and hellish" because "liberated from their [former] religion and taking not the Christian one, which is all spiritual and internal, they become most wicked."[394] This is an interesting description in light of so many *Converso* and crypto-Jews in the area of Cuenca at the time of Valdés. Lastly, and complying with Valdés' central theme and foundation, he describes false religious leaders as worthy of condemnation, "because they have accepted Christ with their mouths but not with their hearts."[395]

> Such as these [Hebrew pontiffs and elders] are those who apply themselves to false religion, which consists of vain ceremonies and superstitious observances of days, months, times, years, etc., and they become passionate for it, because, not knowing the true religion, which consists in accepting Christ and imitating Christ, they are almost forced to persecute those who apply themselves to it (. . .) because with the clarity of the true religion, the stains and ugliness of false religion are discovered."[396]

These reproaches certainly transcend a mere focus on the internal, as Erasmus maintained. In Valdés there is a theological and religious confrontation between the true

[388] Ibid.
[389] Ibid., 425.
[390] Ibid., 301, 435.
[391] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 104-105.
[392] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 432.
[393] Ibid., 430-431.
[394] Ibid., 432-433.
[395] Ibid., 475.
[396] Ibid., 505.

and the false which betrays a manifesto against a particular so-called Christian expression.

Valdés described saints of the world, linking their persecution against the saints of God to the holiness of the latter. Significantly, Valdés, for instance, defended that saints of the world "can perceive that the saints of God live in a holy way; however, this brings sadness to them, and, therefore, they seek to persuade themselves that they [i.e. the saints of God] do not live in a holy way."[397] Valdés also accused the saints of the world of pretending holiness while persecuting Christ, and consequently, "they will be excluded from the kingdom of heaven."[398] Significantly in view of his Spanish background, Valdés refers to "Pharisees" or "saints of the world" as "consulting against them [saints of God] to make them say something on the basis of which they might arrest and kill them." Furthermore, "The saints of God should avoid coming to [exchange] words with the saints of the world; if they come, they should be very careful to say anything that could be distorted and used against them."[399]

In Valdés' thought, the categorical difference between the saints of the world and the saints of God lead to a necessary separation. One of Valdés' strongest expressions emerges from his comments on Jesus' words to Peter, "Get behind me Satan." Valdés refers to the saints of the world, who "through human wisdom pretend to reprimand and advise those who, being children of God, are ruled and governed by the Spirit of God."[400] Furthermore, "those who have only the name of Christians, with Christian ceremonies and some idea of Christian things (. . .) seek to reprimand those who follow Christ." Those who are "incorporated into Christ, children of God" need first to persuade themselves that "all who are not children of God, not being regenerated and renewed through Holy Spirit, are like the very Satan to them."[401]

Valdés, therefore, not only expressed his convictions through the recurrent contrast of true and false Christianity. He expressed an acute antagonism against what he considered false Christianity. His teaching is portrayed amidst a confrontation between what he considered true and false Christianity. The object of his opposition cannot be diffused with abstract, impersonal suppositions. His teaching reveals a dissidence and protest against a ritualistic expression of his contemporary, traditional Christianity, and possibly the emerging hostility which ended up in the establishment of the Italian Inquisition.[402]

[397] Ibid., 396.
[398] Ibid., 399.
[399] Ibid., 410.
[400] Ibid., 309.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Cione, Catholic autor, states that Valdés' accusation of "judaism" was directed "to the Official Church" (*Juan de Valdés,* 1938, 82).

Summary on Valdés' View of Piety

One of the most evident conclusions from the consideration of Valdés' view of piety is that his discursive method of contrasts has continued as he expressed his spirituality. The different aspects of the true Christian's piety, i.e. religion, knowledge, faith, love-union with God, are discussed in terms of the contrast between true and false religion, the true and the nominal Christian. This contrast confirms that Valdés' view of spirituality should not be read by itself, as merely a "religion of the Spirit," or an "internal religious emphasis." Valdés' spirituality should rather be assessed according to his soteriological scheme, which sets a deep dividing line between true and false Christianity. Recognizing a progressive growth in areas like knowledge of God or mortification, there is undoubtedly a categorical beginning, with an important and described preparatory stage. If that dividing line is ignored, Valdés' most emphasized expressions, e.g., incorporation, regeneration, entrance into God's kingdom, possession, are lost amidst a diluted generalization.

Another important conclusion of Valdés' view of piety is that it constitutes a rich illustration of his eclecticism. This appreciation emerges from the fact that the basic tenets of his spirituality can clearly be traced to Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, an adaptation of Porete's *Mirror*. With equal emphasis, however, Valdés' spirituality is founded on theological convictions that he received from later influences: e.g., his radical Christology or justification by faith. On one hand, the connections with Alcaraz are evident. Valdés' affinity with Erasmus, i.e. an emphasis on internal religion with a disinterest on ceremonies, needs to account for Valdés' particular relationship with his *Converso* lineage and connection to Alcaraz. Valdés was dependent on Alcaraz regarding his radical commitment, his positive outlook to religious experience, a God-inspired faith and experience, the pursuit and possibility of a love-union with God, the denial of the will and self-interest, the surrender to God's leading and providence, and the understanding of Christian liberty. These characteristics give Valdés' non-ceremonialism a different character and origin than Erasmus. His affinity with Erasmus could have given Valdés an added support to his non-ceremonialism, a circle of friends (to a certain extent), a possible audience for his teaching, but Bataillon's statement that Valdés' spirituality was from "another breed" is so true that he should not be identified as Erasmian.

On the other hand the eclecticism of the spirituality taught by Valdés is revealed in what became the theological argumentation for his view. Neither his radical Christology nor his emphatic justification by faith came from Alcaraz. These two characteristics were not merely accessory in view of a prevalent Alcaracism in him; they were fully assimilated to Valdés initial formation of a dependence on God. Christ's vicarious atonement, identification with the believer, effectual source for a victorious life, as well as the articulation of justification by faith, the certainty of predestination and eternal life, the development of God's mediated and immediate will, and the

difference between the law and the gospel were elements which Valdés fully integrated to his Alcaracian legacy.

Valdés' attitude towards Erasmus and Luther could be clearly compared with his attitude towards Alcaraz. Valdés borrowed from Erasmus but openly expressed his differences regarding anthropology and soteriology. He did the same with Luther, borrowing his difference between the law and the gospel, the articulation of justification by faith, and probably the development of predestination; however, Valdés clearly expressed his difference regarding the possibility and even requirement of a regenerated life for the true Christian. Equally toward Alcaraz, Valdés adopted a considerable bulk of Alcaraz's essence and expressions, particularly as it had to do with spirituality, but Valdés also openly expressed his difference with him through elements which were clearly foreign to Alcaraz, particularly regarding theological arguments (which Alcaraz did not have). Valdés' statements concerning eternity, the inexorable mediation of Christ, the nonnegotiable foundation of justification, should also be taken as expressed differences and a purposeful distance from Alcaraz.

Valdés' view of piety is also a rich illustration of his eclecticism in the way he adopted terms of his environment. Valdés does not hesitate to use "union with God," "deification," "annihilation," and even "experience" (which was not original to him), seeking to find a way to define what he desired to teach. Taking Morreale's observation, concerning Valdés being not a "formalist" but a "realist," an important question emerges: Where did the "reality" come from in Valdés' thought? What was the reality he desired to express, for which the use of other sources and terms was worthy? It can be affirmed, in view of his own words and emphasis, that his own experience of God, irresistibly calling him and converting him from his frivolous romance-novels, had an essential part in the development of his convictions and teaching. That was the "ideal" he struggled to express. Even though he maintained a high respect for Scripture, for instance, the use of his convictions and experience as hermeneutical principles stress the relevance of that personal experience in his thought.

A significant mark of Valdés' view of spirituality, relevant in his eclecticism, is the conciliatory personality that he manifested toward physical individuals (not so toward the idea or traits of false religion). His compliance to please Giulia in the writing of the *Alphabet*, his emphasis on mutual love, and his protests against partisanships suggest the question of his personality. The possibility of a personal insecurity or dissatisfaction, a desire to please and yet to teach, an association with friends with whom there is not a full identification but a common interest (e.g., Gracián de Alderete, Juan de Vergara in Alcalá or Cardinal Gonzaga or Seripando in Naples) constitute elements of Valdés' person and environment which are difficult to fully confirm, but which are not mere speculation. In these elements, Valdés' *Converso* lineage could also have had an important role. His *Converso* identity also provides for that tacit independence and freedom that Valdés feels as he teaches and writes, tampering at times with settled traditional values. Regarding his *Converso* lineage, in view of Valdés' Christology and soteriology, Valdés certainly appears to be more assimilated

than Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz. On the other hand, his non-mediated relationship with Christ, his border-line appreciations of Christ's life, his semi-mystical overtones, and the pastoral use of the scriptural text also finds its best context and understanding in light of his *Converso* lineage.

Having considered his view of the Christian's spirituality, the final step in assessing Valdés' thought will be to look at his religious praxis. This should be considered apart from his view of piety, since that eminently focused on internal religion. On the other hand, his praxis will either confirm or balance some of the traits of his piety.

Chapter 8

Valdessian Practice

Shortly after Juan de Valdés' death, Juan Pérez de Pineda identified Valdés as a practical theologian, and his focus on experience could give some reason to that. However, even though Valdés dedicated his teaching to the experience of the person's relationship with God, his arguments were mainly theologically grounded and spiritually oriented. Valdés' central message was not merely addressing the proper attitude while performing religious practices. However, his convictions and spirituality certainly expressed themselves according to particular lines. The expected consistency between message and practices constitutes the relevance of this chapter.

The discussion of Valdés practice is also relevant in view of what has been written concerning Valdés and the *Alumbrados*. While the conflict between *Recollection* and *Abandonment* has at times portrayed a disordered view of Alcaraz,[1] Valdés' religious practice and apparent "institutionalism" has often been used to vindicate a Catholic Valdés.[2] Considering the dependence that Valdés had on Alcaraz, can both "abandoned" and institutional perspectives be sustained? Evidently, not at the same level. The question, then, remains concerning Valdés' teaching on religious performance and its implications toward dissidence or institutionalism.

This chapter on Valdés' religious practice will present three main sections. First it presents Valdés' moral standards, basically answering to whether his non-ceremonialism included a relaxation in morals. Secondly, the practice of religion itself is discussed, including his understanding of church, sacraments, and the mass. Thirdly the discussion turns to other positive guidelines concerning prayer, fasting, and other religious exercises. These areas will provide enough criteria to evaluate Valdés' practice in relation to his thought and view of piety.

Valdés' Moral Standards for the True Christian

There is one question emerging from Valdés over-repetitive conviction of justification by faith: what is the strength or the content of his exhortation? Was the transformation brought by incorporation and regeneration enough to maintain a minimum religious commitment? Having stressed internal religion as the main need and key to change outwardly, had Valdés any further word for the "external man"? Was it necessary? Valdés' message certainly included moral exhortations for him who had already entered into God's kingdom. Furthermore, Valdés' expressions and moral standards confirm the relevance and strength of his soteriological scheme, i.e. preparation to enter, entrance, and growth in the kingdom, in regards to his message.

[1] In regards to the *Alumbrados*. E.g. Andrés (*La Teología Española s.XVI*, 1976-1977), Llorca (*Inqu. y Alumbrados*, 1980), or Santonja (*La Herejía de los Alumbrados*, 2001).

[2] E.g. Ricart (*Juan de Valdés*, 1958), Wagner (*Le Dialogue*, 1995).

Synonyms, Definition, and Implications of the Christian's Duty

Valdés' moral exhortation for a Christian's way of life is expressed with a considerable number of synonyms. "Christian duty" was probably the phrase most frequently used, often coupled with "Christian manner." The meaning of those phrases is undoubtedly, "piety in one's disposition and integrity in one's customs."[3] Underlining the individual's essential change, and contrasted to the individual's works before entering the kingdom, Valdés addressed the Christian's moral life in terms of a moral debt. Since the *Alphabet*, Valdés stated that those who are "regenerated and re-born in Christ through a new spiritual regeneration through faith and baptism (. . .) have a new obligation to love God (. . . .) since (. . .) he procured and procures to bring us to himself and unite us with himself through love and grace."[4] This Christian duty is identified as "the Christian's law,"[5] which means "to be under grace, as servants who serve out of love, neither constrained nor forced to it."[6] This moral submission cannot be perceived by any degree of science (i.e., intellectual study) but through experience, "even [if it is] the least of it."[7] It is generally comprehended in the concept of "recovering that image and likeness of God with which he was created."[8]

Valdés uses other synonymous expressions. He refers to "the exercise that belongs to the Christian as long as he lives in this present life."[9] When the individual, for instance, feels an incitation to sin, he will refuse it on the grounds that, as incorporated in Christ, "it belongs to him to be just and not wicked."[10] This is also referred to as "the rule of Christian living,"[11] "the duty of grace,"[12] "the duty of children"[13] or "the duty of the gospel."[14]

Beyond the immediate meaning of these expressions, i.e. the gradual conformity to God's morals, their significance is that Valdés is only addressing regenerated Christians. Valdés explicitly states that this is not for every individual: "Only those who are Christ's own, who have died in the cross with Christ (in clear and explicit reference to incorporation), bear fruit for God; all others fructify to death."[15] Through regeneration, the individual's new condition as "unleavened bread" requires of him to purify "that which remains of Adam."[16] It "belongs to children to look for the duty of children."[17] Commenting on the Sermon on the Mount, Valdés writes, "Discarding the

[3] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*,131. Cf. *Com. Ro.* 115.
[4] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 398.
[5] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 89.
[6] Ibid., 89.
[7] Ibid., 89-90.
[8] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 50, p. 599; *Instruction Children*, OC, 930-931.
[9] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 99; *Considerations*, OC, n. 696 ; *Instruction Children*, OC, 930-931.
[10] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 50, 599.
[11] Valdés, *Instruction Children*, OC, 931.
[12] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 129.
[13] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 113.
[14] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 248.
[15] Ibid., 101. Cf. *Com. Corinthians*, 169-70.
[16] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 100.
[17] Ibid., 113. Cf. also ibid., 294.

world and themselves and conforming their lives to the duty of Christian regeneration belongs to those who through the acceptance of the gospel enter into the kingdom of heaven."[18] Conversely, whoever does not have the certainty of having entered into the kingdom is exhorted "to renounce his own justice, distrusting himself, and embrace the justice of Christ."[19] The duty and manner of Christian regeneration, therefore, is explicitly "not to become Christian, but because he is a Christian."[20]

In view of his background and relationship with Erasmus, Valdés' reference to "war" is significant. Commonly, the Christian's "war, battle, and confrontation" is for the "total mortification of one's affections (. . . .) which are according to the flesh."[21] Valdés, however, clarifies that the inclination to sin, the object of mortification, "is only felt by those who rejoice in God's law (. . .) laboring to live according to it (. . .) but not in order to justify oneself [through it]."[22] Whereas in Erasmus the pursuit of godliness merges with the pursuit of salvation, in Valdés there is a clear separation between salvation and godliness; the latter is a consequence of the former. Furthermore, Erasmus presented two doors and two ways, the Christian way becoming easier as the Christian Knight progressed. In Valdés' thought, "the way that takes to eternal life (. . .) is easy, sweet, and tasty due to the disposition that Christ has regenerated" in its beginning.[23]

Regarding the regenerated person's growth, perfection was gradually reached as the individual "lived according to Christian duty, keeping the Christian manner."[24] In addition to the common ideal of loving God supremely[25] or dominating the emerging affections of the flesh,[26] Valdés' ideal was contemplated as "exercising the faith with which one believes: that incorporated in Christ, he is dead with Christ."[27] The regenerated person is to conform his external practical life to his spiritual, potential, and incipient reality. As Valdés paraphrases Ro. 12:2, "Your dispositions are already renewed through Christian regeneration; it remains that you will apply yourselves to conform your bodies to your dispositions."[28] In other words, "we Christians are perfect and should pay attention to [grow unto] perfection,"[29] a totally different perspective and pastoral emphasis than Erasmus.

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[18] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 61.
[19] Ibid., 62.
[20] Ibid., 251-252.
[21] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 115.
[22] Ibid., 115.
[23] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 130.
[24] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 90, p. 688-689.
[25] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 398.
[26] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 98-99.
[27] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 92, p. 696. Or, "reaching Christian perfection, desirous to comprehend that divinity in which he is comprehended" (Ibid., n. 90, p. 689).
[28] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 241; Cf. ibid., 263.
[29] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 93-94. Also, the person "has begun to know God, to love, to be united with God," and, therefore, "he should endeavor to grow in knowledge . . . love . . . and union" (*Considerations*, OC, n. 73, p. 644). Cf. ibid, n. 91, p. 693.

Valdés' Moral Standards

In view of some writers attributing to the *Alumbrados* a low moral standard, it becomes necessary to discuss whether Valdés' moral standard reflects a relaxation in reference to their contemporary Christianity. Cione, perhaps desiring to make him Erasmian, overstated that Valdés "had nothing in common with the exaltation of the Christian 'freedom' of the Gnostics or Quietists,"[30] in reference to his moral standards. Valdés revealed a higher degree of assimilation than Isabel de la Cruz and those identified as *Alumbrados*; however, maintaining high standards, there were still some aspects which echoed an overemphasis of the internal to the neglect of the external. Cione's vision of Valdés as having an "austere and scrupulous conscience" is somewhat inaccurate in view of some of Valdés' statements:

> If shame before the world or being a bad example before spiritual people would not stop me, I would sometime go wild satisfying my appetites, having certain that in that way, I would mortify my desires quicker, and dying my desires, my appetites would die as well.[31]

This isolated expression echoes extremes of internal perfection held among the *Alumbrados*. Nevertheless, its single appearance in Valdés, added to the connotation of pursuing a higher internal mortification, cannot be taken to discard his moral standards. It indicates, however, reminiscences of his *Converso* independence from his contemporary Christianity.

Apart from this isolated example, Valdés' exhortations leave little doubt. The "duty of regeneration" is higher than that of "human generation," for instance, to avoid anger is higher than not to kill (Mt. 6). Christ's calling is a "step beyond" human morals, including philosophy and Erasmian morals.[32] This higher standard is what Valdés required of him who has accepted Christ's justice.[33] The true Christian, as Cione has pointed out of Valdés, is to "examine rigorously all his deeds (. . .) words (. . .) thoughts (. . .) excluding nothing, understanding where does it come from, and where is it directed," i.e. motivation.[34] The goal is no other than Christ's perfection.[35] Valdés explicitly stated that the Christian's endeavor "should not only be the sanctification of one's disposition (. . .) but also the sanctification of one's body (. . .) conforming one's members as servants of justice, executing (. . .) the movements and inspirations of the Holy Spirit."[36] To glorify God with one's body is "most righteous," using the gifts that the Christian has received from God, i.e. evangelizing, teaching, or prophesying.[37] The

[30] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 92.
[31] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 31, p. 554.
[32] Valdés, *Com. Matthew,* 130. Cf. ibid., 78.
[33] Ibid., 61, 80, 83, 86, 88.
[34] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.118, p. 780. Referred to by Cione (*Juan de Valdés,* 1938, 93).
[35] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 90, 689.
[36] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 93.
[37] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 119.

internal, therefore, was certainly primary and instrumental for external morals, but that did not mean corporal or external carelessness.[38]

Valdés' convictions did not seek an easier life; they constituted "a much more effective" way to actually fulfill the justice of the law.[39] The memory of Christ's death and resurrection and the virtue that flows from the individual's identification with him constitute "the best medicine against all desire of the flesh."[40] The certainty of the implications of Christ's death and resurrection impels the individual "to believe, love and wait," i.e. faith, charity, and hope.[41] The gospel "lovingly forces them [true Christians] to be like God and like the very Son of God, Jesus Christ."[42] Valdés likened it to a son who desires so much to love his father that, "he exercises all his strength to serve God (. . .) drawn by that which he has done and does for him."[43] Furthermore, the hope and certainty of eternal life did not constitute a detriment but an incentive for obedience.[44] What the true Christian experiences in this life with God, is the beginning of that which will be "continued in the life hereafter."[45]

On Temptation and Sins

If Valdés' moral standards present a weak area, that area is temptation. Significantly, that was an issue on which the Prosecutor of Alcaraz laid some emphasis. Valdés understood that the fact that someone finds his flesh alive does not mean that "he is alien from Christ or from Christian filiation."[46] When "assaulted by some of these desires," if the individual eventually satisfies it "with resentment and contradiction of his disposition, feeling a most great annoyance for the satisfaction that his flesh has taken in it,"[47] Valdés considers that he "does not offend."[48] More particularly, his flesh offends, but his disposition does not. Moreover, what could be considered as offenses against the law, "are not imputed to the Christian, because he is already dead with Christ."[49] The only way to harmonize this with his moral standards is to understand that he, on one hand, stressed man's disposition even to the point of disregarding of some of his actions, and that he pressed the satisfaction of Christ's atonement to an extreme, something which was already mentioned regarding justification. Regarding the positive, optimistic tone of his spirituality, it is certainly significant that repentance or sorrow was absent both in the individual's entrance into the kingdom (previously referred to)[50] and in the individual's growth.

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[38] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 146. Cf. OC 779-780
[39] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 36; *Com. Cor.*, 9.
[40] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 84.
[41] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 92.
[42] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 94, p. 703.
[43] Ibid., n. 24, p.540.
[44] Valdés, *Instruction Children*, OC, 929-930.
[45] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 220-221.
[46] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 58 p. 697 ; *Com. Romans*, 110, 111.
[47] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 109-110; ibid., 113.
[48] Ibid., 108, 120.
[49] Ibid., 111-114.
[50] This thesis, ch. 6, regarding Justification.

Another aspect regarding temptation, which echoes the issue between Alcaraz and the Prosecution, refers to the value of temptation. Alcaraz's conviction derived from one's abandonment to God. In the case of Valdés, the argument is grounded on his pessimistic anthropology, his conviction on predestination, and also his emphasis on the spiritual experience. In *Consideration* 116, apart from the typical 110th, Valdés discusses temptations in their different possibilities. He uses the term "temptation" designating testing, trying, and inviting to evil. Even though he discusses "God tempting men," or "demons tempting men," he eventually gathers all of them and states that "all these temptations are the work of God, and they are for the benefit of the pious."[51] This "benefit for the pious" is what prevails in Valdés' discussions on temptations.[52] In this light, "even David's adultery and homicide redounded to the benefit of David himself (. . .) *bonum mihi quia humiliasti me*."[53] Undoubtedly, this is downplaying evil in favor of the individual's subjectivity.

The "usefulness" or benefit of temptation redounds to the mortification and reliance of the pious on God. First of all, "for those who come to piety, to be annoyed and solicited" by one's human desires, "even by those he has not felt before," is a work of God. God's purpose is that the pious "will kill [those desires] so that regeneration and vivification will be completed and entire."[54] Furthermore, God "many times allows his own to fall into temptations," so that the person's disposition "most vain and proud," will be "brought down, abated, and humiliated."[55] Other times, God allows his own to be tempted, but "he does not allow them to perish in temptation; contrarily, at the best time he rescues them, even though without them asking for it, setting himself before them, for them to remember to go to him."[56] Again, the exaltation of internal progress weakens the transcendence of sin.

As in other instances, however, some elements in Valdés are to be held in tension, regardless of its seeming contradiction; this is the case also with temptation. Valdés advises "never neglecting oneself but watching" and examining oneself: "those who neglect themselves are the ones who are overcome by temptation."[57] Secondly, he states that the pious person needs to discern "the kind of temptation" that he is suffering in order "to know and feel the grace and favor of God (. . .) without departing from piety."[58] Thirdly, the Christian "has to affirm himself on account of God's faithfulness (. . .) [God] has promised justification, resurrection, and life eternal (. . .) there is no doubt; he will take me through this temptation safely, fulfilling his word."[59] Following these guidelines, the Christian will find benefit in temptation. On the other hand, if he

[51] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 116, p. 770.
[52] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 185, 186; *Com. Matthew*, 280, 281, 501.
[53] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 116, 772.
[54] Ibid., n. 44, p. 579.
[55] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 501-502.
[56] Ibid., 280.
[57] Ibid., 492-493.
[58] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 116, p. 773.
[59] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 185.

commits sin because of weakness or carnality, "he will not fall away from piety."[60] In other words, he will still be incorporated, regenerated, pious, etc.

Regarding acts of sin, therefore, there is a categorical difference that strengthens Valdés' soteriological scheme. There are those who sin out of "knavery or wickedness" and those who sin out of "weakness and vulnerability;" the first is an indication of rebellion and perversity, while the other is a sign of being "a sinner," though in relationship with God. [61] Moreover, this same "weakness" could be a sign of loving weakness or hateful hardness, depending on whether it proceeds from the pious or those who, not having spirit, are alien from piety.[62] Valdés even recognizes that there are some regenerated individuals whose moral lives are worse than those of the saints of the world. Valdés explains that saints of the world abstain from sin in order to maintain the honor of the world; however, Christians live according to their conscience, which could be weaker than their shame.[63] Nevertheless, weak or sick Christians

> are not excluded from the kingdom, nor from the dignity of children because of their weaknesses or sickness, inasmuch as they endeavor to heal from their infirmities and (. . .) be strong and stalwart, for which [healing] abandoning themselves and paying continual attention to God will be a good prescription, never forgetting that they are God's children and are in God's kingdom.[64]

Therefore, the individual's condition regarding incorporation and regeneration prevails over the actual actions he performs. This primacy, which seems at times to lower Valdés' moral standards, does not seek relaxation or accommodation but strengthening the essential difference made by the individual's entrance into the kingdom. These considerations on temptation and sin are clearly dissident from the pastoral use of the confessional as portrayed by Talavera or Cisneros.[65]

Religious Practice

Valdessian research generally refers to Valdés' ecclesiastical practice to confirm a Catholic or institutional perspective. Dueñas writes that, in Naples, Valdés was "unblameable in relation to all the external forms of the Church of Rome."[66] Wagner, as referred to concerning the *Dialogue*, speaks of Valdés references to ecclesiastical authorities and institutions as an evidence of his endorsement.[67] Haggard wrote a thesis entitled, "*The Church and Sacraments in the Theological Writings of Juan de Valdés*."[68]

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[60] Ibid., 182.
[61] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 139-140; *Considerations*, OC, n. 21, p. 534. We could defend that Valdés exceptionally appeared to comply with "simul iustus et pecator," but, again, this is an exception to his ideal.
[62] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 231.
[63] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 53, p. 605.
[64] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 79.
[65] Talavera, *Brief Doctrine*; Cisneros, *Constitutions.*
[66] Dueñas, *Reformador Esp. Italia*, 13.
[67] Wagner (ed.), *Le Dialogue*, 15.
[68] Wagner (ed.), *Le Dialogue*, 15.

His thesis, mostly dedicated to other aspects of Valdés' thought, only confirms that religious practice is actually a secondary and briefly discussed subject in relationship to Valdés' message. Domingo de Sta. Teresa states that Valdés' guidelines for Giulia in the *Alphabet* are an exception of Valdés' internal emphasis, which usually neglects external acts.[69] In this regard, it is important to note that the last portion of the *Alphabet*, which is dedicated to religious performance, is Valdés' answers to Giulia's questions. The section is more representative of Giulia's concerns than of Valdés' emphases. This chapter on Valdés' religious practice, therefore, is a necessary section to include in the consideration of his thought, examining its relationship with his main focus. Nevertheless, the clearly secondary role that external religion has in Valdés certainly questions its reference as an endorsement of institutional Christianity.

The analysis of his writings reveals that Valdés' position cannot be drawn only from his compliant statements or from his instructions on how one ought to conduct himself in religious exercise. There are also clear negative statements concerning the external rituals of religion. There are considerable references to the secondary character of any ceremony. Even Valdés' self-attributed capacity to state to what extent or in what manner some ceremonies are to be taken manifests an assumed independence from the official church. These considerations, which build the main arguments of this section, will portray Valdés' religious practice, which, even though not schismatic, was certainly alternative to his contemporary Christianity of "minute legalism and various aesthetic practices."[70]

Regarding Ceremonies

The fact that Valdés dealt with the individual's attitude in the mass or some sacraments does not manifest a general endorsement of institutional Christianity. Particularly in Valdés' Spanish background, the accusations against Alcaraz manifest the exaltation of particular gestures, e.g., kneeling, bowing the head, beating the breast, and reciting the prayer. Abstaining from them was condemnable before the Holy Office. Luther, as an example of open dissidence, also instructed on the mass and other sacraments, and none takes his writings in support of Rome. Luther, as Valdés, identified those religious exercises as Christian, neither as a monopoly of nor an identification with the institutional church.

Domingo de Sta. Teresa, maintaining a rather Catholic perspective on Valdés, endeavors to salvage what he is able from Valdés' writings. Domingo states that, in Naples, Valdés "evolved" from the *Dialogue*, and "was satisfied with the times when he had pointed out the erroneous perspective of the (. . .) superstitious mind."[71] In Naples, he states, Valdés became "softer" towards ritualism.[72] This is not accurate as the following discussion will reveal. Furthermore, in view of Erasmus, Domingo de Sta.

[69] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 105.
[70] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 71.
[71] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 201.
[72] Ibid., 232.

Teresa speaks of Valdés' criticisms over ceremonies as "more moderate."[73] That is certainly true, regarding the sharpness of Erasmus' irony, but Valdés' arguments and dissent is clearly stronger and deeper than Erasmus. As to his criticisms, Domingo de Sta. Teresa reads Valdés as correcting the participant's distortion of the ritual; however, Valdés' reproach extended beyond popular attitudes.

First of all, Valdés wrote direct negative comments regarding church's ritualism. He considered external ceremonies and "visible things" as obsolete, comparable to "the old character of the letter" and in contrast with that of the Spirit. [74] He referred to some rituals as "inventions and fantasies of men."[75] In the best of cases, "corporal and external exercises, together with those which are of human initiative," were only useful to "maintain" those whom God had begun to give "any understanding or feeling of something about God," awaiting that which Valdés considered to be the true knowledge of God.[76]

In addition to direct appreciations, Valdés referred to ceremonies with a negative connotation. They constituted, for instance, a distinction between "saints of the world" or "Pharisees" and true Christians. Valdés referred to the saints of the world as pretending to have "the summit of holiness through their ceremonies," distinguishing themselves thereby from the common man. [77] Valdés even identified those who "kill the apostles," thinking that they do a great service to God, as being "always ceremonious, scrupulous, and superstitious."[78] On other occasions, typical of Valdés' conciliatory personality, he considered both positions with the need to come to a better understanding. Accordingly, ceremonies and external works were "a constant cause of contention and argument" from those who practiced them; they "count as wicked those who do not practice them." Conversely, those who do not practice ceremonies "count those who do as superstitious, blind, and vain."[79] In this duality, even though he considered ceremonies as obsolete, he included some criticism toward those who were at the other extreme. He probably considered some of the attitudes he remembered around the *Alumbrado* conflict as excessive.

Akin to Alcaraz's teaching, external religion was often considered by Valdés under suspicion. To observe ceremonies "superstitiously" was typical of Pharisees, "of men who practice religion without Holy Spirit." [80] Christ's holiness and power, according to Valdés, was internal and unseen; and "the individual is more like Christ when the individual is weaker in that which is seen and more powerful in that which is not seen."[81] Valdés contrasted external Christianity with God's temple, which was internal. For Valdés, God's temple was "the heart of the Christian," and the worship that

[73] Ibid., 238
[74] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 102.
[75] Ibid., 48.
[76] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 57, p. 613.
[77] Ibid., n. 75, p. 653.
[78] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 144.
[79] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 279.
[80] Sp. "Pretenden religión." *Com. Mt.*, 149.
[81] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 81, p. 668.

God desired was "in spirit and in truth."[82] The Christian's celebration of Passover or the Sabbath consisted of spiritual and moral elements. Haggard associates Valdés' Passover with communion or church worship;[83] however, Valdés explicitly stated that to celebrate them with elements of "flesh and world" identified a Hebrew understanding of it, a superstitious celebration.[84] Furthermore, Valdés stated that those who have a Hebrew disposition "become strict concerning external observances, loosening themselves in licentious and corrupt living and satisfying their dispositions in vanities and curiosities."[85] He considered that "the Jews of nowadays are more superstitious" than those of New Testament times; the reason for them to be corrupt is "because it is always so, that those who are more corrupt (. . .) are more superstitious."[86] Notice that Valdés' comments were not directed against the participant's distortion of the ritual but rather to those in authority who demanded its observance on others.

Valdés' contrast between external and internal religion went much further than Erasmus; it distinguished true from false religion. Whereas "false religion consists of superstitious observations (. . .) the true one consists of accepting the grace of the gospel of Christ."[87] "Superstitions," "scruples," and "ceremonies" arise out of fear in those "who are not assured through revelation that God executed in Christ the rigor of his justice; of which [ceremonies], those who are come to the knowledge of Christ through revelation are free, being certain that (. . .) God (. . .) will not punish us twice."[88]

These "superstitious observations," according to Valdés, made it very difficult for the individual "to conform to the true religion, which consists of heartily embracing the grace which is offered through Christ, and, thus, worshipping God in spirit and truth."[89] Those who have a Hebrew understanding endeavor to supply "that which they lacked in the fulfillment of the law," working out of self-interest. Furthermore, a fondness of ceremonies revealed "weakness of faith," only tolerable for one "who has been superstitious and has never come to be strong in the faith;"[90] otherwise, it was intolerable. Contrary to forced performances, i.e. "human doctrines and commandments," "God is not offended except by the maliciousness which is in the heart," which is absent in those who have really "taken the yoke of Christ or (. . .) have learnt of Christ to be humble and meek."[91]

Other times when Valdés mentioned ceremonies, even though not in a negative connotation, they were explicitly secondary, which, considering the conflicts with the so-called *Alumbrados*, supposed a dissidence rather than an endorsement of the

[82] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 35.
[83] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés*, 191, 246.
[84] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 102; *Com. Matthew*, 231.
[85] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 233.
[86] Ibid. Cf. " To live superstitiously leads men to their highest degree of wickedness" (*Com. Psalms*, 169); "external apearance of holiness, which greatly move vulgar men" (*Com. Matthew*, 32).
[87] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 58, p. 613.
[88] Ibid., n. 11, p. 515.
[89] Valdés, *Christian Instruction*, OC, 925.
[90] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 268-269.
[91] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 283, 289-290.

institutional church. According to Valdés, the law was "the kingdom of ceremonies," which "was to perish."[92] Contrarily, the kingdom of heaven "was to be internal and spiritual." [93] Consequently, the word for the gospel is "freedom," contrasted to ceremonies, scruples, and regulations: "those who, incorporated in Christ, are children of God, are free and exempt from all payment (. . .) like Paul (. . .) *omnia mihi licent*."[94] Any compliance was "to offend not the men of the world."[95] Significantly, the words of liberty of disposition, superstition, scruples, clearly echo his *Dialogue on Doctrine*, confirming his authorship, as Domingo de Sta. Teresa well pointed out.[96] On the other hand, the variety of writings quoted manifest no later moderation in Valdés regarding ceremonies.

Comparable to the Christian use of Scriptures in favor of the higher personal revelation from God, Valdés also referred to "using" ceremonies. He wrote that God's children are not and should be not ruled by ceremonies, and the *Alphabet* well testifies to this; however, Christians "are led by the Holy Spirit, using but not depending" on ceremonies. [97] Commenting on the ten virgins (Mt. 25), Valdés assumes the use of baptism, other sacraments, and even "other ceremonies of the church." The difference between wise and foolish Christians, according to Valdés, is the possession or lack of "that faith with which, accepting the grace of the gospel, the individual makes the justice of Christ as his (. . .) which faith, with its effects, causes their lamps to burn."[98] On the other hand, compared with the "use" of Scripture, Valdés never spoke of church ceremonies (with the exception of the eucharist and, in a minor way, baptism) as "food for the perfect," "written with Holy Spirit," or such like.

Valdés' view of ceremonies, therefore, had a deeper argument and further separation from the institutional church than Erasmus'. In Valdés, ceremonies appear in a negative or secondary connotation. He certainly seemed to carry influences from the non-fully assimilated *Converso* Alcaraz; however, his eclectic thought and conciliatory personality created a larger place for ceremonies than what appears in Isabel de la Cruz or Alcaraz. That was when the individual "used" them. Even though Valdés did not rule out ceremonies, his message betrayed a contention with the general expression of his contemporary Christianity.

Church

Considering Valdés' writings and the various perspectives on Valdés, the question emerges: How did Valdés' understood "church"? The question is not only in reference to his endorsement or not of the institutional church but also regarding the church as a visible organization or merely as a spiritual body. Nieto refers to Valdés'

[92] Ibid., 31.
[93] Ibid., 98. Also, ibid., 54.
[94] Ibid., 327-328.
[95] Ibid., 328.
[96] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 115. Cf. also *Com. Matthew,* 507; *Com. Romans,* 59.
[97] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 3, p. 499.
[98] Valdés, *Com. Matthew,* 463.

circle of friends as "the Valdessian Church,"[99] whereas others refer to Valdés' message as directed only to the individual.[100] Regarding the institutional church, I understand that there can be little question as to the alternative character of Valdés' view. As to whether he suggested a different church or only a spiritual entity, there are certainly some passages of his writings that suggest two significant elements: a notion of authority and a worldwide dimension of what he understood as the church. It is significant that after his experience in Rome, Valdés' hopes for a General Council appear to be frustrated. When Valdés' spiritual interests and teaching reemerged, he focused on individual spiritual counseling. Later, however, when he perceived that his message had a considerable reception, he recuperated the public dimension he had shown in his *Dialogue,* calling for a different church. He progressively recovered the role of reformer.

Concerning Valdés' view of church, Haggard claims that "the depth of Valdés' commitment to an Erasmian view of the church is seen in the definition of the church that he takes directly from *Inquisitio Fides*."[101] This statement obeys to Haggard's explicit purpose to defend an Erasmian view of Valdés rather than to an analysis of his writings. First, the *Dialogue* was Valdés' first work; the *depth* of Valdés' commitment would be revealed in a permanent adherence to it throughout his writings. Secondly, the use of *Inquisitio* was an agreement on the essentials of the Christian faith and an orthodox vindication for himself. Valdés took a whole confession of faith wherein the church was also present, it was not a particular but a general quote, through which no "deep commitment" is evident. Haggard acknowledges some of the alterations of Valdés to Erasmus' text, but ignores the saintly connotation that really distinguishes Valdés' concept, more akin to the *Alumbrado* concept of perfection than to Erasmus' internal religion. His statement that Valdés' concept of the church is "the visible body of Christ … the congregation made up of saints of the world and saints of the gospel,"[102] is not accurate, as will be further discussed in particular. As it corresponds to their different anthropology, Valdés' and Erasmus' concept of the church are not the same.

Another assessment of Valdés' understanding of church is that of Crews. He claims that Valdés believed the church to be "the universal mystic body of Christ into which all the elect were incorporated; this organic body overlapped church and state and welded the two together."[103] The mingling of "elect" individuals with "welding" the church and state wherein citizens are generally considered Christians seems to be contradictory. The spiritual and "saintly" emphasis of Valdés, along with his explicit

[99] Nieto, *Two Catechisms*, 9. Also Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés,* 15.
[100] Otto, *Juan de Valdés,* 138.
[101] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés,* 174.
[102] Ibid., 189. Haggard seems to view Valdés' concept of Church as an "invisible," open entity, even though he is not clear to whether discard a visible, more determined Church body or not (*Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 1971, 196ff). He finally states that, for Valdés, "The invisible body of Christ is only composed of the elect whom God foreknows, calls, justifies, sanctifies and glorifies" (ibid., 202). This observation, however, is clearly contrary to Erasmus' view of the Church.
[103] Crews, *Juan de Valdés,* 166.

reproach that the church was corrupted when it accepted the orientation of human wisdom, also seems to contradict such a church-state concept. The claim that "Valdés applied the doctrine of a mystic body to kingship and forged a vital connection between the political body and the mystic body of Christ,"[104] is really unwarranted.

The Church, a Spiritual Entity

A central question regarding Valdés' concept of church is whether he considered it a closed or an open body. Domingo de Sta. Teresa favors the idea of an open body, "the mystical body of Christ (. . .) [with] Christian charity as the basis and mirror through which all men are considered as members of Christ, and therefore brothers (and sisters)."[105] Contrarily, as Carrasco early perceived, Valdés defended a closed concept of church, "the elect."[106]

Valdés defined the church in terms of a spiritually distinguished body. Since the *Dialogue*, while Erasmus' *Inquisitio* referred to the church's confession, a unity of worship to the Father and confidence in the Son, Valdés added the "rule and government of the Spirit" as the identification of the Holy Church of the Apostles' Creed.[107] Furthermore, whereas Erasmus said that "it consists of men, who of good may become bad; who may be deceived and deceive others," Valdés defined the church's members as "saints;" no place for evil or deception.[108] Even though Valdés expressed to Giulia (again, Valdés' most compliant writing) that the church "embraces and contains" good and evil people, he did not use "consists of."[109] The church, as he understood it, was properly limited to those who had experienced God's calling and revelation. That constituent identity was very clear in his Neapolitan writings; Valdés said, "Those who belong to the church are those who, being called of God and brought to the knowledge of Christ, are capable (or enabled) to efficaciously receive the divine treasures that the Only-begotten Son of God very abundantly pours out over all men."[110]

In the preliminary glossary of *Romans* as well as in his didactic "*Instruction for Children*," Valdés defined the church as "the congregation in one spirit of all who from all parts of the world accept this gospel, who are baptized with water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."[111] But Valdés specifies further: "Those who separate themselves unto this church, on the basis that they are members of Christ and have the spirit that Christ had, are children of God; [and they] are just, pious, and holy, being in them that which is in Christ, in him as head and in them as members."[112] Conversely,

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[104] Ibid., 172.
[105] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 233.
[106] Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan*, 121.
[107] Erasmus, *Inquisitio*, 69; Valdés, DDC, OC, 27.
[108] Erasmus, *Inquisitio*, 69; Valdés, DDC, OC, 27.
[109] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 431. Haggard disregards this distinction and assumes that Valdés' concept of Church "is made up of good and bad" (1971, 181).
[110] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.76, p. 651.
[111] "This Gospel" is in reference to justification by faith (cf. Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 2; *Christian Instruction*, OC, 928).
[112] Valdés, *Christian Instruction*, OC, 928.

> Those who are not members of Christ, do not belong to the church of Christ nor to the church of God; and members of Christ are those who, making theirs the justice of Christ, have died in the Cross with Christ, are buried through baptism with Christ, and have begun to resurrect with Christ.[113]

The Christian People, differing from the Hebrew nation, are "those who, having the Spirit of Christ, and being members of Christ, are in God's kingdom."[114] Contrarily, if anyone has not the Spirit of Christ, "he is not a Christian."[115] And as late as *On Matthew*, Valdés maintained that Christ spoke of "church" as those who are "children, perfect, and incorporated in Christ."[116]

The church, in Valdés' view, was founded upon a meritless gift from God and an evident transformation in its members. The church, he stated, is Christ's spouse, whom he has given "the faith with which she believes (. . .), who is pure and washed with Christ's blood (. . .) [with which] she became clean."[117] Further than a theological concept, Valdés underlined that,

> The acceptance of the gospel is efficacious in them, on the basis that he [Christ] incorporates them in him, to make them live as he did (. . .) a very similar life to that which they will live in the life hereafter, with purity and cleanliness, with humility and meekness, and with love and obedience to God in all things; Christ does not know those who are not like that, and, therefore, they will not enter in the wedding feast of eternal life, when Christ will join himself to his church.[118]

According to Valdés' definition and distinction of "saints," this spiritual identity and distinction of true church members is what lays behind his gloss as he wrote the *Dialogue*, identifying Christians as "saints."[119] This concept, clearly emerging from the environment of the *Alumbrado* conflict is repeated in his Neapolitan writings: It is an error, he stated, to say that there are no just ones or saints today, "as if there could be church without existing saints or just ones." [120] When Valdés referred to what the church "consists of," he wrote, "It consists of people who have enough faith as it is necessary to be saints and incorporated in Christ."[121] In reference to Erasmus, therefore, Valdés' concept of church includes a deeper significance than an Erasmian emphasis of spirit over flesh, as Haggard defends.[122]

Considering Valdés' emphasis concerning the "entrance" and "the kingdom of God," it is very significant that relatively early in his Neapolitan period (c. 1537), he appears to identify kingdom of God with the true church:

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[113] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 2.
[114] Valdés, *Com. Psalms,* 185.
[115] Ibid., 239-240.
[116] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 339.
[117] Ibid., 162.
[118] Ibid., 464-465.
[119] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 5-6.
[120] Ibid., 205-206. In regards to DDC, cf. this thesis ch.5, p.213ff.
[121] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 225-226.
[122] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 171.

> Christ is pastor, on the basis that he congregated and gathered God's sheep, who are scattered throughout the world, in a body; and being congregated, they are shepherded with his spirit, being in the corral, which is the kingdom of God (. . .) The sheep are God's elect, predestined to eternal life, and the congregation is the spiritual union, on the basis of which all are members of Christ, in such a way that he and them make a body, Christ being the head.[123]

This identification complies with Carnesecchi's declaration concerning having been "introduced into the kingdom of God" through Valdés' teaching.[124]

Although Valdés was not schismatic, his inclusive and exclusive criteria of what the church consisted of constituted a truly alternative definition of the church. In light of this emphatic, spiritual identity, Valdés' references to the archbishop in his *Dialogue* cannot be taken as an endorsement of the institutional church, as Wagner defends.[125] In fact, he explicitly endorses the primitive church against his contemporary one.[126] After its inception, Valdés states, the early church suffered a "most great mutation." Conscious that "she was skillful enough to govern herself, and, allowing herself to be deceived by human wisdom and reason, she submitted herself to the rule of spiritless men, losing her fervor and mortification, and (. . .) power."[127]

In addition to self-sufficiency and human wisdom, Valdés points to other deficiencies which characterized the "greatly mutated" church of his time. The Christian issue, according to Valdés, consisted "of a few, even very few," whereas "men have wanted to make it of many, (. . .) of those whom they [i.e. not God] call and desire to introduce in the Christian matter." Consequently, "they destroy and pervert it."[128] Valdés also defended that the lack of power in the church's word, recalling Peter's words to Ananias and Safira, was because the church had recurred to the secular power.[129] Significantly, this "most great mutation" happened early:[130] "The Christian matter began to decline already in Paul's time,"[131] as the disorders of Corinth reveal (remember that commenting *on Corinthians* Valdés appears to break his ideal scheme and include the "imperfect"[132]). Nevertheless, in Paul's time, "there was more faith in two cities (. . .) than in our times in ten provinces, or rather, in all Europe."[133]

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[123] Valdés, *Com. Psalms,* 130.
[124] Ortolani, Pietro Carnesecchi p. 125. Cited in: Nieto, *Jua de Valdés,* 148.
[125] Wagner (ed.), *Le Dialogue*, 15.
[126] Haggard draws a parallel between Valdés and the Anabaptists (*Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 1971, 17-18), but that is rather irrelevant, since there is no evidence of such a relationship or dependence.
[127] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 808. In these pages (808-810) Valdés reiterates three times that the the Church changed because she desired to govern herself and was deceived by human wisdom and philosophy.
[128] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 143.
[129] Ibid., 95. Contrary to the fusion with it like Crews suggests.
[130] So referred in: Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 808.
[131] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 107.
[132] Ibid., 50f.
[133] Ibid., 224.

An Alternative Church?

The second question concerning Valdés' concept of church is whether he thought only in spiritual terms or if he pursued a structured, somewhat parallel church in any sense. Otto, for instance, refers to Valdés' concept of the church as only "the assembly of the faithful," not "an organized church."[134] However, there are some traits of Valdés' thought that need to be addressed. Something which gives structure to the church, for instance, is the exercise of authority. Significantly, Valdés believed in "the keys" that Christ gave to the church. The keys were both to confirm and reproach. On one hand, confirming the faith of him who "believes with the heart through Holy Spirit and confesses with his mouth what he believes" "is most necessary in the church," seeing the individual's proneness to doubt.[135] On the other hand, the keys were given to reproach the unfaithfulness of the unbelieving as well as of him who, "through his bad life, shows that he does not confess it with the heart, that he speaks because he is taught and not inspired, that he speaks fruit of a flesh-and-blood agency and not out of Holy Spirit's revelation."[136] This recalls Alcaraz's "two aspects" of "the particular benefit of the life of the church" or ministry: "It edifies in the same proportion as it hurts it when it does not resist those who destroy it [i.e. the church]."[137] However, Valdés maintained that these keys were not given to a particular individual but to the church. Two of "those who are perfect in Christ" were enough "to both tie down the transgressor or unbound the teachable (. . .) counting on the fact that they are in agreement."[138]

In reference to leadership, Valdés certainly believed in authorities. He maintained that "the Christian church (. . .) is governed by apostles, evangelists, and doctors," specifying that these last ones were to be "doctors, not of taught doctrine but of inspired doctrine."[139] Furthermore, when the gathering of God's people, formerly the synagogue, was to be given to "those who governed"[140] the Christian church, Valdés stated,

> These who govern [the church] give the fruit of the vineyard to God, when they can say with Saint Paul that they are serving God in spirit and in the gospel of his Son, preaching the gospel, teaching the Christian living, and supplying the needs of those who are Christians.[141]

Valdés, furthermore, had his own definition of those who "govern." Apostles were "more than those we think of; Apostles were those who had a particular gift of

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[134] Otto, *Juan de Valdés,* 138.
[135] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 306-307.
[136] Ibid., 307.
[137] Taken from Alcaraz's letter 25th April 1526. Translation mine. It endeavors to keep as much as possible Alcaraz's words and syntax, understanding its inadequacy to present English grammar standards (AHN, *Trial Alcaraz*, fols.185v-186r).
[138] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 338-339. This is later recognized by Haggard (*Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 1971, 192).
[139] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 401.
[140] Sp. "principales" in English also "those in eminence."
[141] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 401-402.

apostleship."[142] Apostles are not those who "preach themselves (. . .) their fantasies and imaginations, regardless of how often they name Christ;" an Apostle is someone who has accepted the justice of Christ and is sent by God to preach Christ.[143] The Apostle is distinguished by his message and because he "makes men capable" to accept their actual remission and be reconciled with God.[144] Furthermore, it is essential that the individual be "inspired, moved, and sent by God" for the preaching of Christ to become the Word of God, in such a way "that the whole issue will depend on the sole will of God."[145] Otherwise, it will be a "word of man."[146]

Also in reference to church leadership, Valdés divided the ministry of the church in preaching and teaching, depending on its content: preaching deals with the gospel but teaching with Christian living and the duty of the gospel.[147]

> The office of apostle, of the preacher of the gospel, is to be a fisher of men, to draw them out of obscurity, darkness, and confusion of the kingdom of the world and to bring them to the light, clarity, and peace of the kingdom of God, and [to bring them] to the net with which these men are fished, which is the word of the gospel, the expression of the general pardon and forgiveness through the justice of God executed in Christ.[148]

An Apostle was as a father, who, "preaching the gospel, brings men to Christian regeneration, in such a way that they are children through him;" conversely, "doctors" "instruct him who is already regenerated." [149] Both of them, however, are "administrators of Christ (. . .) on the basis that they continue that which Christ began and continue in the name of Christ and as members of Christ." [150] Occasionally, however, both preaching and teaching could appear as the duty of the same individual.[151] Beyond the concept itself, Valdés' concept of church leadership has a direct significance for the way he considered himself, as, in Curione's words, "pastor and doctor of noble and illustrious people."

Valdés' view of church authority, therefore, is not totally "ahierarchic," as Domingo de Sta. Teresa has stated.[152] Firpo also refers to Valdés as "totally foreign (. . .) [to] the concept of church as magisterial authority."[153] Haggard speaks of it as a "move (. . .) towards the Anabaptist position" in that he endeavored to return to primitive Christianity.[154] On one hand, it is true that he did not rely or even refer to the church's hierarchy, except through the fictitious roles of the *Dialogue*. But on the other

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[142] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 297.
[143] Ibid., 194-195.
[144] Ibid., 213. Cf. also, ibid., 194.
[145] Ibid., 196-197.
[146] Ibid., 197.
[147] E.g. Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 204, 265.
[148] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 57.
[149] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 90.
[150] Ibid.,71. Cf. also, "Faithful and wise servant" is said to be "apostles and doctors in the Christian Church, preaching the gospel or teaching Christian living" (*Com. Mathew*, 458).
[151] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 265.
[152] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés,* 232, 239.
[153] Firpo, *Entre Alumbrados,* 98.
[154] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés,* 195.

hand, in addition to the personal experience and revelation from God, Valdés did suggest a kind of church authority.

Regarding Valdés' view of himself, his writings occasionally seem to betray his assumption of being part of the leadership that he attributed to apostles and doctors. In the preliminary remarks of Valdés' Neapolitan writings, this thesis has referred to Valdés' references, since the *Alphabet*, to "the preacher" and the "*dottore del vivere Christiano.*"[155] These were individuals who had received "the apostolate,"[156] tacitly referring also to himself and his pastoral labors, in the sense that its disciples should "serve their preacher and doctor with external and corporal services."[157] Likewise, Valdés introduced his *Commentary on Matthew* referring to himself as "what I am through the favorable benefit of God (. . .) who communicates to me (. . .) divine treasures."[158] Valdés' leadership is also tacitly implied as he somewhat subordinated the continuing influence of and perseverance in the Holy Spirit to the individual's following "the opinion of him through whom the individual has accepted the grace of the gospel and has received the Holy Spirit."[159] According to his personality and convictions concerning humility, his claims of spiritual authority could not be ostentatious; however, Valdés did believe in an authority, which in a small measure portrayed a somewhat structured church.

Valdés' Public Projection and Supposed Nicodemism

Another aspect which could suggest an alternative church, rather than merely a spiritual bond, is its public projection. In this regard, Domingo de Sta. Teresa refers to "a lack of concern to reform the church, particularly in the Italian period."[160] It is true that after Valdés' *Dialogue*, particularly on "the Reform of the Church," he went through a silent period in Rome. As he awakened to his religious interest he had a rather individual teaching, i.e. the *Alphabet*. However, there is a clear concept of the expansion of the gospel of Christ as he understood it. Furthermore, as his teaching and influence increased, his writings were explicitly letters, tracts, and guidelines for reformation, as *De Penitentia*. He may not have a message for the Church of Rome to be reformed, but he certainly wrote for the reform of Christianity. If Valdés' teaching included a public projection and expansion, it becomes necessary to re-evaluate the label often attached to him as a Nicodemite.

Valdés firmly believed in the proclamation of a gospel which actually was in opposition to the concept of contemporary Christianity as he saw it. Those who are Christ's disciples, Valdés stated, "are light of the world; and therefore, it behooves them to do the office of a light on a candlestick (. . .) letting people see them talking and

[155] Name already mentioned and used by Celio Secundo Curione in his dedicatory letter added to his ed. of Valdés' 110 *Considerations*.
[156] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 827.
[157] Ibid., 826-827.
[158] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 14.
[159] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 809.
[160] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 234.

conversing."[161] Those who shed no light on others "either do not know their dignity, or they are overcome by their pusillanimity."[162] For Valdés, one of the things that the Spirit moved and inspired was preaching the gospel.[163] It was an evidence of the individual's true love for God,[164] part of true piety.[165] Commenting on the parable of the talents, Valdés explains faithfulness as "preaching the gospel to all men."[166] Whoever knows and fully feels this benefit of Christ is not ashamed of the cross of Christ (. . .), counting as glorious to be treated by the world as Christ was."[167] It is very significant, in light of Valdés' initial religious frustration, that he repeatedly confesses not understanding God's promise to Abraham concerning inheriting the world;[168] notwithstanding, he believed that, like the grain of mustard seed, "the kingdom of heaven, being the most downcast and despised thing of all things that are taught in this present life, it grows in quantity as it is preached, embracing more people, and regarding quality, adding more perfection to those who embrace it."[169]

The public dimension of this outreach is underlined in view of Valdés' consciousness of the possibility to suffer persecution for it. Both accepting and preaching the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven constitute causes of persecution, "because men cannot bear that there would be another justice but that which they understand and reach with their human wisdom."[170] Notice that the kingdom and its justice are explicitly identified with justification by faith, and persecution comes from those who assume a righteousness according to human wisdom, in reference to his Christian contemporary environment. Valdés stated that "through persecution (. . .) the glory of God is magnified," and true Christians "are kept and sustained in the possession of the kingdom of God."[171] Very significantly in view of what Valdés occasionally suggests of himself, Christ's service, Saint Paul's, and the service of anyone preaching the gospel means "to lay one's life (. . .) for the sake of preaching the gospel to others and for teaching them Christian living," and furthermore, "they can say (. . .) that they supply that which lacked in Christ's passion for his body, which is the church."[172] Both Valdés' use of "gospel" and, undoubtedly, "Christian living" refer to Valdés' own concepts and definitions.

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[161] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 73. "The Christian should . . . invite those who are not Christ's to come to be Christ's" (*Com. Corinthians*, 192). Cf. also *Com. Matthew*, 303.

[162] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 73.

[163] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 239.

[164] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.73, p. 644.

[165] Ibid., n. 9, p. 511.

[166] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 467.

[167] Valdés, *Questions and Answers*, OC, 827.

[168] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 55-56, 132. Also, "In that which is written, 'Be wise and open to be taught,' I understand a particular exhortation for princes and judges of the world" (*Com. Psalms*, 23).

[169] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 261-2.

[170] Ibid., 67.

[171] Ibid.

[172] In Ref. to Col 1.24. Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 382. Cf. Also, commenting on the Lord's prayer: "suffering for Christ, that is, for the confession and manifestation of the Gospel of Christ, moves the individual to love and desire God and Christ above all things" (*Considerations*, n.24, p. 541). Cf. DDC, 111.

Nieto's grand view of Valdés in Naples has considerable objections. He sustains Valdés' teachings as,

> being broadcast from the pulpits of the churches in Naples through the eloquent preaching of (. . .) Ochino (. . .). Valdés was not interested only in the elite of the Italian aristocracy but tried also to reach out to the common people through the only means available to him. He aimed at a wider number of people and at popular reformation in a disguised manner.[173]

We do not doubt Carnesecchi's declaration, saying that Valdés "gave a slip of paper to Ochino for his message next day."[174] Differing from Firpo,[175] we do not doubt that Valdés desired his teaching to expand. We doubt, however, that there was a grand-scale planning or that Ochino would give himself to that. Ochino was a famous religious character apart from Valdés' and before Valdés' teaching. Furthermore, after Valdés' death, Ochino took a different theological direction than Valdés' close friends. However, to say that Valdés "does not propose plans for the reform of the theological teaching nor of Christianity" seems contrary to Valdés' teachings.[176]

At the other side of Valdés' public projection there is the caution and discretion that he also advised. Bataillon, Firpo, and a considerable number of writers speak of the general Nicodemism of that period and of Valdés in particular.[177] I understand that this label should be at least partially discarded. "Nicodemite" echoes the polarization between Protestantism and Catholicism. More particularly, it is an accusation of interested pragmatism and reproach used by Calvin against those who expressed acceptance of some Protestant tenets but did not follow the schism of the Protestant Reformation.[178] Of course there were interests and compromise in the religious commitment of people from all levels of society, clergy, noblemen, humanists, and lay people. In more modern research, Nicodemism speaks of the forced external simulation of orthodoxy while maintaining a dissident conviction. But, in any case, the term ignores, at least in part, the complexity of the phenomenon. The accusation that some middle positions were either pragmatic or disguised ignores that some of them could have positive reasons to avoid their identification with the Protestant Reformers. Carlo Ossola pointed to Valdés essential focus on "the kingdom of the internal and spiritual"

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[173] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 147.

[174] Ortolani, *Pietro Carnesecchi*, 163, 259. Cited in Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 149.

[175] He believes that even though Valdés might suggest Ochino the message he was to preach, that is not enough "to attribute the desire of extending his own religious ideas among the people in general" (Firpo, 2000, 27).

[176] As De Sta. Teresa defends, (1935, 239).

[177] Marcel Bataillon, «Juan de Valdès nicodémite ?», in *Aspects du Libertinisme du XVIe siècle. Actes du Colloque International de Sommières Mai 1973* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1974), 101; Massimo Firpo, «Reform of the Church and Heresy in the Age of Charles V: Reflections of Spain in Italy», en *Spain in Italy Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*, ed. Thomas James Dandelet (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 67, 102, 112.

[178] Particularly in reference to Calvin's "L'Excuse a Messieurs les Nicodemites." Jean Calvin, *Traité des reliques ; suivi de l'Excuse à Messieurs les Nicodémites (1544)*, intr. et notes Albert Autin, (Paris : Ed. Bossard, 1921).

as reasons for his non-schismatic position, not only his discretion.[179] The idea of a magisterial or state church or the contentious debates and mutual condemnations could have been enough for Valdés to disassociate himself from the Northern Reformers, not merely pragmatism or dissimulation.[180]

Valdés' position included some interests but also some positive arguments which severed him from the European heresiarchs. Authors like Hamilton and Firpo have pointed to Valdés advising "discretion and prudence in practicing the spirituality he taught, which should remain enclosed in the hearts of the truly pious."[181] As to the reason of this discretion, these two authors portray Valdés' position amidst the "real hope (. . .) that it would be possible to reconcile Catholics and Protestants."[182] That would be difficult to harmonize with Valdés' polarization between the Spirit's gospel and human wisdom's religion, false and true piety, or the saints of the world and the saints of God. Moreover, attributing the pursuit of ecclesiastical offices or material interests to Valdés would indicate inconsistency and hypocrisy, since true faith was revealed when it endured or prevailed over personal harm.[183]

Valdés' writings explicitly state some reasons for his apparent moderate public religious expression. Even in the *Dialogue* and repeated later in *Considerations*, Valdés expressed the convenience of staying in an ecclesiastical office, regardless of his disagreements, for the sake of being able to teach others.[184] A certain utilitarianism is evident as he stated that fleeing martyrdom did not harm but redounded to the cause of the gospel; fleeing did not mean to withdraw from "Christ's school" but to maintain oneself in it, in order to profit more in it.[185] Echoing Alcaraz,[186] the people's scandal was also a reason that could include a self-protection from the Inquisition. On the other hand, Valdés' emphasis on love, his rejection of theological partisanships, and his conciliatory personality undoubtedly distanced him from the sharp and belligerent contention between European Reformers and Rome. Valdés stated that to become passionate over a theological position was comparable to behaving like "beasts."[187] His non-commitment to the Protestant Reformation, therefore, appears to be a conviction, neither a treason to his religious convictions nor a concession because of his material or personal interests.

An interesting aspect of Valdés' non-defined position towards institutional Christianity or the Reformation is his *Converso* lineage. Bataillon traces Valdés' so-called Nicodemism to his *Converso* lineage.[188] Hamilton, conversely, doubts about

[179] Ossola ed., *Com. Matthew*, 75f.
[180] Something which Firpo recognizes (*Entre Alumbrados*, 2000, 115).
[181] Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés*, 107.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.14, 519.
[184] Valdés, DDC, 139; repeated in *Considerations*, n. 96, p. 655: "skilfully endeavoring to bring them" to the Gospel.
[185] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 188.
[186] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 3, p. 499.
[187] Ibid., n.105, p. 731.
[188] Bataillon, *Nicodemite?*, 97, 100.

Valdés' Nicodemism depending on *Conversos*, arguing that "Nicodemism can obviously only be applied to those *Conversos* who, in their hearts, wished to return to the Judaism of their ancestors." [189] As Hamilton properly pointed out, there was certainly a defiant element in Alcaraz's religious practices.[190] However, the attitude of "concealing" one's identity was not exclusive of relapsing or crypto-Jews. As this research has shown, the *Converso* identity was a more complex and diverse issue. In addition to a degree of external compliance, the *Converso* identity carried with it a peculiar independence. Their internal virtue appeared to give them rights to discriminate and judge the institutional church, belonging to Christianity but dissenting from their contemporary expression. This was very evident in Valdés' thought.

The Sacraments

Valdés' teaching on religious practice focuses on baptism, confession, and particularly on the eucharist. It is anecdotic that Stern and Carrasco argued concerning the *Alphabet*'s relevance or not in the discussion on the sacraments. Carrasco's Protestant perspective of Valdés intended to overlook the indications of the *Alphabet*, which were to be confirmed in the *Dialogue* when it was later discovered. It becomes evident why the studies before Bataillon are in some degree defective in their appraisal of Valdés.

Regarding Valdés' teaching on the sacraments, it is important to notice that he never referred generally to them.[191] Furthermore, I believe that Haggard improperly groups ceremonies and sacraments together, applying what Valdés wrote for ceremonies to sacraments, i.e. "accessory."[192] Furthermore, Haggard states that, "Valdés' doctrine on the sacraments, conceived in relationship to his central interpretative theme of law and gospel, finds its place at the level of law in its pedagogical usage."[193] Yet, Haggard maintains that, "after Valdés rejects all superstitious, ceremonious, and scrupulous elements of the visible church, there still remains the necessary and desirable part of the visible church which is mediatory."[194] On one hand, the evidence shows that Valdés' law and gospel theme is more theological than external versus internal religion, as Haggard maintains. In Valdés' writings, it actually appears to be derived from Luther. But on the other hand, it is strange for Haggard to speak of Valdés' thought considering the visible church as "mediatory," when even Catholic authors like Domingo de Sta. Teresa recognize Valdés' silence towards the church; "the child of God," Domingo de Sta. Teresa says, "does not feel the maternal warmth of the church" in Valdés' thought.

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[189] Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés,* 110.

[190] Ibid.

[191] It is risky to speak of Valdés' "Sacramentology" or "his teachings on the sacraments," as Haggard phrases it (1971, 216).

[192] Haggard, *Ch. and Sacraments Valdés,* 215. Cione does group ceremonies with the Lord's Supper (*Juan de Valdés,* 1938, 109); and doing that, he saves some ceremonies with Valdés' appreciation to the Lord's Supper. However, the distinction should be kept.

[193] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés,* 215.

[194] Ibid., 195.

Baptism

Concerning baptism, Valdés maintained its divine origin and validity; however, he still confirmed the entrance into the kingdom through the spiritual experience of revealed faith, according to his general soteriological scheme. Cione speaks of Valdés' view as an Erasmian concept;[195] however, Valdés went much further as he linked it to justification by faith and its effects in the individual because of inspired faith. Valdés identified baptism as a "divine commandment,"[196] the individual's "confession" of faith,[197] a "vow,"[198] and even as an act through which definite "effects" were communicated to man. However, baptism is depicted as dependent and secondary to the gospel of justification by faith and the experience of revealed faith. Valdés' arguments emerge from the Scriptures and primitive church practice, so expressed in Scripture. It is very significant that he used the Erasmian concept of "vow" when speaking with Giulia in the *Alphabet*. Considering the stability of Valdés' thought throughout his writings, his Erasmian vocabulary could betray his accommodation, not a mask, towards an audience who could better receive his message in that terminology. It is not, I think, that he departed from Erasmus as time went on in Naples, but rather that he accommodated his expression towards Giulia, as he was explicitly compliant to her in that writing. Nevertheless, regarding "vow," Valdés maintained baptism as a "resolution" to obedience throughout his Neapolitan period.[199]

Even though a commitment, baptism has a secondary role in Valdés, but I would not qualify it as "accessory." Valdés' comments on Matthew's Great Commission made it clear. First, Christ commanded instruction to all nations, and that "instruction is the proper communication of the gospel" (i.e. what he defined as gospel). "Afterwards," Valdés remarked, those who have admitted that instruction and accepted it, will have themselves as reconciled with God and need to be baptized.[200] In other passages of Valdés' writings, this order was even clearer: first is to know Christ through revelation, the acceptance of the covenant that God established with people; people "believe, and, because they believe, they are baptized."[201] Valdés referred to the early church in Scripture and said, "First was to judge and consider oneself as dead to the world; and afterwards, one was to come to baptism."[202] First, the people were called "saints;" and afterwards, in baptism, they were called Christians,[203] rather significant for a *Converso* descendent.

Valdés expressed a secondary role of baptism through its dependence on faith. He defended that baptism in itself does not save from God's judgment but faith does,

[195] Cione, *Juan de Valdés,* 110.
[196] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 11.
[197] Valdés, *Com. Romans,* 190.
[198] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 398.
[199] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.104, p. 727ff; *Com. Matthew*, 533-534.
[200] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 534.
[201] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n.6, p. 505
[202] Ibid., n. 19, p. 528-529.
[203] Ibid., p. 529.

i.e. "the faith with which we baptize ourselves."[204] On children, baptism is only valid and "effectual" "when coming to the age of discretion, feeling by God's will the voice of the gospel, we rejoice at having been baptized; in such a way, that if we were not baptized (. . .) we would come to baptism."[205] On adults, in addition to faith being required for baptism,[206] Valdés expressed the supremacy of faith as evident in the very church practice, "it is not administered to adults if they first do not make profession of faith." [207] Baptism without inspired faith, explicitly, is as if the person was not baptized.[208]

For Valdés, baptism had the character of a confession of faith. Commenting on confessing Christ for salvation, he explained that "I understand this confession to be properly at baptism."[209] The baptismal water, even though being God's condescension "to our frailty," helped the individual to confirm his faith.[210] Baptism, therefore, was "a testimony of his faith."[211]

Further than a mere confession, however, in baptism there were some "effects" communicated to the individual. It is not accurate, as Carrasco states, that baptism was "a simple confession," which "in itself does not contribute with any special grace."[212] First of all, generally and in connection with baptism, Valdés stated that "the faith of the heart increases with the confession of the mouth."[213] Significantly, whereas the effect of preaching the gospel depended on God's sending the individual, baptism did not require God's personal commissioning; the effects of baptism were dependant on the faith of him who came to baptism,[214] not on the minister.[215] The efficacy of one's "confession and profession (. . .) in baptism (. . .) consists of the effect of the words" of the gospel in the individual.[216] In baptism, when we come with faith in the gospel, "We come out of infidelity and through baptism, we pass from death unto life, from mortality to immortality, and from corruption to incorruption;" however, baptism "causes these

[204] Valdés, *Instruction Children*, OC, 929. This expression is repeated, almost verbatim in Consideration n. 104, p. 727. "Baptize ourselves," not in passive but in active form, may sound awkward in English, but it is the form used here by Valdés and used also on other occasions (e.g., *Com. Matthew*, 33; *Com. Romans*, 81).

[205] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.104, p. 728; "Effectual," that is, "we begin to feel in our own selves the fruit of baptism when accepting . . ." (Com. Matthew, 535). Otto claims that regarding the adult bringing to rememberance his infant baptism, Valdés was inspired in Plato (1989, 134). On one hand, it is not necessary to go to Plato; on the other hand, that would contradict the essential polarization which Valdés portrayed between Philosophy and spiritual wisdom concerning divine matters.

[206] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 30-32; *Com. Corinthians*, 12; *Com. Matthew*, 33, 37. The apostles in the great commission "should not baptize except those who have accepted the grace of the Gospel" (*Com. Matthew*, 534).

[207] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 38.

[208] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 30-31.

[209] Sp "pertenece al bautismo." Ibid., 190.

[210] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n.104, p. 727.

[211] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 32.

[212] Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan*, 122. He later explains, however, that there is an efficacy of the Holy Spirit for which "the faith of the novice is augmented through the external act that he did" (ibid., 122).

[213] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 190.

[214] Ibid., 11, 31.

[215] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 11. Commissioned from Sp. delegación, propia legación.

[216] Ibid., 12-13.

effects, not because of itself, but because of the faith in Christ, with which he brings to baptism those who come to it."[217] When faith is included, the "fruit of baptism"[218] is "peace of conscience," "mortification," [219] death towards the world and self, [220] "vivification," "enjoyment of forgiveness and reconciliation with God" [221] "incorporation,"[222] the change of one's nature, i.e. "regeneration,"[223] and the beginning of a life for God and Christ.[224] Valdés' concept, therefore, includes the communication of special works of God in the individual.

These aspects reveal the depth and complexity of Valdés' teaching of "faith and baptism" as entrance to Christianity. On one hand Valdés withdraws any effect from the mere ritual and makes baptism subservient to faith. On the other hand, he adds much more to it than the institutional concept of removing original sin. Both aspects depict a definition clearly different from what the institutional church of his time taught, which particularly focused on ritual and performance. Valdés' "faith and baptism," therefore, more than by its face value,[225] needs to be understood in all their joint complexity. To state that "It is this incorporation into Christ at baptism that affords the restoration that the gospel promises"[226] is a misrepresentation of Valdés' thought; the overwhelming majority of his writing and his teaching on baptism focused on the spiritual experience of faith as primary in that restoration. Furthermore, the baptism's subservience to faith with all its associated "effects" cannot be said to be "very Erasmian and thereby traditionally Catholic."[227] Haggard traces a journey of Valdés, defending baptism as a vow in the *Dialogue*, later being changed to "only faith in Christ," and later turning to "establish a more positive status for baptism "as a restored, Christian ceremony."[228] That journey is artificial. There is no change in Valdés' anthropology and soteriology regarding man's depravity and how it is solved; it was clearly different from Erasmus.

Penance, Confession

There is a difference of opinion considering Valdés and confession. Carrasco referred to Valdés as only recognizing "baptism and the Supper" as sacraments.[229] Nieto, and Haggard following him, state that "Valdés recognizes only two sacraments."[230] Conversely, explicitly in the *Alphabet,* Valdés calls confession a "high

[217] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 33.
[218] Ibid., 535.
[219] Ibid., 37; *Alphabet*, OC, 445.
[220] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 81.
[221] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 535.
[222] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 229-230.
[223] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 81.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Like De Sta. Teresa does (*Juan de Valdés*, 1935, 199).
[226] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés*, 170.
[227] Ibid., 219.
[228] Ibid., 222, 226-227.
[229] Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan*, 122.
[230] Nieto, *Juan de Valdés*, 121; Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés*, 231-232. Also Otto, *Juan de Valdés*, 134.

sacrament." Even though Haggard recognizes that, he explains that "even though Valdés does make an explicit reference, Valdés does not provide with it meaning and definition as is true with baptism and holy communion." This leads Haggard to conclude that "confession was not important to Valdés in the same sense as the other sacraments."[231] I do not subscribe to this view. It is no strange that Valdés would maintain confession; as Cione states, also Luther and the Smalcald articles recognized confession.[232]

Valdés' thought about confession is significant and characteristic, and it is more so when considered with his *Dialogue*. It is true, as Domingo de Sta. Teresa states, that there is not any reference to confession except in the *Alphabet* and in *Christian Instruction for Children*. The appearance of confession in Valdés' *Instruction* is only a reference to it, but very significant. Valdés included it in the final summary of that writing, located among the things that children are to grow into, particularly, along with holy communion. Even though small, this reference indicates that Valdés' appreciation for it continued till the end; however, it should be understood through Valdés' expressions[233] and discussions.

In the *Dialogue* and in the *Alphabet*, Valdés departed from the traditional approach to confession, which Cione appropriately described as "based on the priestly and forensic distinction between guilt and restitution."[234] One of Valdés' key points of focus, similar to the *Converso* Alonso de Cartagena, is on the heart-attitude of the subject: "with deep humility and firm, fervent charity."[235] Consequent with his emphasis, Valdés does not elaborate on the particular act but rather on the humility that comes from the knowledge of one's "own malice," casting away all "pride and arrogance."[236] A common interest and discussion both in the *Dialogue* and in the *Alphabet* is the matter of the sins that are to be confessed. Fleeing again from the casuistry of sin, Valdés emphasizes the confession of "affections" and those attitudes that reflect a non-mortified disposition. That which was "more difficult and hard" was precisely the thing to be sooner and better confessed, abasing one's "natural arrogance."[237] On the other hand, as to "secret faults" or unconscious sins, these "do not belong to confession."[238] Secret faults should be confessed "continually to God," in order that one's old nature might be "fully" mortified and its defects cease; these, however, were not to be confessed to the priest. Comparing the *Dialogue*, with the *Alphabet*, the discrimination of sins to be confessed, the focus on the subject's attitude and resolution of the sinful inclination, even though containing understandable variations, reflect a common tenet apart from the traditional approach to confession.

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[231] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés*, 234.
[232] Cione, *Juan de Valdés*, 110.
[233] E.g. "I could say many things about confession, since with much care (Sp. curiosidad) have I searched about it" (DDC, 90); "such a high sacrament" (*Alphabet*, OC, 466).
[234] Cione, *Juan de Valdés*, 71.
[235] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 463.
[236] Ibid., 462, 464.
[237] Ibid., 464.
[238] Ibid., 465.

This becomes crystal clear when compared with Cisneros', Talavera's, or Ciruelo's instructions.

Both in the *Dialogue* and in the *Alphabet*, Valdés' presentation of confession had a victorious perspective. In the *Dialogue*, it was better and possible not having to go to confession. In the *Alphabet*, the fruit of confession was to have a "firm faith" in that "God has forgiven you all your sins."[239] Confession, therefore, was not an inevitable pessimistic obligation; it was a remedy for sin and for growth in sanctification.[240]

Both in the *Dialogue* and in the *Alphabet*, a particular attention is given to the confessor and his advice. Especially in the *Alphabet*, Valdés described the appropriate confessor according to his convictions. Behind his descriptions and interest for Giulia to choose her confessor with "all prudence and all authority," I cannot but wonder whether Valdés was not betraying his desire to be her confessor. In Valdés' opinion, these confessors or "spiritual men" were as scarce as "white flies." The confessor was to be "very appropriate for his task" and able "to feel and taste spiritual things," one "who had acquired and verified through experience that which he had read in books."[241] According to Saint Paul, Valdés stated, "experience" "is the way to come to know the things of the Spirit of God;"[242] theological formation was secondary to a good confessor. Again, this "feeling and tasting spiritual things" not only recalls the *Dialogue* but also the context of María Cazalla and the *Alumbrado* conflict. If Giulia happened to be able to examine herself with "a spiritual person," "the fruit would be much greater."[243] The spiritual person "will know how to give succor" to her.[244] It is also very significant in this regard to recall that Alcaraz's teaching took place after church, talking with some individuals, among whom there were women. It resembles very much the conversation with Giulia, which caused Valdés' *Alphabet.*

As in the case of baptism, the virtue of confession was not in the act itself. Domingo de Sta. Teresa states that Valdés "wanted to keep [Giulia] from the common error to believe that the external ritual of confession, without faith, hope, and charity, was enough to receive pardon."[245] Valdés' words appear to have further implications. The virtue of confession rested on the person who came to it; Valdés underlined to Giulia that the fruit of confession comes "because you believe in Christ, you love Christ, and you have placed your hope in Christ, and you have confessed them because God wanted you to."[246] Further, therefore, than not conforming to an empty ritualism, Valdés was advising Giulia in the context of faith in Christ's justification and God moving her to it, two distinguishing characteristics of Valdés' thought.

[239] Ibid., 411, 464.
[240] Ibid., 465.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid., 466.
[243] Ibid., 449
[244] Ibid.
[245] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 121.
[246] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 465.

The Mass and the Eucharist

Regarding the mass, the parallels between the *Alphabet* and the *Dialogue* are even more remarkable, confirming once again the Valdessian authorship of the *Dialogue*. In both occasions, the discussion appears after the issue of one's approach to God has been dealt with, i.e. man's depravity and how to come to love God. In both writings, Valdés discussed with the same emphasis the high sacredness of the eucharist and the individual's attentiveness during the whole mass, i.e. to Scripture readings and the sermon. Significantly, discussing the hearing of the sermon, Valdés explained on both occasions the attitude of the hearer before a deficient preaching. As I noted in the case of the *Dialogue*, the elements and emphases are clearly traceable to the days of the *Alumbrados*, also echoed in the trial of María de Cazalla.

Generally speaking concerning the mass and the eucharist, it is important to clarify its context and connotations. Neither in the *Dialogue* nor the *Alphabet* does the discussion emerge from Valdés' initiative; in both cases it is an afterthought or an answer to a question. Valdés' main message was not about the mass but on how to approach and enter into a love-relationship with God. Nevertheless, Valdés' discussions are not merely a mystical emphasis "to avoid deplorable extremes," like Domingo de Sta. Teresa expresses.[247] They present alternative perspectives, adapting religious praxis, important to Valdés, to his own convictions and emphases of Scripture meditation, his didactic understanding, justification by faith, etc. Therefore, once again, his discussion on the mass or the eucharist cannot be taken as a general endorsement to the institutional church.

The Eucharist: Memory and Presence

Valdés' perspective on communion is presented in the *Alphabet* and in his Bible Commentaries (i.e. on 1 Corinthians 11 and Matthew 26, that is, in addition to what he said in the *Dialogue*). As with baptism, these discussions present a uniform concept which Valdés maintained throughout his life. Valdés believed that Christians of his day perverted the eucharist and themselves in a "greater" way and "without comparison" in relationship to the Corinthians, whom the apostle Paul corrected.[248] Whereas Christ's" intention and use" were "most pure and simple," Valdés stated that people had "repudiated and profaned" "the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ for other ends, very much contrary to those that Christ himself intended for."[249] Fruit of that perversion, he considered that there had been "a great calamity" and "chastisement" brought to the church. What Valdés exposed as he commented on 1st Corinthians 11, is the remedy: that people would "return to the fountain, and draw clear water from there [Scripture], governing themselves by the words and intention of Christ in everything."[250]

[247] De Sta. Teresa. *Juan de Valdés*, 204.
[248] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 216.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid., 217.

Valdés, as he discusses the perversion of this "most holy sacrament," directed his reproach to the church leadership.[251] Upon the disorderly growth of so-called Christians, those who were in authority thought of "changing the order [of it](. . .) and, from hand to hand, the matter was reduced to that which today is held and kept."[252] The problem, according to Valdés, was the change that the leadership made, a change that seems to coincide with that which Valdés referred to as "the great mutation" from the primitive church. Valdés' message, therefore, was not primarily to correct the people's ignorant or secular way to celebrate the sacrament; his discussions were to correct that which the leadership had instituted. Domingo de Sta. Teresa obviates these categorical considerations, referring to Valdés as "a person of very few words" concerning communion.[253]

The correct understanding for the Lord's Supper, according to Valdés, was contained in Scripture: "The words of all the evangelists are so clear (. . .) and the intention of Christ is so clear (. . .) that there should be no doubt as to his purpose and will."[254] Valdés' arguments include the representative nature of the sacrament, the theological content of it, and the individual's involvement in it.

Valdés' explicitly high concept of the eucharist is understood and repeatedly referred to as an act of "remembrance" and "representation." Commenting on Corinthians, he referred to its celebration as gathering with the purpose of "refreshing the death of Christ in their memories, according to its institution."[255] A few pages later, he reiterates,

> Since you see that the intention of Christ is his commemoration, (. . .) you do not eat nor drink this [sacrament] for your bodies' sustenance but to announce the death of Christ, refreshing it in your memory, which [remembrance] has to last as long as he delays his coming a second time.[256]

The intention of the Lord, therefore, is "to leave his death, his blood shed for us, imprinted in our dispositions,[257] so that (. . .) we might be assured of his pardon through it [the sacrament], considering [through those elements] Christ justified and seeing his shed blood."[258] Therefore, even though there is a close identification of the elements with the body and blood of Christ, Valdés' emphasis is on the understanding and memory of Christ's sacrifice. He even states, parallel to what he said on baptismal water, that the physical elements "are to remedy our frailty; (. . .) human disposition is

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[251] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 484. Repeatedly referred to as "holy sacrament" (*Com. Corinthians*, 211).
[252] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 217-18.
[253] De Sta. Teresa, *Juan de Valdés*, 200-201. Sp. "parco".
[254] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 218. Valdés refers to the profanity and sacrilege of taking away or adding from that which "is expressly commanded in the book of the law" (Ibid).
[255] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 205. Also "After the super, they could not celebrate together the commemoration of the death of Christ" (ibid.); also "they could not gather to represent the Lord's supper, announcing the death of Christ" (ibid., 207); "Gathered to represent" (ibid., 200).
[256] Ibid., 210.
[257] Notice this typical expression of Valdés, coincident with DDC (OC, 31, 111, 118, et al).
[258] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 484.

of such a nature that without them it would have nothing upon which to found its faith."[259]

A significant issue of Valdés' concept is the identification of the elements with the body and blood of Christ. Valdés advised Giulia to approach communion "full of faith that under those elements there is the true body and blood" of Christ.[260] Carrasco, from a Protestant perspective of Valdés, does not address this statement. He discards the *Alphabet* as a reliable source to assess Valdés' view. This is not acceptable. Otto discards any "real presence"[261] in Valdés' concept and avoids any explanation of this statement. Haggard, on the other hand, says that Valdés affirmed "a real presence of the body of Christ,"[262] "implying a belief in the Catholic view of transubstantiation."[263] However, Haggard does not translate well as he quotes Valdés. Concerning the drinking of the cup, Haggard translates "the moment *a particle* of the blood of Christ touches them." However, what Valdés said was, "As we all drink of the cup of blessing (. . .) on the basis that *the participation* of the blood of Christ touches or has application to all of us (i.e. a part of it is allotted to all of us)."[264] There is no way that *parte* could be translated as "particle."

Valdés' view of the eucharist corresponds much rather to Luther's concept. The emphasis on faith and remembrance, without the discussion on transubstantiation, resembled Luther's explanation: "In virtue of his words, the true body of Christ is present."[265] Furthermore, explaining how Christ is in the elements, Luther actually used the concept of Christ's divinity being "under the accidents of the human nature."[266] Considering how Valdés used and assimilated important convictions from Luther, and having access to his *Babylonian Captivity,* which was published in 1520, a dependence on Luther is clearly feasible. In fact, having Haggard referred to Valdés implying transubstantiation, because of its dependence on faith, he turns around and says that "Valdés definitely stands in the tradition of the Reformation by placing the sacrament in a secondary and dependent position.[267]

Following Valdés' foundation on justification by faith, his essential emphasis was also mentioned in relationship with the sacrament. Bread and wine were to refresh the memory of his passion, "in which passion (. . .) he established a new covenant between God and men (. . .) that we might believe to be justified by the blood of Jesus Christ."[268] The participation in the sacrament, consequently, was a public expression

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[259] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 210-211.

[260] Valdés wrote to Giulia to approach communion (*Alphabet,* 467).

[261] Otto, *Juan de Valdés,* 137.

[262] Haggard, *Sacraments Valdés,* 16.

[263] Ibid., 239, 248.

[264] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians,* 187. Lit. "*Así como todos bebemos (. . .) somos una mesma cosa, en cuanto a todos nos toca parte de la sangre de Cristo, siendo todos justificados por ella.*"

[265] *Bab. Cap.,* Luther's Works, Ed. Pelikan, vol. 36, p. 33.

[266] Ibid., 35.

[267] Haggard, 229-230. He latter stated that Valdés moved to a more "Zwinglian and Anabaptist" view of communion, 250.

[268] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 467. Also, When Christians gather, the intent is "to refresh in your memory the death of Christ, in which God executed the rigor of his justice" (*Doctr. Epistles*, 863); "Know that this

"that you are just and holy"[269] and an assurance of the individual's "justification (. . .) resurrection, and eternal life."[270]

Differing from Haggard's appreciation of Valdés thinking of communion as "accessory," [271] Valdés viewed the eucharist in a totally different light than the ceremonies he resented. As other crucial concepts of Valdés' thought, communion had an effect in the individual's soul. On one hand, the person had to be moved to the sacrament by "the fervent desire to unite[272] yourself to Christ through faith, hope, and charity (. . .) three virtues that I desire for you to awake (. . .) as you go to communion."[273] Furthermore, Valdés advised Giulia to approach communion,

> Filled with confidence in the promise of Christ, very much assured that this heavenly food will give you much power and strength to spiritedly[274] walk the Christian way, and it will assure and defend you from the combats (. . .) of your affections and appetites (. . . .) the most holy participation of the most precious body and blood of Jesus Christ will do all these effects and many others in one's disposition.[275]

Just as in the *Dialogue*, Valdés encouraged a frequent practice of communion, even "more so for those who, having set before themselves the idea of Christian perfection, have begun to walk towards it."[276] Nevertheless, avoiding the idea of necessity or obligation, one "could dispense with it on non-feast days," particularly "when there was a work of charity which was better."[277]

Differing from his Spanish background, Valdés' celebration of the sacrament was alien from a mournful attitude or a focus on the human pathos of the cross. And beyond the memory or the presence of Christ in the sacrament, Valdés gave an instrumentality to it comparable to central issues like faith, incorporation, regeneration, etc. This speaks of his eclectic thought and use of sources to express his own message.

Hearing the Sermon

Another remarkable coincidence between the *Dialogue* and the *Alphabet* refers to the "doctrine" of the Epistle and the Gospel within the mass, understanding doctrine not as the articles of faith but as practical guidelines of Christian religion.[278] Clearly recalling the *Alumbrado* conflict and the trial of María Cazalla, the matter is that one

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bread that, as you see, is broken for you . . . is my body, you will remember to do this in memory of me, refreshing with it in your memories that like this bread is broken for y ou . . . likewise this body is broken for you . . . and all partake of it, being executed in it the justice of God for all that was to be executed in all of you" (*Com. Corinthians*, 209).

[269] Valdés, *Doctr. Epistles*, 864.

[270] Valdés, *Com. Corinthians*, 211; *Com. Matthew*, 486.

[271] As Haggard defends (*Ch. and Sacraments Valdés*, 1971, 249).

[272] Notice the "union" concept but away from any connotation of theosis, i.e. deification.

[273] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 467.

[274] sp. animosamente.

[275] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 467-468.

[276] Ibid., 467.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Different than the theological view Nieto presents (e.g., *Juan de Valdés*, 1970, 224).

"will always be able to gather (. . .) a [profitable] consideration" from the sermon.[279] Sometimes the preacher "is of those who do not preach Christ," but "vain, curious things," or "philosophies, dreams, fables;" however, on behalf of "the need that some souls have," Valdés exhorted Giulia to ask most fervently that "Christ will send to his church preachers" who would preach "his holiest doctrine."[280] As in the *Dialogue*, Valdés exhorted that, when hearing any good thing, she was to "print it on her soul."[281] This scriptural and didactic perspective of attending the mass can be clearly traced to Alcaraz, the *Dialogue*, and now reiterated by Valdés. As Hamilton rightly pointed out, Marquina's confession in the trial of Alcaraz revealed that, out of Alcaraz's teaching, Marquina stopped praying throughout the mass in view of a better listening of the Gospel and the Epistle.[282]

On Devotions and Exercises

Concerning devotions, Valdés' expressions add very little to his attitude toward ceremonies and "man's writings;" however, his statements are relevant regarding his link to the *Dialogue*, and with Alcaraz. Valdés referred to "people who are dependent on scriptures of men, being bounded (or shackled) with them, and remaining always imperfect, even though they esteem and count themselves as most perfect.[283] Once again, this terminology confirms Valdes' authorship of the *Dialogue*, and his link to Alcaraz.

Another significant trait of Valdés' concept of devotions has to do with images. Valdés conceded to the use of images, as long as the person used them "as an alphabet of Christian piety;" people were to leave them after they had "savored and felt the benefit of Christ."[284] This use, however, referred to the individual who had not yet received inspired faith. This concession clearly corresponds to what he maintained concerning "corporal and external exercises," which were only useful at the threshold of and prior to receiving inspired faith, true knowledge of God, i.e. entering into the kingdom of God.[285]

According to what Valdés described in the *Dialogue* concerning the gifts of the Spirit and according to what he himself wrote, his devotions emerged from Scripture and other books which underlined internal religion. The gift of teaching Christian living was "very necessary in all ages."[286] The lesson from Scripture, particularly for Giulia, was to consist of "very plain things, igniting your will and not occupying your understanding:" "You read not in order to learn how to reason but to understand how

[279] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 457.
[280] Ibid., 458.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Hamilton, *Juan de Valdés*, 112.
[283] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 373.
[284] Valdés, *Considerations*, OC, n. 32, p.555.
[285] Cf. Ibid., n. 57, p. 613.
[286] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 246.

you should live."[287] And Valdés gives some examples of those "plainest books," like the *Imitation of Christ*. Once again, the uniformity of Valdés' view of piety and thought is evident throughout his writings.

On Prayer

Prayer constitutes another aspect which reveals both Valdés' thought and spirituality. Leaving aside the particular traits of prayer when the individual enters into God's kingdom, the following paragraphs discuss Valdés' teaching regarding the practice of prayer by the Christian. No doubt, prayer was a crucial element of the Christian's life; however, the issues of mental versus vocal prayer, devotions, and rituals, in view of the *Alumbrado* conflict, make Valdés' concept of prayer a significant study.

The reading of Valdés' writings depict prayer as a "latent desire" and "meditation" rather than actually praying. This notion is traceable to the *Alumbrado* conflict of vocal versus mental prayer, with Valdés leaning to the latter. He certainly advised Giulia to pray vocally, since "it often ignites and elevates one's disposition to mental prayer;" however, even then, he resented any "self-imposed obligation" to any recitation of Psalms or "Lord's prayer."[288] While vocal prayer was to be "secret, outwardly peaceful (. . .) of few words but of much faith and affection, asking (. . .) only those things necessary for the glory of God,"[289] mental prayer "has neither need for self-seclusion, since men do not see it, nor need to check words, since it does not consist of words; and with mental prayer, I mean the Christian man's desire, endeavoring to obtain something from God."[290] Mental prayer, or "desire," was to be permanent, whereas "vocal prayer" was to be occasional: "Even though all the Christian's life should be a continual prayer, a continual desire of God's glory, it is good sometimes to take a moment[291] to be in prayer, which is to be in solitude, so that one's disposition would be more recollected in God, as Christ did."[292]

This continual "desire for the glory of God" is also joined with a "continual fast," consisting of an "abstinence from those things that make the flesh grow against the spirit."[293] Conversely, when discussing the early church's perseverance in prayer, Valdés referred to it as "perhaps (. . .) reminiscences from Judaism."[294] Valdés'

[287] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 458-459.
[288] Ibid., 460.
[289] Ibid., repeated in *Com. Matthew*, 103.
[290] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 103. Cf. also "I have already said that the Christian's prayer properly is the fervent desire to obtain something from God" (*Com. Romans*, 294; repeated almost verbatim in *Com. Matthew*, 279).
[291] Sp. "Es bueno tomar algún rato" clearly indicates an occassional happening.
[292] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 279. Valdés also states that "perseverance in prayer" is a "firm and constant desire" for God's glory, the neighbors' wellbeing, and one's as well: "This continual desire is the continual prayer of the Christian, who, always desiring, always prays, and persevering in his desire, perseveres in prayer, and the desire of one's disposition is what God hears" (*Com. Romans*, 249).
[293] Valdés, *Christian Instruction*, OC, 930.
[294] Valdés, *Com. Romans*, 249.

exhortation "to be importunate and perseverant,"[295] therefore, speaks of a latent fervency rather than the actual exercise of prayer.

Writing to Giulia, Valdés depicted a clear example of prayer which was not merely a continual desire. He stated,

> "If saying (. . .) *adveniat regnum tuum* (. . .) God shows you the happiness of one's disposition when God reigns in it (. . .) pause in that consideration (. . .) or, for instance, if saying (. . .) *cor mundum crea in me Deus* (. . .) you feel that your heart begins to ignite with a desire for that cleanliness, and your heart begins to open itself, anxious that the Holy Spirit be renewed in it, do not proceed further. With a thought of Christ crucified, increase the fire of your heart and open wide the doors of your heart for it to become clean and (. . .) full of the Holy Spirit. You will do this, without having forced yourself beforehand to a certain number of Psalms or Lord's Prayer.[296]

This discussion reveals the experience of prayer that Valdés proposed, which, according to him, was dependent on the Spirit, meditation on the Word, but not on regulated recitation. In view of his days among the different practices and excesses of *Recollection* and *Abandonment,* Valdés' view of mental prayer had no connotation of non-propositional mysticism, of denying the senses, or as Ortiz criticized regarding the *Abandonment*, of "the passivity of frozen posts, more appropriate for sleep time."[297] Valdés' concept of prayer was mainly an exercise of meditation on and contemplation of scriptural themes.

This character of prayer as "meditation," is very evident as Valdés commented on the Lord's Prayer. It was very evident in the *Dialogue* and continued clearly throughout his Neapolitan writings.[298] The Lord's Prayer embodied and was a good criterion for a "spirit-moved prayer."[299] It, furthermore, constituted a guarantee of God's answer; therefore the Christian should lay all his confidence in its petitions.[300] Typical of Valdés' contrasts between the false and the true Christian, those petitions

> cannot exist except in those who sanctify God, love God's glory (. . .) [; they] are certain that they will be well in God's kingdom (. . . .) [; they] love God and are certain that they are loved by God (. . .) [; they] depend totally on God (. . .) [and] walk after perfection," i.e. "the regenerated.."[301]

In other words, "Many people ask these seven things with their mouths, but only those who accept the grace of the gospel of Christ and, being regenerated in Christ, are introduced into God's kingdom by Christ, ask them heartily."[302]

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[295] Valdés, *Alphabet*, OC, 460.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Spanish: "Pasmo de postes helados y por convenible para el tiempo de dormir." (fol.273v; cited in: Selke, *Francisco Ortiz*, 261).
[298] E.g. Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 78; p. 658; *Questions and Answers,* OC, 828-830.
[299] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 129; *Questions and Answers,* OC, 829-830.
[300] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 129; *Questions and Answers,* OC 829-830.
[301] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 104-107.
[302] Ibid., 107. Cf. *Christian Instruction,* OC, 930. Cf. also *Considerations,* OC, n.71, p. 637-640.

Two aspects that naturally flow from Valdés' thought to the matter of prayer are the immediate intervention of the Holy Spirit and the confidence of the individual. Even from his *Commentary on Psalms*, Valdés expressed the constant desire "of those who are governed by the Holy Spirit" to understand whether a prayer is God-moved or human-moved.[303] The origin of a prayer is crucial in its relationship to whether it should be trusted and whether it will be answered. Evidently, the union with God that Valdés taught needed to materialize itself in a communication of prayers and answers between the individual and God. Regarding prayer, like in all issues pertaining to one's disposition and body, Valdés believed that the individual stood in absolute need; however, "we will always ask God his Holy Spirit, and he will give it to us through Jesus Christ."[304]

Typically, in this difference between God-moved and human-moved prayers, there is an essential difference between the natural man and the regenerated. Regardless how many could "say out loud, *per Jesum Christum dominum nostrum*, nobody prays through Christ except those who have the Spirit of Christ."[305] Again, Valdés' sharp distinction is not between the pious and the wicked but between the truly pious and the religious people. The individual might "imitate" the procedures of the saints, but at most, he will pray as one "taught," not "inspired."[306] Valdés labeled these non-spiritually-led individuals as "ethnic Christians, who think that, because of their abundant talk, they have to be heard;" conversely, "who prays inspired is like this woman who with two words asked what she wanted from Christ, exposing her need to him according to what she felt in her disposition."[307] This reference to prayer portrays several traits of Valdés' concept of prayer: Spirit-moved, brief, and without anguish.

Valdés' division between the natural person and the regenerated differentiates and interprets the individual's intentions as well. Those who pray without the Spirit, for instance, "pray that which their own spirits desire and want for their own satisfaction."[308] Human wisdom in a natural person's prayer seeks to "be satisfied with his own works;" it is "mixed with pride" and "presumption."[309] If it happens that he obtains what he prays for, he feels "a satisfaction mixed with arrogance," contrary to those who pray "with Holy Spirit," who feel "a satisfaction mixed with humility and mortification."[310] "Those who understand and know through Holy Spirit" experience and are conscious of the moving of the Spirit. They discern and grow in their discernment of that which is of the Spirit; they ask according to God's will and obtain God's response.[311]

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[303] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 138.
[304] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 45, p. 591.
[305] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 116.
[306] *Com. Cor.*, 589; *Com. Mt.* 292.
[307] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 292.
[308] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 11-12.
[309] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 48, p. 589. Cf. also, ibid., p. 590.
[310] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 48, p. 588. Contrasts of prayer and its motivation based on being "generated" or "regenerated" also referred to in *Questions and Answers,* OC, 829.
[311] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 48, p.587, 590 ; *Com. Psalms*, 116.

Another trait of prayer that naturally flows from Valdés' thought is the necessity of faith or assurance as the true Christian prays. On one hand, out of the "certainty or uncertainty with which the pious people find themselves in prayer, they can understand when they are moved (. . .) by the Holy Spirit or (. . .) by human spirit."[312] And if this discernment can be evident in examples of the Old Testament, "how much more will God show it [through experience] to those who have the Spirit of Jesus Christ our Lord."[313] This apparent possibility or fluctuation between certainty and uncertainty, most usually, is expressed as a need: "The Christian's prayer has to be always filled with faith, [i.e.] the assurance that God will give him that which he asks him in prayer; the prayer that is not like that is not Christian prayer."[314] That confidence or certainty "is that which gives life to prayer."[315] Regarding faith and prayer, Valdés reiterates the sharp distinction between being children of God through creation and being "true Christians, incorporated in Christ, children of God through regeneration;" to these latter ones Christ exhorts "to ask, to seek, and to knock (. . . .) promising that they will obtain all they desired."[316]

Characteristic of Valdés' thought as well, along with the Spirit's moving and faith, there is the more objective element: Scriptures. The Christian, says Valdés, "should not ask anything which is not promised in Scripture, because he should ground his faith in the promise, and that faith which is not founded on a promise is not faith."[317] When the Christian's desire has a biblical promise upon which to found his faith, then, "let him be careful that he does not look to himself [for its provision] but only to God (. . .) and, believing, he will obtain everything he asks."[318]

As to its object, prayer is directed by Valdés to the sphere of internal religion. What Valdés refers to as "promises of Scripture" involve particularly the Christian's growth to perfection. Through prayer,

> The Christian should intend to recuperate (. . .) that which he lost through Adam's disobedience (. . .) God's image and likeness (. . .) the earthly paradise (. . .) and enter into the kingdom of God, which is the heavenly paradise, [entering] in part and as the person is able during this present life and as it is possible, entirely, and as one should in the life eternal.[319]

Regarding other personal needs and recalling Alcaraz, Valdés discards praying with intensity.[320] That intensity would betray a lack of confidence in God, trusting more on the intensity than on God.[321] To know whether a desire "seeks one's self-interest or

[312] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 67, p. 631. Also stated in *Com. Matthew*, 394-395.
[313] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 67, p. 631. Note: "Experience" is added because it is explicitly present in the context.
[314] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 109.
[315] Ibid., 127.
[316] Ibid.,126-127.
[317] Valdés, *Christian Instruction*, OC, 930. Also *Com. Ps.*, 42.
[318] Valdés, *Com. Matthew*, 394-395.
[319] Valdés, *Christian Instruction*, OC, 931.
[320] Sp. "Impetrar."
[321] Valdés, *Considerations,* OC, n. 41, p. 575.

(. . .) the glory of God" is more important than being freed from sickness.[322] Contrary to expressing anguish, those who pray moved by the Spirit of God "feel God's presence in themselves;"[323] as they "depend on God and have their hearts united with God (. . .) even as they talk and hear talk, the Holy Spirit moves them to render themselves to God."[324]

Summary on the Significance of Valdés' Religious Practice

The discussion on Valdés' religious practice conveys, first of all, that his religion flows from his foundational theological and spiritual convictions. This is evident through the continuing contrasting of the pious to the non-pious, the definition of church, the exclusivity of those who are being led and governed by the Spirit, and who pray with certainty and for the glory of God instead of their own self-interests. The soteriological scheme that Valdés outlined in *De Penitentia,* that is, how the individual is to approach, enter, and grow in God's kingdom, is confirmed in his pastoral guidelines. Even though there is a growth in the true Christian, there is a categorical distinction between those who are in the kingdom and those who are not. In that distinction, there is the repeated foundation of justification by faith.

Valdés' religious practice is also noted for its spiritual emphasis, that is, the actual intervention of the Holy Spirit for all that has to do with the individual's relationship with God. The contrast between the true and the false is constantly drawn between human wisdom or self-interest and the Spirit's revelation or impulse. There is a dependence on and certainty of God's immediate intervention in the life of the individual that builds up an experiential reality of God governing him. There is commonly a perfection that is assumed in the true Christian; that is, the true Christian is characterized by a transformed disposition, which seeks the glory of God and not self, which is governed by the impulses of the Spirit and not human wisdom. This spiritual emphasis, intensity, and immediacy, are clearly traceable to Alcaraz and not to Erasmus. The label Erasmian obscures the true and specific connotation of Valdés' teachings.

Valdés' religious practice flows from his thought, maintaining his eclecticism as well. Not only his thought revealed an eclecticism whereby he expressed both his dependences and differences, but also his practices did. While Valdés' advice clearly expressed his link to the days of the *Alumbrados* (e.g., the emphasis on the attitude during the mass and the sermon, the attitude to hear a sermon, regarding ceremonies) he equally defended a rather Lutheran concept of the Lord's Supper, a moderate asceticism, and a significant transcendence regarding both baptism and the Lord's Supper, recognizing in these religious acts a spiritual intervention. Faith was required, but the legitimate performance had an effect. What in the times of the *Alumbrados* was

[322] Valdés, *Questions and Answers,* OC, 829.
[323] Valdés, *Com. Psalms*, 93.
[324] Ibid., 25, 137.

taken as "the operations of the love of God" become effects in Valdés, which are also applied by Valdés to baptism and communion. His teachings reveal a development and purposeful mixture, showing no partisanship but certainly a spiritual distinction and emphasis.

Another distinction of Valdés' thought that flowed into his practice is the propositional character of his spirituality. Prayer, and we can say "contemplation," was founded on propositional meditation. The presence of God in prayer emerged from pondering over scriptural truths. The Spirit's intervention in prayer, furthermore, was founded on justification by faith. Even though, therefore, Valdés focused on the subject's experience, that focus does not take away the reliance on scriptural and theological reasoning. This is a marked difference between Valdés and the mysticism of Osuna or Porete.

Regarding Valdés' ethics, it is very evident that he did not take the temptation or the transgression of fleshly desires as his contemporary Christianity did. He focused much more on the sins of the heart than those of the body. Nevertheless, his exhortations for internal obedience, self-examination, and radical commitment prevent the idea that Valdés' conviction was merely the pursuit of an easier shortcut to perfection. If he is viewed in light of his participation in the *Alumbrado* conflict and Alcaraz in particular, the *Abandonment* constituted an effort and not an easy access. This is further evident in Valdés' presentation of Christian liberty. Regardless of how other so-called *Alumbrados* understood or practiced their non-ceremonialism, Valdés understood Christian liberty as a commitment and submission to the Spirit's impulses and denial of self.

Regarding the church, Valdés had a fundamental conviction which is only expanded as his teaching was received and developed. In the *Dialogue* he already spoke of the church as the gathering of saints. He went through his silent years in Rome and awakened his religious interests and teaching in Naples in the context of individual advice. As his thought was received and settled, his treatises, letters, and Bible Commentaries expressed his message more boldly against what he considered false religion. His idea of church became more structured, contemplating a church authority and the preaching of the gospel of Christ's righteousness by faith. On the grounds of his words in the *Dialogue* as well as his later writings, Valdés can be considered a reformer, projecting his message to the world, and not only to the individual. His teachings, however, basically portrayed him as a guide for people to come to God's kingdom through their own experience. His death actually concealed whether or not Valdés' growing projection would have arrived to constitute him as a main figure of a reforming movement. What he left in writing, however, does not reflect a Valdessian Church or a reforming movement.

Regarding Valdés' so-called Nicodemism, this research rejects the derogatory label of Nicodemite, both as a general identification and as an identification of Valdés. Valdés' conciliatory personality and eclecticism was not a pragmatic and interested position; it was a conviction. His *Converso* legacy, the influence of non-fully

assimilated *Conversos* like Alcaraz, his cosmopolitan connections with the Court of Charles V, his own reluctance to aspects of the popular and institutional expression of Christianity, and the complexity and threatening religious background in Spain certainly influenced his religious teaching, and not merely a hypocritical self-interest or cowardice. There are, furthermore, enough grounds expressed in his writings because of which Valdés would not have desired to join the Northern European Reformers.

Flowing from Valdés' religious practices, the connection between the *Dialogue* and his Neapolitan writings become evident. It is not a matter of a particular emphasis towards ceremonies; his particular concern for hearing the sermon or the particular instructions when the preacher is not good reveal a single authorship and a trace to the times of the *Alumbrados*.

Summary and Final Considerations

Juan de Valdés in Light of his Religious Background

The initial hypothesis of this research was that Valdés' mentorship and writings were to be considered as theological, biblical, and spiritual reflections intended to guide man to a true understanding of Christianity and experience of God. A single moral, sacramental, spiritual, or systematic-theological approach cannot be representative of Valdés' message. The content of Valdes' writings required the joint consideration of his various dimensions, recognizing their prevailing pastoral nature. Furthermore, this thesis' hypothesis discarded the standards of heresy versus orthodoxy, of Catholicism versus Protestantism, as well as any exclusive Alcaracian, Erasmian, or Lutheran interpretation. Those parameters needed to be discarded in order to understand what appeared to be an evident eclecticism in Valdés' thought. Our hypothesis did not seek that Valdés' eclecticism would harmonize or bring his influences to an equal level of relevance; nevertheless, it presupposed the eclecticism that this research has come to prove in Valdés.

In addition to historical coincidences or considerations, this investigation has analyzed Valdés' writings as the fittest source to ascertain Valdés' thought. Initially, for the assessment of his writings and in order to define his religious eclecticism, this research has portrayed the religious currents that affected Valdes' formation years. It has also given attention to representative texts with which Valdés' teaching could be compared. In particular, the analysis has focused on those texts which Valdés' used, glossed, and those which could be indirectly related to him. Secondly, this thesis has analyzed Valdes' works attending to core themes, emphases, and key terms. The analysis has also accounted for external and internal pressures. It has considered the difference among catechetical, theological, or biblical literature, and it has evaluated the stability and/or possible thought-development through the years. From the topics expounded in Valdés' first work, and with a reasonable flexibility toward the diversity of his works, this research has followed the soteriological structure which Valdés portrayed in one of his summary-writings, *De Penitentia*, so recognized by authors of diverse perspectives. This analysis of Valdés' writings, collated with previous or coetaneous religious literature, has revealed the colors of his eclecticism, central message, and intended contribution to his Christian environment.

The contribution of this investigation to Valdessian research has been essentially in two areas. First of all, it has further defined Valdés' religious disposition, particularly as it has to do with his *Converso* lineage, and his relationship with his so-called *Alumbrado* background. Opposed to an exclusive Alcaracism, Erasmianism, or

Lutheranism, this research has shown Valdés' eclecticism as characterized for both using and criticizing these three important influences. More than a conclusion of influences or religious formation, Valdés' teaching appears as a developing endeavor to conciliate all the surrounding influences in harmony with a fundamental dependence on God and undeserved grace. Secondly, in the analysis of Valdés' writings, this thesis has focused on Valdés' experiential soteriological scheme, which essentially appears to emerge out of his own experience. This scheme focuses on a critical entrance into God's kingdom which needs a theological comprehension, a heart preparation, and which is followed by a transformed, victorious disposition and life. This ideal entrance and change eventually comes into some exceptions, if not inconsistencies, as it endeavors to comply with the diverse experiences of the Christian profession.

In parts I and II, this research has presented national and foreign influences on Valdés which led up to the *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine*. The plurality of religious currents and individuals that either Valdés made reference to or that research has associated with him has required a considerable analysis of its characteristics and relevance. The analysis of *Conversos, Alumbrados,* and Spanish Erasmianism has yielded very important distinctions within these supposed movements, which have discarded inadequate associations or representativeness of Valdés. Concerning Luther, apart from the writings used by Valdés, little has been possible to ascertain concerning the particular books or teachings which could have actually penetrated in Valdés' environment, both in Spain and in Italy. Regarding Luther's influence, in Naples, Valdés does now show any distinctive added element which could be attributed to a further or deeper influence from the German reformer.

The first chapter of this thesis endeavored to deepen the definition of *Conversos* beyond the good contributions of Giordano and Pastore, particularly regarding Valdés. The chapter discussed pertinent aspects of the experience and conscience of *Conversos*. These aspects have suggested crucial issues that could have affected Valdés' personality and religion. His apparent non-assimilation to institutional Christianity, his compliance with orthodoxy and yet his independence and dissidence from it, his religious restlessness, his use-and-critique of religious sources, his struggle between ideals and concessions, his comprehension and apology for religious concealment, and his spiritual emphasis speak of the relevance of this personal identity in Valdessian research: his *Converso* lineage. Even crucial aspects of his thought, such as his repetitive endeavor to define what was or not true Christianity, a true Christian, and the spiritual nature of the acceptance of Christianity, all could clearly be influenced by the fact of being offspring of *Conversos*.

The consideration of other eminent *Conversos* brought a significant affinity with Valdés. This affinity revealed a common interest of *Conversos* and Valdés in spiritual virtues, a personal relationship with God, personal preparation for the eucharist, a perfection that was not circumscribed to spiritual institutions, and a victorious outlook of religious life. In addition to these traits, the example of the Ebionite in Talavera's *Impugnation* seemed to translate some of those values to the context of an

unassimilated, syncretic Christian Jew, whose subjective, spiritual experiences gave him authority to claim that his was the true way to be a disciple of Christ. The external and internal pressures of *Conversos*, their spiritual orientation, their Pauline emphasis, provide the appropriate background of the direct influences on Valdés, particularly, those who participated in the *Alumbrado* conflict: Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro R. Alcaraz. The implications of Valdés' *Converso* lineage provide the more accurate connotations of his teachings. Erasmianism, in these aspects, was parallel but not the origin and color of Valdés' internal religion.

A second and more direct influence on Valdés was the *Abandonment* of Pedro R. Alcaraz. Further than Valdés being generally labeled as "the Theologian of the *Alumbrados*,"[1] the second chapter analyzed the various individuals involved, discarding inappropriate associations. The chapter outlined three major and different trends within those pragmatically labeled as *Alumbrados*. Francisca Hernández, Francisco Ortiz, and Francisco de Osuna, even though involved differently in the *Alumbrado* conflict, reveal a Catholic orthodoxy and spirituality, including the external ecstatic manifestations of piety. Valdés' disconnection with Francisca Hernández, for instance, clearly discarded Crews' accusation against Valdés, i.e. being interested in religion for "less than divine reasons."[2] Our discussion, furthermore, portrayed the essential difference between Alcaraz and the more orthodox, Franciscan piety, and particularly from Osuna's mystic experience of *Recollection*. This distinction between Osuna and Alcaraz, confirmed later by Valdés' own writings, clearly severs Valdés from the incipient Spanish Mysticism with which he has been associated.[3] Within that more orthodox trend of so-called *Alumbrados*, the study of Ortiz brought a crucial finding, confirming Valdés' eclecticism. One of Valdés' most emblematic and recurrent mottos was traced by Francisco Ortiz to Jean Gerson: "The Christian matter is not science but experience." Significantly, the term was not Alcaracian. "Experience" was a term adopted by Valdés, which took him till his 110th *Consideration* to satisfactorily define. Valdés borrowed the term (which also Osuna used for his non-propositional mysticism) and used it for an experience which, apparently, Alcaraz and Valdés himself lived. Valdés, however, provided his own definition.

Another trend among the so-called *Alumbrados* explicitly followed Erasmus, adapting some elements of the *Alumbrado* conflict to their Erasmian fondness (e.g., the love of God, mystical overtones, non-ceremonialism because of acquired perfection). These were Juan de Cazalla and María de Cazalla in particular. Despite María's explicit references to Valdés' *Dialogue* and some coincident issues between María and Valdés,[4] Valdés' initial religious experience and formation should be considered apart from the Cazalla's and their Erasmian influence. Alcaraz's teachings clearly differed in content

[1] Marquez, *Juan de Valdés*, 214; *Alumbrados*, 60.
[2] Discarding D. Crews' underestimation of Valdés' religious profession.
[3] D.Ricart stated, " In Juan de Valdés, mysticism is radical, absolute" (*Juan de Valdés*,1962, 8).
[4] E.g., Concerning bad preachers, the disaassociation of conjugal relationships and sin, similarity regarding a perfection that could dispense with ceremonies.

and emphasis from both Juan and María de Cazalla, and Valdés' differences with them only increased.

The main contribution of this *Alumbrado* discussion, chapter 3, was the analysis of the thought of Alcaraz, who was a direct influence on Valdés. Accounting for the difficulties of an inquisitorial document, the analysis of Alcaraz's trial confirmed Alcaraz's connections with Porete's *Mirror of simple, brought-to-nothing souls* and the umbilical cord between Alcaraz and Valdés. This chain of Porete-Alcaraz-Valdés illustrated the origin and adaptation of Alcaraz's *Abandonment* and the foundation of a dependence on God which characterized Valdés' spirituality and eclectic thought. Alcaraz's dependence on Porete's *Mirror* clarifies that he did not depend on Luther for his similar tenets of grace without works, contrary to what Selke and Gilly have defended. Though not a Lutheran dependence, however, the origin and character of Alcaraz's *Abandonment* clearly prepared Valdés for his assimilation of some of Luther's arguments and convictions. What Alcaraz taught as spirituality became theology in Valdés, through the articulation of Luther's justification by faith and law versus gospel, among other elements. Even though the strong character, belligerence, and partisanship of Luther and the Northern European Reformers could have been enough for Valdés not to identify himself with them, he recognized that the gospel, as he defined, was preached in the world. Furthermore, the impact of Luther was positive, assimilating as well some other elements as the presence of Christ in the eucharist. Nonetheless, according to Valdés' eclecticism, he maintained his own distinctive and divergent overtones from the German Reformer regarding perfection, revelation, and spirituality.

In addition to the different traits of Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, two significant issues were conveyed from Alcaraz to Valdés' thought: a crisis of initiation and a spirituality of crisis and effect. Since Nieto, Valdés' ideas have been rightfully traced to Alcaraz in different degrees. Nieto, somewhat surprisingly and singular in his defense, has denied all mystical tendencies in both Alcaraz and Valdés. I consider that research in general has underestimated or ignored one essential trait from Alcaraz and Valdés: the essential impact of entering a new condition as a consequence of an invidual's crisis. Valdés defended an initiation crisis, that is, the experience of a God-given revelation where Scripture had a main role and set the individual in a new, perfect love-relationship with God. Valdés defended what appeared to echo the experience that both Alcaraz's and himself lived. Instead of a spiritual ladder like Porete, Osuna, or Juan de Cazalla, Alcaraz taught a basic duality of blind-imperfect versus *abandoned*-perfect Christian. This would govern the fundamental scheme of Valdés' message, identifying this crisis with the individual's entrance to God's kingdom, whose disposition was transformed and transported into an essentially different level in his relationship with God. The basic tenets of the *Abandonment* as well as this distinctive and effectual crisis remained as pillars of Valdés' thought throughout his writings. These beliefs cannot be linked with Erasmus or Luther, even though these two individuals provided important support and ingredients to Valdés.

Chapter four, in addition to the Erasmian trend among the so-called *Alumbrados*, discussed Valdés' environment and acquaintances in Alcalá de Henares in view of its Erasmian influence and accessibility to Lutheran writings. The discussion on Erasmian influence portrayed a considerable circle of interest and environment of which Valdés shared only a part. What has been identified by Bataillon as Spanish Erasmianism was characterized by a language of affections, a Christological emphasis, a reliance on a synergistic grace, a significant emphasis on Scripture, and a moderation towards the traditional side of Spanish Catholicism. A significant writing that could have deeply impacted Valdés was the translation of *Sermon on the Child Jesus*. Even though the emphasis on Christ could also be found in Luther, considering the Spanish perception and accessibility of Erasmus and Luther, Erasmus appears to be the more feasible source of Valdés' exalted Christology.

Considering Valdés' eclecticism and conciliatory personality as the whole thesis has portrayed, Valdés' use of Erasmus cannot be taken just as a mask, as Nieto and Gilly defend. The significance of *Inquisitio* as a minimum agreement and vindication of Christian orthodoxy, the different elements of Spanish Erasmianism regarding Christ and Scripture, its understanding of "true theology," its underestimation of ceremonies constituted true affinities with Valdés. Clearly parallel to the *Alumbrado* conflict, a common religious interest and some affinities did not mean ideological identification or affiliation. Valdés developed his anthropology and soteriology away from Erasmus' thought, but used and favored Erasmus as far as it contributed to his thought.

More particularly in reference to the Erasmian circle in Alcalá de Henares and Valdés, in addition to his affinities with Gracián and others, his letters bear signs of "serious" discussions with them. Juan de Vergara defended Valdés' *Dialogue*; however, he seemed to hardly know Valdés, being totally unaware of Valdés' connection with Alcaraz. Evidently, Vergara defended the *Dialogue* more for its connection with Erasmianism than for its Valdessianism. The picture seems to portray a relationship into which Valdés was introduced by his brother Alfonso, but which never reached the integration that Alfonso had among the Erasmian Court members and circle of Alcalá.

The particular analysis of Valdés' *Dialogue*, written in Alcalá, revealed the fundamental differences between Valdés and Spanish Erasmianism. Valdés, choosing Erasmus' *Inquisitio* and Luther's *Commentary on the Ten Commandments* and *On the Lord's Prayer*, claimed the right to his independent and eclectic thought. The purpose of the *Dialogue* was to portray true Christianity: complying with orthodoxy, with a pessimistic anthropology, a justification by faith because of the sacrifice of Christ, and with spiritual overtones of God-induced feeling, transformation, and a victorious experience. Valdés' eclecticism was fully evident. Further than "the dialectic of an epoch,"[5] Valdés actually translated other sources, with which he also disagreed with them at the same level: Alcaraz, Erasmus, and Luther. On the other hand, Valdés' defense and description of true Christianity was portrayed against the background of his

[5] As Morreale defended, in preference over actual quotes (*Antítesis Letra Espíritu,* 1954, 182).

contemporary Christianity: the figure of Antronio, a religious leader who claiming to know was brought to desire to be "made anew."

As one parenthetical issue prior to the analysis of the *Dialogue*, this research has expressed the inadequacy of Calero' and Coronel-Ramos' theory to discard Valdés' authorship of the *Dialogue* in favor of Juan Luis Vives. In addition to the weak evidence for Vives, the historical evidence and the theological content of the *Dialogue* confirm Valdés' authorship. The *Dialogue*'s use of Luther's writings, years after he was condemned by Rome, or the satisfaction theory of the atonement, justification by faith, or the traces to the spirituality of Alcaraz, to mention a few issues, suggest unanswerable questions to Calero's theory. In addition to the arguments discussed in chapter 5, the numerous coincidences of Valdés' Neapolitan writings have further confirmed the Valdessian authorship of the *Dialogue* with ample evidence.

Part III of this thesis presented Valdés' Neapolitan writings as a freer, and more expanded and multifaceted expression of his thought. In general, these Neapolitan writings have confirmed Valdés' scope and stability of thought, regardless of the type, length, or moment of writing. The reference to predestination since *Psalms*, his main schemes presented in his *Commentary on Romans*, and the evidence of most of Valdés' teachings present since the *Dialogue*, underline Gracian's words in Alcalá concerning Valdés being well-acquainted with Saint Paul's writings. Valdés' use of Erasmus and Luther, as well as his glosses and writing were basically settled convictions, not youthful impulses. This research assessed Valdés' thought according to the nature of his message, which included theological reasoning, spirituality, and religious practice. These sections have outlined and confirmed Valdés' basic scheme as it is portrayed in his representative tract *De Penitentia* (a representativeness that is maintained by writers such as Domingo de Sta. Teresa or Nieto) and confirmed in other tracts and throughout Valdés' writings. While it is true that Valdés' thought cannot be reduced to a religious confession, he certainly presented a clear and theological soteriological scheme. Valdés' basic scheme is his central answer to the question of what is true Christianity or a true Christian. It is mainly a soteriological and pastoral scheme, describing the different disposition of individuals in relationship to the person approaching, entering, and growing in God's kingdom.

Consistent with Valdés' defense of "true theology," his intense and spiritual teaching was conveyed through theological and pastoral discourse and, singularly, through the catechetical use of Scripture. Maintaining Valdés' teaching as eminently pastoral, this thesis has shown the theological and essential foundation of Valdés' spirituality and practical religion. Valdés' essential religious perspective was theologically grounded on God's grace and man's depravity, on faith and predestination. His favorable or censuring comments to other theologians or Bible commentators portray the religious forum among which he wrote. The very format, content, and nature of his *Considerations*, and the theological fields and terms he handles challenge the interpretation of a non-theological Valdés, as Hamilton or Firpo have defended, or merely as a "religion of the spirit" as Bataillon labeled it. Particularly,

the alternative definitions that Valdés attributed to emblematic terms like gospel, grace, church, or faith, and their link to primitive Christianity are very significant, ignoring other definitions or the possibility to argue about them. Those definitions distinctively shaped his spirituality and marked the edge of his dissidence towards Erasmus or Osuna, for instance. [6] Those definitions should be distinctively applied to those terms throughout Valdés' writings.

Valdés' theology, discussed in chapter 6, focused on God, Christ, the Spirit, and the individual, essentially portraying man's essential need and helplessness along with the remedy provided by God through Christ and applied by the Spirit. The foundational aspects of Valdés' theology, e.g., a pessimistic anthropology, the inexorable mediation of Jesus Christ, or the satisfaction of Christ's atonement, correspond to the knowledge of "evangelical preaching" (as Valdés defined it), which a person must hear as he first approaches God.

Regarding Valdés' theology, even though his phraseology explicitly conformed to orthodox Christianity, it is necessary to acknowledge some borderline elements regarding the impeccability of Jesus Christ as well as the personality of the Holy Spirit. Valdés does not deny those articles of faith, but certainly takes a significant freedom from the traditional perspective to interpret certain biblical passages and strengthen his personal message. These borderline elements involved the extreme humanization of Christ's feelings (doubt or self-impulse) in view of his identification with the individual and the inspiration and impulses of the Spirit which at times seemed to ignore the Spirit's personality. The compliance with orthodox formulas along the borderline, independent thinking on the Son and Spirit could betray an internal struggle or non-assimilation of the Trinity. In this, once again, Valdés' *Converso* lineage could have played an important role. On the other hand, these considerations do not allow a positive connection between Valdés and Ochino's Unitarianism.

One of the theological foundations of Valdés is what the knowledge of God consists of. A large part of Valdés theology and piety discusses what the individual should consider and experience as the knowledge of God. Not exclusively but particularly from this issue, Valdés' thought expresses itself through contrasts. Contrasting is Valdés' favorite discourse, and the object of that contrast is most often between the false, humanly devised knowledge of God and the Spirit, sovereignly revealed knowledge of God emerging from the spirit-inspired acceptance of the gospel, i.e. God executing the rigor of his justice on Christ satisfying for the individual's offenses. This essential contrast between human wisdom and God's knowledge, between the individual before and after accepting what Valdés understood as the gospel through inspired faith, permeates Valdés' writings in its different concepts and applied to all theological reasoning, piety, and religious practice.

6 E.g. E. Cione (1938), M. Bataillon (DDB, 1525; *Erasmo y España*, 1966), or even C. Wagner (*Le Dialogue*, 2005). Much further away is D. Sta. Teresa defending a Pre-Tridentine Catholic Reformer (*Juan de Valdés*, 1935).

Valdés central message and particular contribution to his Christian environment consists in how this essential need and contrast is solved. As has been demonstrated through this research, the structure and order of Valdés' writings, the representative tract *De Penitentia*, and the exhausting classification and contrasts of Valdés revolve and are to be understood around the individual approaching, entering, and growing in God's kingdom. His central emphasis is the "entrance" to God's kingdom. Before that, the individual "applies himself to piety." After the entrance, the individual grows into that which he will do and be in eternity. Valdés significantly contributed to his Christian context through a classification and description of the casuistry of an individual's heart as he approached, entered, experienced, and grew in his love-union with God. Of particular relevance is the transformation or "mutation" that the individual underwent as he experienced the "effects" of true inspired faith in the gospel, of the revelation of God's knowledge, possession, incorporation, regeneration, etc. Significantly, Valdés had to modify his ideal contrast as he was confronted with the Corinthians' "imperfect" Christians, when commenting on first Corinthians. This concession, however, confirms Valdés' ideal, which he maintained throughout the rest of his writings regardless of this development.

This essential contrast, change, and transformation are essential to understand Valdés' thought. It is clearly traceable to Alcaraz's and his own experience of God, almost violently calling him away from his romance-novels to a love for God. It is traceable to the "deaths" of Porete's *Mirror* that in Alcaraz became a single crisis and revelation that placed the individual in the *Abandonment*. This change and transformation is what Andrés and others derided about the *Alumbrados* as an easy shortcut to perfection. Even though Valdés also referred to a growing progress in the knowledge of God, incorporation, and love-union with God, he distinctively marked a categorical beginning, which has at times been ignored in Valdessian research in favor of a progressive illumination or growth unto perfection, as Firpo or Domingo de Sta. Teresa argue.

Valdés' essential contrast of people being either in Adam or regenerated had a significant transcendence. It judged, divided, and excluded from both salvation and church all who had not accepted the essential belief of justification by faith and had not undergone this spiritual crisis and transformation. No wonder that he defended that the Christian issue was a matter of "few, very few." This is the depth of his dissidence from his contemporary Christianity.

Valdés' eclecticism is evident in his theology and transcended to his spirituality and religious practice. His eclecticism, again, is characterized by an explicit use of his influences and sources, but at the same level, an explicit difference from them. Even though Alcaraz's teaching was more spiritual than theological, when Valdés built his theology, he built it according to Alcaraz's foundations. Regarding Valdés' theological foundations the intervention and dimension of the Spirit as well as the nature of the knowledge of God are clearly Alcaracian. However, Valdés' Christology, the soteriological connotation of the "crisis" of illumination, the centrality of Christ's

mediation and identification, equally constitute cardinal teachings of Valdés but foreign and differing from Alcaraz. Equally, Erasmus' Christological influence is also contested by Valdés with a pessimistic anthropology and a justification by faith.

In the consideration of Valdés' view of piety, this research pointed to a relevant element regarding this eclecticism: his conciliatory personality and rejection of religious partisanships. He was permeable and willing to go as far as he could, befriend everyone, and borrow everything which could converge with him or enhance his thought. But his essential theology and soteriological crisis-scheme remained invariable. This is how Valdés' recommended readings or his encomia for Erasmus should be taken, and not as tokens of his affiliation.

Valdés' spirituality or piety, even though built upon his eclectic theology, is particularly dependent on Alcaraz. Its recurrent contrasts, pessimistic anthropology, and reiterated conviction of justification by faith clearly discard an Erasmian character, regardless of how often it has been considered as such. Faith, along with the multiplicity of attached terms (e.g., knowledge, illumination, certification, feeling, tasting, experience, possessing), the reference to a love-union with God, mortification of the will and self, the whole concept of Christian liberty in submission to God's impulses, and the acceptance of God's particular providence, all echo emphases from Alcaraz's *Abandonment*, which were adapted from Porete's *Mirror*. Valdés' eclecticism still included some elements which were not from Alcaraz's teaching, such as the articulation of piety in terms of law versus the gospel, or some ascetic notes. However, in general, his spirituality derived from his days among the so-called *Alumbrados* and Alcaraz in particular.

In view of Valdés' background one of the significant elements of his thought is "mortification and vivification." It constitutes an illustration of how Porete's deaths and her coming to nothing but gaining everything went through Alcaraz as denying self and the will, and in Valdés acquired the theological, soteriological, and pastoral aspects of dying with Christ and arising with his resurrection. Significantly, the will, self-interest, and one's affections prevail in their narrative over human fleshly desires. In the case of Valdés, these elements appear in the developed theological garb of Christ's satisfactory atonement, identification with Christ, and projecting itself to eternity.

Significant also for Valdés' view of piety, Christ not only imputed his righteousness to the one who accepted the gospel through inspired faith; there are "effects" which speak of imparted virtues to the individual. Despite concessions to less victorious experiences or imperfect Christians and the growth that becomes the "duty" of the true Christian, there is a possession of those virtues in Christ, into which the individual has to grow. These effects and the pervading consciousness of mortification-vivification, in addition to Christian liberty (understood as submission to the Spirit's government and impulses) exclude a licentious or careless spirituality in Valdés.

In the consideration of Valdés' religious practice as the expression of his piety, while the main lines of his non-ceremonialism, prayer, and temptation echo Alcaraz's teaching, his practices certainly speak of a development beyond Alcaraz, assimilating

Christianity and its universal dimension in a greater degree. Even though Alcaraz could not express his thought freely before the Inquisition, I doubt that the *Converso* non-ceremonialism which characterized him and other so-called *Alumbrados* would grant any "spiritual effects" at baptism and communion. They rather spoke of "the operations of the love of God" away from any religious performance. Regarding the church or its universal dimension, Valdés drew a deeper soteriological line of separation between true Christianity and what he identified as superstitious, meritorious religion. His writings reflect a steadily assumed a role of reformer, speaking of church authority, apostleship, and expansion of the gospel, clearly projecting himself much further than the context and message of Alcaraz.

Even though Valdés' presentations were predominantly not belligerent but positive in their contents, his portrait of true Christianity and true Christian experience were drawn against the backdrop of his contemporary Christianity. Valdés was not content with his expressed, dissident soteriology and spirituality; he contrasted it to what he considered as false Christianity and false Christians. He considered that the church had greatly "mutated," particularly in the orientation and practice that the leadership were teaching. Beyond his rejection of justification by works and ceremonies, Valdés polarized his contrasts, particularly between the saints of the world and the saints of God. In the *Gospel of Matthew*, that polarization seems to indicate a growing hostility that suggests the growing development towards the Inquisition in Italy one year after Valdés' death. The projection of Valdés' dissident message, along with his denunciation and descriptions of false religion, discard Valdés' favor, harmony, or non-dissenting attitude towards his contemporary Christianity.

Several general characteristics arise from the consideration of Valdés' thought. Valdés' teachings at times portray unresolved fluctuations or tensions. There was tension or fluctuation between the use of Scripture and its authority, between the use of natural illustrations and the need of supernatural, God-given revelation. There was tension or fluctuation between idealism and praxis, between God's sovereignty and man's responsibility particularly in regard to the Christian persevering in grace. There was also tension or fluctuation between reluctance to fasting and mortification of the senses for the sake of spiritual aspirations or hearing God's voice. There was tension between his clear dissidence and his non-schismatic consent. These tensions or dualisms should be recognized; otherwise they would constitute inconsistencies.[7] They often reflect the difference between Valdés' ideals and his accommodations to reality. His condescensions, however, should not deprive his message from his ideal contrasts, crisis, and radical expressions.

Another question which emerges from Valdés' eclecticism is whether he had any original contribution to Christianity or if everything he wrote was borrowed. I certainly believe that Nieto's statement concerning Valdés "creating new terms or reclaiming old ones (. . .) to the original sources of Christianity" is simply inaccurate. He borrowed and

[7] E.g. as it transpires in Jones when dealing with "experience beyond Scripture" (*Introduction to Doctrine Valdés,* 1974, 105-108).

redefined even his most emblematic terms and expressions, e.g., experience, incorporation, law-gospel, or love-union with God. The reality is that he never intended to innovate but rather to return to scriptural times and teachings. Valdés certainly conceded to the possibility of new saints receiving new insights, but his message never carried with it the notion or claim of novelty. On the other hand, as Nieto has already stated, the pastoral use of biblical narrative could be taken as a particular contribution of Valdés. Furthermore, the distinction and definition of the true Christian and the church on the basis of a critical spiritual experience based on the satisfaction of Christ's atonement, whose righteousness was not only imputed but in certain degree imparted, was certainly a particular contribution of his. The construction of a spirituality of perfection and love-union with God upon the foundation of a soteriology of *sola gratia* is quite significant, in view of other later expressions of spirituality with that equal foundation.

Valdés' pastoral teaching presents several implications for Spain's pre-Tridentine Christianity. Regarding Luther's influence in Spain, Catholic authorities like Tellechea have recognized Lutheran concepts "assimilated" by the writer of *Dialogue on Doctrine*. Considering both these assimilated concepts and Valdés' criticisms of Luther, as presented in this thesis, there is a remarkable stability of Valdés' thought regarding his Lutheran affinities since 1529. This is an evidence of an early accessible Lutheran influence in Spain, which was received regardless and apart from the envious or contentious connotations generally attributed to the German reformer by Spanish contemporaries. Excluding a dependence of the *Alumbrados*' *Abandonment* on Luther, Valdés thought-development reveals how Lutheranism could be positively received by some Spanish religious currents. This reception was clearly different from later, more confessional expressions like Juan Pérez de Pineda expressed in his *Brief Doctrine*.

A second significant implication of Valdés' teaching is that his spiritual quest, his religious and ethical demands, being different from Franciscan austerity or institutional standards, was neither motivated by libertinism nor caused by ignorance. However licentious other religious currents, individuals, or later so-called *Alumbrado* waves could have been, figures like Alcaraz or Valdés are evidence of a genuinely pious dissidence. Valdés did not defend his spirituality merely for permissiveness or laxity; he defended the way through which man could truly and perfectly love and obey God as he understood it actually worked. Licentious, political, or envious motivations in Valdés are unwarranted in light of his writings. Furthermore, the first Bible commentator in Castilian language, whose Psalms' translation from Hebrew was praised by Menéndez Pelayo, and who provided a stepping stone of the Spanish language, cannot be accused of dissenting because of ignorance. Valdés' writings, though not scholastic, contain considerable theological thought and piety. Dissent, therefore, does not mean libertinism or ignorance.

Final Considerations

Even though the nature of the discussed religious movements and the circumstances affecting primary sources require a minimum degree of interpretation, the conclusions of this research have been built on Valdés' central and repeated teachings, providing a solid foundation for the arguments, both regarding his particular eclecticism, his soteriological scheme and emphasis, and his various teachings. The resulting conclusions do not propose a categorical change in Valdessian research; however, they significantly advance the comprehension of Valdés' thought as to the relevance and meaning of his *Converso* influence, his eclecticism, and his contribution to his Christian environment.

Another element to evaluate is that this thesis has not included possible relationships with the Italian *spirituali* nor has it entered into the discussion of Valdés ideas through his followers. These topics are certainly commendable, but, due to the extent of the analysis and focus on Valdés' background, those topics are left for further research. In any case, these academic pursuits would not contradict these conclusions drawn from his writings. Furthermore, Valdés' repeated references to Spain, his Spanish writing, his clear and traceable religious influences to Spain, and the consensus of the overwhelming majority of research on Valdés confirm Valdés' dependence on his Spanish background.

In addition to a theological comparison of Valdés writings with parallel Italian texts or to the analysis of the development of Valdés' teachings through his followers,[8] there are other pertinent areas that could advance Valdessian research. A very helpful task would be the critical edition of Valdés' Commentaries. It is sad that Fundación José Antonio de Castro did not complete its planned second volume of Valdés' Complete Works. The Bible translation of Psalms has been edited by D. Ricart, and a critical edition of the Italian version of *Commentary on Matthew* has been provided by Anna María Cavallarín. The most recent editions of Valdés' Commentaries, however, are those published by Librería de Diego Gómez Flores,[9] reproducing Madrid's edition of 1856. The texts of the Commentaries, transcribed by Boehmer, clearly manifest the need for a critical edition. They contain some confusing expressions and grammatical errors which are not accompanied by any critical assessment.[10] Another significant area

[8] We recognize the valuable historical work of Massimo Firpo; however, a further theological analysis of texts, expressions, terms, and emphasis would greatly contribute to the understanding of Valdés in Italy.

[9] Pub. 1982, ed. facsímil of Madrid's ed. 1856.

[10] E.g. In *Com. Mathew*, 408 it is written that "the saints of the world" are in danger to be deceived, when it should clearly be "saints of God;" In *Considerations,* OC, n. 106, p. 735, there is a needed "not" in: "Adam before having the science of good and evil was [not] ashamed of being naked and after he had the science . . . he was ashamed;" In *Considerations,* OC, n. 100, p. 634 there is a missing "un" instead of "already" in: "I come to conclude that man should be esteemed as [un] believer and deficient in the faith;" In *Considerations,* OC, n. 101, p.719 there is a mistaken "revelation" which should be "relationship," a word denoting a faith through human agency: "The easiness of the superstitious . . . come from the fact that they believe with human wisdom . . . through opinion or revelation [relationship] …;" et al.

of Valdessian research is the analysis of his translations in light of his teaching and other contemporary translations from his background and environment, e.g., Erasmus' paraphrases, *Epistolas y Evangelios*, or Luther's translations. Apart from the valuable articles of M. Morreale, no monograph has addressed that study.

Parallel to Bible translations, considering the contribution of Valdés' Commentaries and translations, a significant topic would be the general contribution of Jewish and *Converso* Bible exegesis in light of what has been called Positive Theology. Andrés speaks of it as differing from Scholastic Theology, developing among Humanists in the environment of the University, and akin to Erasmus, Agricola, and the Protestants. Andrés defines Positive Theology as "the study or preaching of the Bible (. . .) with an ascetic, practical, somewhat pastoral and kerugmatik orientation."[11] Further research on the contribution of Jewish and *Converso* biblical exegesis and spirituality to Spanish biblical and theological thought would be greatly profitable. Regarding Juan de Valdés, being of *Converso* lineage, the first Bible commentator in Castilian language, with characteristics akin to what has been called Positive Theology, he would undoubtedly constitute an important reference to that topic.

Another valuable contribution to Valdés' research could come from the discipline of Psychology. Considering Valdés' assumptions in regard to the unregenerate, along with his Converso lineage and the pressures from the Spanish and Roman Church, a psychological perspective of our personage could bring an interesting viewpoint. It would complement the understanding of some facets of his thought, such as his apparent frustration years, his radicalisms, or his compromises. Lastly, a comparison of Valdés' tenets with other contemporary and subsequent spiritualities to the Reformation might enlighten the affinity and/or diversity of religious expressions arising out of coincident grace and faith presuppositions.

Valdés lived in the struggle of a Christianity he sincerely confessed but could not fully assimilate. According to his natural gentleness, corroborated by friends and foes, he lived in the tension between compliance and dissent. While permeable to teachers and influences, he retained a firm foundation and clear criterion: a humble, undeserving, but satisfactory and even victorious dependence upon God. As his thought developed through different circumstances and religious influences, his primary convictions grew firmer. His thought never lost its initial traces from the times of the *Alumbrados* and from his first teacher Pedro R. Alcaraz. His eclectic thought construed an intense spirituality of affections governed by man's humble dependence upon God. Recognizing some theological affinities with Reformed thought, his thought was free from affiliations. His message of spiritual faith and assurance was a positive and independent voice that attracted hearers of diverse dispositions. His mentorship focused on the struggles, feelings, and aspirations of the heart in relationship to man's approach to, entrance into, or growth in the kingdom of God. Searching for clarity amidst what he considered a decaying and nominal Christianity, Valdés wrote a pastoral portrait of

[11] M. Andrés. *Teol Esp. Siglo XVI*, vol i, 41-42.

spiritual quest, certainty, and duty around the gracious gospel of Jesus Christ. His mentorship will continue to remain as a relevant reference to anyone searching for a personal Christian experience.

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